THE GREAT COURSES®

Topic
History

Subtopic
Renaissance
& Early Modern

A History of England from the Tudors to the Stuarts

Course Guidebook

Professor Robert Bucholz
Loyola University Chicago

PUBLISHED BY:

THE GREAT COURSES
Corporate Headquarters
4840 Westfields Boulevard, Suite 500
Chantilly, Virginia 20151-2299
Phone: 1-800-832-2412
Fax: 703-378-3819
www.thegreatcourses.com

Robert Bucholz, D.Phil.

Associate Professor of History
Loyola University of Chicago

Robert Bucholz received his undergraduate education in history at Cornell University, where he earned his letter in cross-country and track. He graduated in 1980, *magna cum laude* and *Phi Beta Kappa*, whereupon he received a Keasbey Memorial Scholarship for study at Oxford University. At Oxford, Bucholz studied under G. V. Bennett and P.G.M. Dickson. He took his doctorate in modern history from Oxford in March 1988. He taught at Cornell, UCLA Extension, Cal State Long Beach, and Loyola-Marymount Universities before joining the faculty in History at Loyola University of Chicago in 1988. He currently holds the rank of associate professor.

At Loyola, Professor Bucholz teaches both halves of the Western Civilization survey, as well as upper-division courses in Early Modern (Tudor-Stuart) England, English Social History, and Early Modern London. He has received several awards for his teaching, most notably the Sujack Award for Teaching Excellence, the Loyola College of Arts and Sciences' highest such award, in 1994, the first year of its presentation. He was also the Loyola Honors Program Faculty Member of the Year in 1998 and 1999.

Bucholz's primary research interest is the English court and royal household for the period from 1660 into the nineteenth century. He is the author of *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, 1993); with Sir John Sainty, KCB, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660–1837*, 2 vols. (Institute of Historical Research, London, 1997–1998); and with Professor Newton Key of Eastern Illinois University, *Early Modern England 1485–1714: A Narrative History* (Blackwell, 2003). Bucholz is also the project director of the Database of Court Officers, which will contain the career facts of every person who served in the British royal household from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 to the death of Queen Victoria in

1901. This is to be launched online by the Institute of Historical Research in 2003.

In 1997, Bucholz was named Prince of Wales Foundation Scholar for Architecture in America, which led, in turn, to his being invited to speak on the etiquette of the public rooms and the experience of going to court in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to Royal Collection Studies at Windsor Castle at the beginning of September. This talk was repeated in 2000 and published in 2001 in *The Court Historian*. His work has been solicited and commented upon by HRH, the Prince of Wales.

Bucholz is past President of the Midwest Conference on British Studies and the organizer of the Center for Renaissance Studies/Society for Court Studies Seminar on Courts, Households and Lineages at the Newberry Library, Chicago. Finally, Robert Bucholz is occasionally asked to give comment on British history and the activities of the British royal family to the Chicago media, most notably *Chicago Tonight* with John Calloway and *Extension 720* with Milt Rosenberg. ■

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

Table of Contents

SUPPLEMENTAL MATERIAL

A History of England from the Tudors to the Stuarts

Scope:

This course will survey the history of England during the early modern period, from 1485 to 1714. During this time, that country transformed itself from a feudal and relatively minor European state, not much more powerful than contemporary Denmark, into a constitutional monarchy, the wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth, and what some historians have called the first modern society. The backbone of the course will be a narrative of high politics, but it will incorporate the fruits of recent work in social, economic, and cultural history, including the histories of religion, the family, women, poverty, crime, and the arts. In so doing, the course seeks to remind its audience that England was (and is) far more than the king and queen and 12 people who knew them; its history is more than a series of wars and revolutions, laws and treaties. It is equally the story of how the English people were born, reared, worked, played, worshiped, fell in love, and died. The course is pitched toward those who find themselves fascinated by England and its history and who wish to know more. Written by a non-Briton for fellow non-Britons, it assumes only curiosity.

The course begins with a physical description of England and its relationship to the other countries of the British Isles. It will explain how the development of England differs—ethnically, socially, and politically—from that of the Celtic lands, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. (Although this course is explicitly about England, its history cannot be understood in isolation from that of its neighbors.) The first two lectures go on to describe the physical parameters of English life—the geography and topography (physical, economic, and social) of region, village, and town. Once the material world of Early-modern England has been established, the third lecture will address the mental constructs of English life, contrasting late-medieval idealizations of society (the Great Chain of Being, the Body Politic, and so on) with the reality of England's social, economic, religious, and political structures as the Tudor period begins.

Only then will we plunge into the political narrative with a brief explanation of the dynastic turbulence leading to the Wars of the Roses (1399–1485). This will be followed by the establishment of the Tudor state (1485–1509) and the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547). The latter will include his wars, the divorce and English Reformation, and what has been called the Tudor Revolution in government. The later stages of the Reformation will be examined during the reigns of Henry's three children, Edward VI, "Bloody Mary," and Elizabeth I (1547–1603). More specifically, the course will address Edward's promotion of Protestantism; Mary's attempt to reverse the Reformation through persecution; Elizabeth's religious settlement (which created the Anglican Church); England's relationship to Scotland and its ruler, Mary, Queen of Scots; the international tensions that led to war with Spain; Elizabeth's attempts to relieve those tensions through her marital diplomacy; her relationship with Parliament; and the propaganda campaign that created the image of "Gloriana." This section of the course will climax with the attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada (1588), the O'Neill rebellion in Ireland (1595–1603), and the peaceful accession of the Stuarts in 1603.

With the death of Elizabeth in 1603, about halfway through the political narrative, we take a "break" to examine the social and cultural history of Elizabethan and Jacobean England. At the end of the 16th century, the population was growing rapidly—too rapidly for an inflexible late-medieval economy to absorb. The result was underemployment, rapid inflation, and hard times for the poor. But at the same time, overseas exploration and the growth of trade with Europe were providing new opportunities for the landed aristocracy and urban dwellers. In this context, we will examine "private life" for both the elite (in their country houses) and the common people (in their villages), the problems of law and order, witchcraft, the Poor Law, and the rise of Puritanism. We will also explore the expanding world of London and, with it, the blossoming of Elizabethan and Jacobean culture in art, music, and above all, literature.

We return to the political narrative with the reigns of James I and Charles I (the early Stuarts, 1603–1649) and the tensions that led to the British Civil Wars (that is, the Bishop's Wars in Scotland, 1637–1640; the Irish Rebellion of 1641 and subsequent conquest by Oliver Cromwell; and the English Civil

Wars, 1642–1660). In addition to the wars themselves, we shall address the trial and execution of King Charles I in 1649; the attempt to form a republic and its eventual replacement by the Protectorate of Cromwell (1649–1660); contemporary discussions of democracy and experiments with religious toleration; and the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. The course will then treat the reign of Charles II (1660–1685), focusing on the social and cultural life of his court; the challenge of Catholicism there and, in the person of Louis XIV, in Europe; the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis (an attempt by Parliament to exclude Catholics from the throne); and the ensuing rise of two modern political parties, the Whigs and the Tories. We will then address the abortive reign of James II (1685–1688) and the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689. That revolution established the reigns of William III and Mary II (1689–1702), as well as constitutional monarchy and limited religious toleration. It also resulted in a long series of wars against France. Thus, the revolution of 1688–1689 is a turning point in England's development as a "modern" country. The political narrative will conclude by examining the Nine Years' War (1688–1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). In this last war, fought under Queen Anne (1702–1714), John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, won a series of crushing victories against the French. The ensuing Treaty of Utrecht would make England the wealthiest and most powerful nation in Europe and, quite possibly, the world.

Finally, the course will conclude with an examination of the society and culture of England at the dawn of the 18th century. The wealth from overseas colonies and European trade, which was guaranteed and enhanced by the settlement at Utrecht, would lead to great prosperity at all ranks, but also to a breakdown of the old class barriers as those in the middle began to move up. Artists, including Swift, Pope, Handel, and Hogarth, benefited from this expanding wealth; while this was also the age of England's Scientific Revolution and, thus, of Newton, Halley, Boyle, and Wren.

This is obviously a terrific story. But it is also one with direct relevance for 21st-century Americans. It was during this period that England became a world power and, in the process, established its American colonies—thus becoming our mother country. That is, the culture of Early-modern England is our root culture, and many of our institutions, laws, customs, and

traditions can be traced back to that time and place. In particular, the civil wars, revolutions, and parliamentary and legal battles described above led to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, rule of law, the rights to trial by jury and habeas corpus, the first modern political parties, and a kind of popular participation in politics that would lead, ultimately, to democracies on both sides of the Atlantic. At the same time, the English treatment of Ireland and involvement in the slave trade have had a darker significance in the history of those democracies. Thus, this story should be meaningful to all Americans. ■

England 1485–1714, the First Modern Country

Lecture 1

When the founding fathers of [the United States] engaged in revolution against England, they said they did so in order to defend the rights of Englishmen, specifically English ideals of self-government, religious toleration, and inalienable individual rights. Those notions were very rare in the world in 1776. They were born in England between 1485 and 1714.

This course will cover English history during the most crucial and interesting period in its history. Between the accession of the House of Tudor in 1485 and the end of the House of Stuart in 1714, England transformed itself from a feudal and relatively minor European state, not much more powerful than contemporary Denmark and much poorer than contemporary Belgium, into a constitutional monarchy, the wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth and what one recent book has called "the first modern society."

Most students of this course will already have a pretty clear notion of why English history, especially during this period, is worth studying. During the rule of the Tudors and Stuarts, England experienced a series of civil wars and revolutions, resulting in constitutional monarchy; experienced a series of reformations in religion that would lead, eventually, to religious toleration; and became a world power and established its American colonies—thus becoming our mother country.

The culture of early modern England is our root culture, and many of our institutions, laws, customs, and traditions can be traced back to that time and place. In particular, the establishment of constitutional monarchy and rule of law; the rights to trial by jury and habeas corpus, the first modern political parties, and a kind of popular participation in politics that would lead, ultimately, to democracies on both sides of the Atlantic. At the same time, the English treatment of Ireland and involvement in the slave trade had a darker significance in the history of those democracies. Thus, this history

should be meaningful to all Americans and to many others throughout the world.

This course will cover the whole of English history from the beginning of the Tudor dynasty in 1485 to the end of the Stuarts in 1714. More specifically, this course is about England and Wales. However, because English history cannot be understood in isolation from that of the other inhabitants of the British Isles or the Continent, the histories of Ireland and Scotland, as well as France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, will enter our story at regular intervals. The backbone of this course will be a narrative of high politics. But the history of England is not simply the history of the English monarchy or its relations with Parliament. It is also the story of every man, woman, or child who lived, loved, fought, and died in England between 1485 and 1714. Therefore, our course will begin, end, and take a break in the middle to examine the changing day-to-day lives of the English people, incorporating the fruits of recent work in social, economic, and cultural history. To help students place this period in a longer chronological context, the course will provide two background lectures on politics for the period before 1485 (covering the Wars of the Roses) and after 1714 (the Hanoverian stability under Sir Robert Walpole).

English history cannot be understood in isolation from that of the other inhabitants of the British Isles or the Continent.

The course consists of 48 lectures, divided as follows: The course begins with three lectures providing a physical description of England and its relationship to the other countries of the British Isles. It will explain how the development of England differs—ethnically, socially, politically—from that of the Celtic lands, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. These lectures also describe English geography and topography (physical, economic, and social); late-medieval idealizations of society (such as the Great Chain of Being and other ideas); and social, economic, religious, and political structures.

Lectures 5–20 cover the background and rule of the Tudors. This segment begins with two introductory lectures explaining England's history for the century or so preceding the Tudors, culminating in the Wars of the Roses

(1455–1485). This will be followed by the establishment of the Tudor state (1485–1509) under Henry VII and the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547). The latter will include his wars, the divorce and first English Reformation, and the Tudor Revolution in government. The reigns of Henry's three children (1547–1603), including Edward VI's acceleration of the Protestant Reformation; Mary I's attempt to reverse the Reformation through persecution; Elizabeth I's religious settlement, creating the Anglican Church; the Puritan and Catholic critics of that settlement; England's relationship to Scotland and its ruler, Mary, Queen of Scots; the international tensions that led to war with Spain; Elizabeth's marital diplomacy; her relationship with Parliament; and the propaganda campaign that created the image of "Gloriana." This section of the course will climax with the attempted invasion of the Spanish Armada (1588), the O'Neill rebellion in Ireland (1595–1603), and the peaceful accession of the Stuarts in 1603.

With Elizabeth's death and the end of Tudor rule in 1603, we take a "break" (from Lectures 20–27) to examine the social and cultural history of Elizabethan and Jacobean England. We will learn about demographic and economic changes; "private life" for both the elite (in their country houses) and the common people (in their villages); institutions and beliefs that held society together, such as religion, paternalism and deference, and kinship and neighborliness, along with developments and conditions that threatened to break it apart, such as poverty and crime; early modern towns and trade; London; and Elizabethan and Jacobean culture.

Lectures 28–44 return to the political narrative with the reigns of the Stuarts. These begin with the reigns of James I and Charles I (1603–1649) and the tensions that led to the British Civil Wars. In addition, we will address the trial and execution of King Charles I in 1649; the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (1649–1660), and the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy in 1660. The course will then treat the reign of Charles II (1660–1685), focusing on the social and cultural life of his court; the challenge of militant Catholicism there and, in the person of Louis XIV, in Europe; the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis; and the rise of the Whigs and the Tories. We will then address the abortive reign of James II (1685–1688) and the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689. This resulted in the reigns of William III and

Mary II (1689–1702), the establishment of constitutional monarchy, limited religious toleration, and a series of wars against France.

The political narrative will continue by examining the Nine Years' War (1688–1697), party conflict at the turn of the 18th century (1697–1702), the accession and personality of Queen Anne (1702–1714), and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713). The ensuing Treaty of Utrecht would make England the wealthiest and most powerful nation in Europe and, quite possibly, the world. This part of the course will conclude with the death of Queen Anne and accession of the founding Hanoverian, George I (1714–1727). The political narrative will conclude with a Lecture 45, explaining how the Hanoverian Succession, and the policies of George I and Sir Robert Walpole, solved many of the constitutional and political problems faced by the Tudors and Stuarts and initiated a long period of political stability.

Lectures 46 and 47 offer a portrait of the society and culture of England at the dawn of the 18th century. The final lecture will address the significance of England's experience under the Tudors and Stuarts for the history of both England and America.

This course will provide an understanding of the political, social, and cultural history of England. More specifically, listeners and viewers will gain a clearer understanding of the English constitution and rise of the constitutional monarchy; the English Reformation and growth of religious toleration; the rise of England to be the richest, most powerful nation on earth at the end of our period (put another way, why we in America speak English); the great personalities of English history and how they affected its developments; and how ordinary English men and women reacted to those personalities, were affected by those developments, and lived their lives. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, foreword.

Questions to Consider

1. Despite coming from nearly every place on earth, Americans seem to have an insatiable interest in English and British history. Why is this so? What does this story have to tell us in the 21st century?

2. Some today would dispute the notion that England provided our "root culture" or would argue that the influence of England on the world was often negative. What parts of our shared culture do not derive from English roots? To what extent do the negative aspects of the English experience outweigh the positive achievements described above?

The Land and Its People in 1485—I

Lecture 2

This royal throne of kings, this sceptered isle, / This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars, / This other Eden, demi-paradise: / This fortress built by Nature for herself / Against infection and the hand of war; / This happy breed of men, this little world, / This precious stone set in the silver sea, / Which serves it in the office of a wall, / Or as a moat defensive to a house, / Against the envy of less happier lands: / This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

—William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, 2.1.

John of Gaunt's dying speech from the second act of *Richard II* is justly famous, for it expresses some of the most fundamental and cherished myths held by the English about England: first, that the water separating England from Europe, the English Channel, has acted as a barrier, protecting England from "infection and the hand of war" and "the envy of less happier lands." This is sometimes true: Invasions were foiled in 1588 (the Spanish Armada), 1805 (Napoleon), and 1940 (Hitler). But it is mostly false: Invasions succeeded in 800–100 B.C.E. (the Celts), 55 B.C.E. and 41 C.E. (the Romans), 400–700 (Angles, Saxons), 790–950 (the Danes), 1066 (the Normans), and 1688 (the Dutch).

Which brings us to the second myth: that, separated as they are from Europe, the English are unique, eccentric, and (this is usually implied) superior to their Continental cousins. In fact, the English are a mixture of many different groups, including Celtic, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Danish (Viking), Norman French, Huguenot, Dutch, Jewish, and more recently, West Indian, Pakistani, and Indian. The English have *always* been open to cultural influence. Living on an island, they are natural seafarers, highly dependent on trade. Their culture has, therefore, been heavily influenced by that of Europe.

There is a third myth associated with the passage that opened this lecture: that somehow England *is* the island. It is, in fact, only the southeastern portion of an archipelago called the British Isles. The English share their archipelago with three other peoples: the Scots, the Irish, and the Welsh. But the English

state and society developed differently from the Celtic lands. England is closer to Europe; thus, it is subject to greater European influence and a greater intermixture of peoples. England is flatter, gentler, and more fertile than the rest of the British Isles. This meant that it was easier to conquer by foreign invaders, had greater population density, and was wealthier. England was united under a strong monarchy. By the 9th century, the Anglo-Saxon kings of the House of Wessex had united England and established strong institutions of government, including a central treasury; a central secretariat, or chancery; strong local government that divided the country into shires, each headed by a shire reeve, or sheriff; and a strong militia, the *fyrd*. By contrast, the Celtic lands were more remote from Europe; rockier, hillier, and more rugged; less fertile; less densely populated; less wealthy; and organized by tribe and clan. They were later or never united under a strong central monarchy. As a result, it was easy for English kings to push them around, invade, or conquer them.

Wales was conquered by Edward I in 1284. Northern Wales was now to be governed by the Prince of Wales (that is, the king's eldest son); Southern and eastern Wales were to be governed by great aristocrats called Marcher Lords. The Welsh retained their language and law. Scotland remained independent until 1707. Before 1707, Scotland was led by a weak monarchy, sometimes under English domination, sometimes closely allied with the French (the "Auld Alliance"). It was frequently at war with England along the border. The two crowns were united in one wearer with the accession of James I in 1603 and became one by the Act of Union in 1707.

Ireland was subject to English invasion and settlement throughout the Middle Ages. The Old English settlers often clashed with the native Gaelic population. Neither felt much loyalty to the English Crown. Our time span saw periodic resistance to English rule, often erupting into rebellions; retribution and attempts to tighten control by the English Crown through the establishment of a garrison; the deprivation and relocation of Gaelic landowners; and the plantation of English and Scots Protestant settlers in their place. This led to more resentment, rebellions, retribution, and a bloody cycle of violence, repression, and hatred. By the end of our period, Protestant landowners had enacted a series of penal laws against Catholics that stripped them of political, economic, and religious rights. Thus, the history

of England's relationship with the Celtic lands is fraught with violence, bitterness, oppression, and distrust.

Scotland and Wales remain part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland but have been granted their own legislatures. After the Irish Rebellion of 1916, the 26 counties of southern and western Ireland achieved semi-independent dominion status in 1921 and full independence as the Republic of Ireland in 1937. The six counties to the northeast (Ulster) remain in the Union. The debate between Protestants and Catholics over the political future of Northern Ireland is a source of bitter contention and periodic violence to this day.

England's internal geography has had a profound effect on its human history.

England's internal geography has had a profound effect on its human history. The Home Counties and Southeast were and are the most populous and wealthiest part of the nation, as well as its political, economic, and cultural center. The Midlands, North, West Country, and East Anglia were all remote from the capital and from Europe, less populous and wealthy, and more prone to rebellion. Thus, their relationship to the southeast is not unlike that of the Celtic lands to England writ small.

Geographical and topographical differences produced economic, social, cultural, and political differences between the remote outer parts of England and the wealthy, populous, and powerful south. The resulting tensions will be important in our story.

English topography has likewise profoundly affected English history. Admittedly, mountains were not very important to that history. No mountains in England are very high. There is but one major range, the Pennines, running up the spine of the North Country. Rivers were much more important. The Thames, flowing west to east, provided the major entry point to the interior for the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon settlers and a major highway for the trade that made London possible. Other rivers (the Severn and Avon to the west; the Medway, Great Ouse, Humber, Tees, Trent, and Tyne to the north) were crucial trade highways into the 19th century.

The Thames River, a major entry point for settlers and an important trade route, made London possible.

Forests were much important as sources of raw materials and much more widespread from 1485 to 1714 than they are today. Technically, they were royal property, for hunting. In fact, they were home to small groups of people who were dependent on a forest economy based on sheep farming, lumber, mining, tinkering, and poaching the king's game.

The English climate is often accused of being dreary and rainy. In fact, its mildness—never very hot nor very cold—is terrific for certain kinds of agriculture. Thanks to the moderating influence of the Gulf Stream, the English climate is especially good for growing of heavy grains—important for feeding England's people.

Obviously, geography is, to a great extent, destiny. It goes far to explain how each of these countries and regions developed politically, socially, and culturally. Some have gone farther to argue that the climate of the British Isles has produced a certain kind of personality: quiet, studious, not given to extremes of emotion. The following lectures will offer plenty of evidence against this stereotype. Having come to know their land, it is now time to meet the people of early modern England. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, introduction, secs. 1–3.

Morrill, *Tudor and Stuart Britain*, chaps. 1, 3, 4.

Questions to Consider

1. Given the general inaccuracy of the "island mentality" myth, why did the English embrace it?

2. This lecture has emphasized the different histories and cultures of the English, Irish, Scots, and Welsh. What do they have in common besides their geographical location? Why have they been unable to see past their differences to what is common in their heritage and interests?

The Land and Its People in 1485—II

Lecture 3

Serfdom is a system by which workers were unable to leave the land. In exchange for a set amount of labor on their lord's demean, as well as fees and military service, they received a house, strips of land to farm, and protection from the landlord. This system collapsed by 1400 as the remaining workers demanded wages for their labor and the freedom to leave—to look for higher wages.

The population of England and Wales was only about 2.2 million in 1485. This number had shrunk from possibly 6 million in the 1340s as a result of the Black Death (1348–1349) and recurring plague epidemics. The English people were also subject to additional epidemic diseases (smallpox, cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, sweating sickness, and whooping cough); bad harvests—perhaps one harvest in four was poor; one in six, so poor as to produce famine; accidents (fire, drowning); and violence (war, assault). Average life expectancy in England in 1485 was about 35 years. Old people were relatively rare. Infant mortality was high, perhaps 20 percent in the first year.

The resultant decline in population produced a labor shortage. This was good news for labor. Fewer workers meant the end of serfdom, higher wages, lower food prices, and lower rents. This was bad news for landowners and employers who paid those higher wages and depended on the yield from those lower food prices and rents. Still, the gulf between the haves and the have nots was wide.

Less than 10 percent of England's population lived in urban areas. They may be divided as follows:

- London was by far the largest city with, perhaps, 50,000 people. It was the center of trade, the main *entrepôt* for goods from Europe, and a crossroads east-west and north-south for England. It was the center of government: Westminster was home to the Palace

of Westminster, the principal royal residence, the Houses of Parliament, and the law courts.

- Provincial cities with populations of around 10,000 included Bristol, a western seaport; Norwich, a cloth town in East Anglia; and York, the most important city in the north.

- Cathedral, market, and county towns of several hundreds, which swelled in size during markets and fairs, included, for example Salisbury, Hampshire; Dorchester, Dorset; and Rye, Sussex.

All were highly dependent on the wool trade, England's one major industry. This would make them vulnerable when that trade stagnated in the 16th century. In any case, most people did not live in towns. They lived in the countryside on manors and in villages.

A manor was the estate of a great landlord. The lord's manor house was set apart from the village, often on a hill. The church was at the heart of the village, socially and culturally, if not actually physically. It was the only stone building in the village. It was the religious center of the village, where Sunday services were held, holidays (Holy Days) celebrated, and all the important rites of passage solemnized: birth (baptism), marriage (matrimony), and death (funeral). It had no competition: All were required to attend church, and Roman Catholicism was the only legal religion in England. It was the major source of news in the village. It was, therefore, the social center of the village, its churchyard the site of holiday feasting and church ales, Sunday and holiday sports, wedding receptions and wakes.

The houses where villagers lived were small and made of mud, straw, and similar materials (and easily destroyed). They had one or two rooms (shared with animals in winter) and a hearth in the center. Possessions might include a few pots and pans, a table and some stools, candles, and a few articles of clothing. People slept on rushes or mattresses stuffed with straw. The fields they rented from the landlord and worked were arranged in long strips for ease of plowing. People worked from sunup to sundown, which implied longer hours in summer.

In town, merchants acted as middle men, and craftsmen made and sold things. Residents of port cities worked in trades and crafts associated with the sea, while inn- and tavern-keepers provided necessary services. In the country, men went out to the fields, joined by women and children at peak times (planting, harvest). At other times, the women and children tended animals and spun or wove wool. These supplemental sources of income might be the difference between survival (economic, even physical) and poverty or death. When the harvest was good, the diet of the average peasant was fairly healthy, consisting of bread, pea soup, cheese, occasional meat, and ale.

Supplemental sources of income might be the difference between survival (economic, even physical) and poverty or death.

Less than 10 percent of the population owned land. About half of it was owned by the top one-half of 1 percent of the population, the nobility and gentry. Yet, they had tremendous power over their tenants. The landlord could demand rents, military service, and deference (see Lecture 4). In return, the landlord was obligated to provide legal, military, and economic protection, as well as paternal care and hospitality, for example, Christmas feasts.

Did landowners protect their tenants? Did tenants respect their landowners? How did people resign themselves to such inequality? These are questions for the next lecture. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, introduction, sec. 4.

Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism*, chap. 1.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 2.

Morrill, *Tudor and Stuart Britain*, chap. 1.

Questions to Consider

1. Why was the medieval Church so important in the lives of villagers in 1485? Do you suppose that it was equally important in the lives of townspeople?

2. Imagine a world in which the average person lived to just 35 years. How would this affect your philosophy of life, attitude toward religion, and relationships to friends and family members?

The Land and Its People in 1485—III

Lecture 4

The physical world, spatial relationships, and material culture are a very important part of history. … The land shapes the people and the people shape the land, but these things are less than half of the story. Sometimes they're downright misleading if you fail to understand how the people of a specific time and place constructed their world mentally—made sense of it in their heads. In short, you don't understand them if you don't understand their worldview.

When late-medieval and early-modern men and women thought about the universe, they thought of the Ptolemaic universe, with the earth at the center. When they thought about the inhabitants of that universe, they thought of a hierarchy, known as the Great Chain of Being, which was arranged as follows:

- God (who dwelt everywhere);
- Angels (who traversed the heavens, between God and man);
- Man (who dwelt on the earth);
- Animals (earth);
- Plants (earth); and
- Stones (earth).

There are five crucial points to make about the chain that will resonate throughout this course: Those at the top of the chain are closest to God. Humankind is halfway down, between angels and beasts. Apart from God, each of the ranks in the chain could be further divided. Angels were divided into nine ranks: seraphim, cherubim, and so on. Similarly, the animal hierarchy was headed by the lion, king of the beasts; plants, by the mighty oak; and stones, by the regal diamond.

The king was at the top of the human chain (see the rest of this course). He owned about five percent of the land in England. The nobility came second; they consisted in 1485 of about 50 to 60 families with inheritable titles. The head of the family sat in the House of Lords. This rank owned about 5–10 percent of the land. The gentry came next. They consisted of about 3,000 knights, esquires, and plain gentlemen in 1485. The most prominent sat in the House of Commons. Altogether, they owned about 10–15 percent of the land. The yeomanry were substantial farmers. Husbandmen were small farmers, probably renters from a bigger landowner. Cottagers rented a cottage with no farm attached. Laborers had no home of their own. They lived and worked on someone else's farm. The poor had no permanent residence or visible means of support.

These ranks could be further subdivided. Thus, nobles were divided into dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons; then further divided by the order in which one's title was created. Finally, every human rank might be divided into families, with the genders ranked, as follows: father, mother, male children (in birth order), and female children (in birth order). In theory, every single creature and object in God's universe could be placed, precisely, in this hierarchy. The head of each part of the chain was analogous to the head of the whole chain—God himself: the king in the country; the father in the family; and the lion among beasts. All represented God, were placed at the top of their respective chains by God, wielded God's power, and were to be obeyed as God himself.

The chain was a chain, not a ladder, and was considered to be God's plan. Because everyone was placed in the chain by God, it was a grave sin to attack the chain, disobey your superiors, or try to rise to another rank. In short, this was a society that valued order, not opportunity; conformity, not originality; community, not individuality.

When we consider that the top three ranks of the human chain represented only about one-half of one percent of the population, yet owned perhaps 20 to 30 percent of the land in England and nearly 100 percent of the power, we might well ask why the other 99.5 percent of the people put up with this situation? First, because they were educated to put up with it. The Great Chain of Being was taught from the pulpit every Sunday. Remember that

everyone was required to attend the parish church. There were no competing religions. The local landlord appointed the pastor (the right of *advowson*). Contemporaries were taught to believe that the inequalities of the chain were mitigated by the related concepts of paternalism and deference.

Paternalism was the belief that the elite had a responsibility to look after the lower orders by providing military and legal protection, jobs and economic assistance in hard times, and hospitality at holidays. In return, their tenants, the common people, were supposed to provide deference, that is, obedience and respect. They did this by attending church on Sunday, paying their taxes and tithes, obeying their landlords, bowing, curtseying, tipping their caps, "giving the wall," dressing modestly according to their rank, and so on.

As our course opens in 1485, the ideal of the Great Chain of Being fit less and less well with the realities of English life.

Did this ideal work in practice? The chain represented order and stability, but life changes constantly. As our course opens in 1485, the ideal of the Great Chain of Being fit less and less well with the realities of English life. First, the composition of the various ranks did change: Some noble families were upstarts. Others died out or were deprived of their titles on charges of treason and acts of attainder (see Lectures 5–7). The definition of a "gentleman" was increasingly imprecise. Was it based on a coat of arms? (Not every gentle family bothered.) Birth? (Pedigrees could be faked. What of old families who lost their wealth? What of rising men who purchased land recently?) Wealth? (Did this make merchants and lawyers gentle?) Land? (But some gentlemen opted not to buy land.) Education and learning? (Gentlemen increasingly had them, but many gentlemen had little.) Increasingly, a gentleman was anyone who could get away with calling himself a gentleman.

Below these ranks, yeomen, husbandmen, and others rose and fell with fluctuations in the economy, fluctuations in the weather (bad harvests), and fluctuations in the seasons (laborers thrown out of agricultural work annually). Some people fell out of the chain entirely. That is, they didn't live

on the land under the paternal care of a landlord but formed chains of their own that did not seem to fit into the main social hierarchy.

Cities had their own social chains that competed with the main chain. The city chain consisted of the mayor; aldermen or town council; citizens or freemen (that is, members of the guild); journeymen, apprentices, and so on; and everybody else. Cities were places of relative anonymity: It was harder to tell who was who, who belonged to whom in a city. It was possible to escape your rank in the main chain by going to the city. Cities were places where people could grow rich or poor quickly and, thus, rise or fall in status. This economic and social fluidity made nonsense of the chain. Finally, the city raised problems of definition: Where did a rich merchant fit among nobles, gentry, and others?

The Church had its own chain consisting of the pope, archbishops, bishops, priests, sisters, and the laity. Regarded by all good Catholics as the Vicar of Christ, how did the pope's power stack up against the king's? What if these two leaders did not agree? During the Middle Ages, popes and kings of England had clashed over such matters as the appointment of bishops, the jurisdiction of Church and royal courts, and taxation. During the Middle Ages, a growing chorus had criticized both the doctrine and practice of the Church. Such groups as the Lollards attacked the clergy for being too worldly, too concerned with power, and too remote from the faithful. The Church regarded such groups as heretical. It enforced discipline, with the cooperation of the king, by burning heretics at the stake. But there remained a small minority of Christians who wanted a more democratic, less hierarchical Church. What would happen if the king ever agreed with them?

The Great Chain had endowed the nobility with great power over its land, its wealth, and its tenants. For a century before this course begins, the nobility of England had used that power to fight one another and, often, the king. That is, as this course begins, England had just experienced a century-long nightmare for the Great Chain of Being: a series of rebellions, usurpations, and civil wars, culminating in the Wars of the Roses. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, introduction, sec. 5.

Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture.*

Questions to Consider

1. Why do you suppose most people put up with the inequalities of the Great Chain of Being? Why were they more afraid of disorder than stagnation? Why did they choose the *status quo* over opportunity?

2. Imagine migrating from the placid life of the village to the hustle and bustle of town. What might contemporaries have found attractive about town life? What might have alarmed them?

Medieval Prelude—1377–1455

Lecture 5

In fact, as we shall see, Henry VII and his family would rule England for a century and a quarter. Henry himself would die in his bed, safe in the knowledge that his son, also named Henry, would succeed to a united, loyal, and generally peaceful realm. … In the meantime, we have to examine the century of violence and disorder that produced Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, in order to understand the challenges he faced, the magnitude of his achievement.

To understand the challenges faced by the first Tudor, Henry VII, one has to understand the troubled experience of the English people during the century before his victory over Richard III at Bosworth Field in 1485. The seeds for England's troubles in the 15th century, culminating in the Wars of the Roses, were sown during the reign of Edward III. Edward III (1326–1377) was popular and successful because he fit the medieval model of a warrior-king. However, he left three problems for his successors.

- He became popular with the barons by conceding them increased power, at the expense of that of the Crown. This would make it easier for the barons to rebel against a future weaker king.

- He initiated a long-term conflict with France, the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453). In the short run, this increased Edward's popularity with the nobles (who added to their lands and plunder) and added to English territory in France. But in the long run, it would drain the royal treasury, wreck trade, and embitter the French.

- Edward had five surviving sons. This would confuse the succession.

Because he outlived his eldest son, Edward, the Black Prince, he was succeeded in 1377 by his grandson, Richard II (1377–1399). Richard was not popular and successful, in part because he was a pacifist and an aesthete who preferred artistic pursuits to leading his barons in battle. He was also an absolutist who wanted to reduce the power of Parliament and the barons

(many of whom were relatives). He alienated individual barons who crossed him by confiscating their land, stripping them of their titles, executing some, and banishing others. Eventually, he offended most of the ruling elite of the nation.

In 1399, the exiled Henry Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, a grandson of Edward III (and Richard's cousin), returned and raised a rebellion that toppled Richard II. Henry's lands had been confiscated by Richard. This made him an object of baronial sympathy. Important northern barons, especially the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, and the Nevills, Earls of Westmorland, joined Henry's cause. As Richard's support melted away, Henry seized the throne, became Henry IV, and so founded the House of Lancaster.

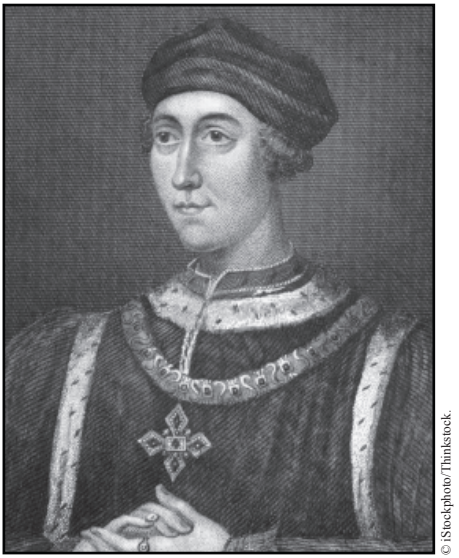
The Lancastrians would always have to prove that they were the "real" line and would have trouble calling on the Great Chain to justify themselves.

The House of Lancaster (1399–1461) faced a problem of legitimacy throughout its reign. It had come to power by attacking and deposing the rightful King, Richard II, in direct violation of the Great Chain of Being. The repercussions of this act would reverberate for more than a century. The Lancastrians would always have to prove that they were the "real" line and would have trouble calling on the Great Chain to justify themselves.

Henry IV (1399–1413) was an intelligent and courageous leader, but he was hampered by his dubious ascent to the throne. This led to baronial resentment, that is, the feeling that Henry "owed" his noble supporters; baronial rebellions, especially in 1400–1408, when the regime was attacked by Owen Glendower in Wales and the Percies and Mortimers in the north; and Parliamentary criticism of his court and his failure to renew the war with France.

Henry V (1413–1422) sought to solve the problem of legitimacy by distracting the nobility with a renewal of the Hundred Years' War against France. This succeeded for a while, resulting in the conquest of most of France following the battle of Agincourt in 1415, which in turn led to Henry's marriage to a

French princess and claim of the French throne by the Treaty of Troyes in 1420. Unfortunately, Henry died while campaigning to stamp out French resistance in 1422. The problem of defending his new Anglo-French empire was inherited by his infant son of nine months, Henry VI.



Pious and gentle but mentally impaired, Henry VI was dominated by his family.

Henry VI (1422–1461) was dominated by his family as a boy-king and, later, as an adult. He was pious and gentle but mentally impaired and certainly incapable of providing strong leadership. The real power at court was to be found in the king's family and favorites (the Beauforts). They tended to line their own pockets at the taxpayer's expense. The lack of leadership, governmental corruption, and declining royal finances, combined with revived French nationalism, led to the loss of England's French lands (and, thus, the Hundred Years' War) by 1453.

Defeat in France, combined with these other problems, led to a decline in the popularity of the Lancastrian regime and the prestige of the monarchy. The barons felt increasing restlessness, in particular, those associated with Richard, Duke of York. Richard was the greatest noble landowner in England and another descendant of Edward III. Having been frozen out of power at court, he gradually rallied an opposition to Lancastrian mismanagement and, by 1455, to Lancastrian rule. In 1455, the affinities (private armies) of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, and Richard, Duke of York, fought a battle at St. Albans, Hertfordshire. The Wars of the Roses had begun. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 1, sec. 1.

Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism*, chaps. 2–3.

Questions to Consider

1. Who in this lecture can be accused of violating the Great Chain of Being (including its corollaries, paternalism and deference)? Why, given the presumed influence of the chain, did they do so? What were the ramifications of doing so?

2. What was the purpose of war in the late-medieval period? How did success or failure in war affect a leader's stature and the state's health?

Medieval Prelude—1455–85

Lecture 6

"And if you crown him, let me prophesy: / The blood of English shall manure the ground, / And future ages groan for this foul act;"
—William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, 4.1.

The Wars of the Roses were a series of skirmishes between supporters of the Lancastrian king, Henry VI, and the would-be Yorkist king, Richard, Duke of York. No flowers were involved. (The roses are derived from Shakespeare's Henry VI; the term *Wars of the Roses*, from Sir Walter Scott). The wars were made possible by the immense power of the nobility, many of whom had large private armies, or *affinities*, with which to fight one another or the Crown. The wars were fought in several phases: The year 1455 saw a Yorkist victory at St. Albans, Hertfordshire, after which Richard was named Lord Protector of the realm. This led to an uneasy truce at court and in the country. The period 1459–1461 saw a series of pitched battles all across England, some won by the Lancastrians and some, by the Yorkists.

During this latter period, rhe Lancastrian government punished numerous Yorkist peers by parliamentary acts of attainder, forcing them to forfeit their lives, titles, and lands. This embittered many heretofore neutral barons against the Lancastrian regime. Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick (soon to be nicknamed "Kingmaker") returned from European exile with fresh troops for the Yorkist cause. Richard, Duke of York, was killed at the battle of Wakefield (December 1460). His eldest son, Edward, Duke of York, claimed the Crown. In March 1461, the City of London closed its gates to a Lancastrian army under Queen Margaret and proclaimed the Duke of York King Edward IV. In the spring of 1461, Edward's armies won a crushing victory at Towton Moor, Yorkshire, and mopped up resistance. The Yorkists appeared to have won the Wars of the Roses and established the House of York on the English throne.

The House of York faced the same questions about legitimacy that had undermined its predecessor. Fortunately, their first king was a good

advertisement for the line. Edward IV (1461–1483) was intelligent, warlike, and competent and looked the part of a king—all in contrast to the former Henry VI, now imprisoned in the Tower of London. He liked magnificent clothing and elaborate public rituals, which restored some of the dignity of the monarchy. He pursued a Pacific foreign policy designed to save money, foster trade, and eliminate foreign support for the Lancastrians. This helps to explain why, in 1470–1471, he succeeded in defeating a major Lancastrian rebellion assisted by Warwick and his disaffected brother, the Duke of Clarence. This led to the public execution of Warwick and the quiet elimination of Clarence and the deposed Henry VI.

Unlike the former Henry VI, Edward IV was competent and intelligent.

Now more firmly established, Edward IV pursued reform of central and local government by better conserving the royal lands, leading to increased revenue. He promoted trade, which increased customs yields. He filled offices with merchants and professionals, who had professional expertise but could not challenge his authority, as a great noble could. He created new, more efficient institutions, such as the Court of Star Chamber and the Council of the Marches for Wales. Unfortunately, Edward was also something of a libertine. He died young and unexpectedly, in April 1483. This brought to the throne his 12-year-old son, Edward V (1483).

Yorkists worried that the boy-king would be unable to maintain his authority and stifle Lancastrian resistance. This may explain the behavior of his remaining paternal uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, during the spring of 1483. Richard seized Edward from the custody of a maternal uncle, Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, whom he had executed. He then had Edward and his

younger brother, Richard, Duke of York, declared illegitimate, paving the way for his own accession to the throne as King Richard III. He housed the inconvenient nephews, Edward and Richard, in the Tower of London, where they were probably murdered on his order. (Other possibilities, for example, death by natural causes, tantalize but remain purely conjectural.)

Richard III['s] … poor popular reputation derives largely from Tudor propagandists, such as Sir Thomas More and Shakespeare.

Richard III (1483–1485) was, like his brother, an intelligent and competent king. His poor popular reputation derives largely from Tudor propagandists, such as Sir Thomas More and Shakespeare. But his regime was overwhelmed within two years by the same questions of legitimacy that had discredited the Lancastrians. He continued his brother's administrative and financial reforms, but he faced repeated rebellions, from Lancastrians and even his own former supporters. In 1483, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, yet another descendant of Edward III, launched a failed rebellion. He paid for his failure with his head. In the summer of 1485, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, returned from European exile bearing Lancastrian blood (and thus that of Edward III) on his mother's side. He landed in Wales, from which he launched another rebellion. The Earl of Richmond defeated Richard III on 22 August 1485 at Bosworth Field, Leicestershire, claiming the Crown and establishing the House of Tudor. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 1, sec. 1.

Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism*, chap. 4.

Pollard, *Wars of the Roses*.

Questions to Consider

1. What qualities make a successful king? What qualities make a failure? How important was legitimacy and the right blood line to this equation?

2. A number of professional and amateur historians have attempted to rehabilitate Richard III, seeking to prove (1) that he did not murder the princes in the Tower and (2) that he was a good king. Why should Richard have achieved such a following more than five centuries after his death? What does the "Ricardian Revival" say about our own times?

Establishing the Tudor Dynasty—1485–97

Lecture 7

Monarchs with stronger claims and better prospects had all ended up dead. Moreover, at Henry VII's succession in 1485, there remained in play numerous descendants of Edward III and York as claimants to the Crown, some with better claims than Henry. … These facts would dictate many of Henry's policy decisions throughout his reign.

At Henry VII's accession in 1485, there remained numerous descendants of Edward III and Yorkist claimants to the Crown, some with better claims than Henry. That fact would dictate many of his policy decisions throughout the reign, and it would require a particular kind of personality. The new king was a study in contrasts. In particular, historians have long argued about whether he was more a harbinger of a modern, practical future or a creature of the medieval past. He was modern and Machiavellian before the words were coined. That is, he was shrewd and hardheaded, capable of sharp practice if it strengthened his position, but also content to let sleeping dogs lie; he was not given to revenge or vendetta unless they served a practical purpose. But Henry was also medieval. For example, he was a loyal son of the church who heard two to three masses a day, burned heretics, and built the Henry VII Chapel at Westminster Abbey.

Henry's love of ceremony might be interpreted as both modern and medieval. He was a master of propaganda who consciously blackened Richard III's reputation. Like Edward IV, he knew the value of elaborate rituals and the importance of a regal appearance. His seizure of the Crown demonstrates his more modern traits. He got himself crowned quickly, *then* called a Parliament to recognize him and his line. He had Parliament ruin, via acts of attainder, the most prominent Yorkist peers and officeholders. However, he continued to employ incumbent middling and minor Yorkist officials in order to keep the government running, secure their loyalty, and deprive Yorkist challengers of a rank and file.

Henry married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, thus uniting the Lancastrian and Yorkist claims in the subsequent Tudor line. But the marriage

took place months after his coronation so that no one would think his claim depended on her. In 1486, the couple had their first son, whom they named, symbolically, Arthur. In the spring of 1486, Henry progressed, with his army, through Yorkist strongholds in the north, to show them who was boss. These were wise initial steps, but they did not, by themselves, ensure peace. Yorkist rebellions were a constant worry.

Because most real Yorkist claimants were conveniently imprisoned or dead, these challenges came from imposters. Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker but claiming to be the imprisoned Yorkist Earl of Warwick, raised a rebellion in 1487. Though supported by the Irish, he was defeated easily at the battle of East Stoke. Perkin Warbeck, the son of a Flemish government official but claiming to be the deceased Richard, Duke of York, raised rebellions in 1495, and 1497. Though supported by the rulers of France, Scotland, and the Holy Roman Empire, these rebellions, too, were defeated. In Henry's mind, these uprisings demonstrated three things: that the Yorkist alternative was still a threat; rhat, nevertheless, his people were sick of rebellion, civil war, and "musical crowns"; and that his regime had to make friends abroad, if only to eliminate support there for further rebellions.

In Henry's mind, these uprisings demonstrated … that his regime had to make friends abroad, if only to eliminate support there for further rebellions.

Henry pursued a series of diplomatic threats, marriages, and alliances. He began by seeking a French alliance. Initially rebuffed, Henry got the French king's attention by threatening to support the rebellious nobles of Brittany. The result was the Treaty of Etaples (1492), which reestablished trade and resulted in a subsidy to Henry of £5,000 for 15 years. Henry then used trade embargoes to force the Holy Roman Emperor to withdraw support for Warbeck.

Henry next engineered the marriage of his daughter, Margaret, to the Stuart King James IV of Scotland in 1503. (This would be the source of the later Stuart claim to the throne of England.) Finally and most importantly, after protracted negotiation, Henry's son Arthur married Catherine of Aragon,

daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, in 1501. This was potentially Henry's greatest coup, because Spain was rapidly acquiring a worldwide empire. But Arthur died a few months later. This gave Ferdinand and Henry the excuse for protracted negotiations to try to gain the upper hand on each other. In the end, Catherine did not marry Henry's surviving son, Prince Henry, until 1509, after Henry VII was dead. Still, by the mid-1490s, Tudor England was surrounded by, if not friends, then relatives. Henry VII's shrewd foreign policy, combined with his cultivation of good relations with the church, ensured that at his death in 1509, England had no significant foreign enemies. In the next lecture, we examine what he did to eliminate challenges at home. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 1, sec. 2.

Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism*, chap. 4.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chaps. 1, 3.

Questions to Consider

1. Compare Henry VII's accession to the Crown with those of Henry IV and Edward IV. What did he do similarly and what, differently? Is it clear from these opening moves why the Tudors would last longer on the English throne than the Lancastrians or the Yorkists?

2. Why were contemporaries so ready to embrace imposters as heirs to the throne of England? Why were those imposters able to find support among the crowned heads of Europe?

Establishing the Tudor Dynasty—1497–1509

Lecture 8

The popular medieval image of a king is of someone who can make or break another human being—make or break a subject—with the snap of a finger or the flick of an eyelash or eyebrow. In fact, kings didn't have this kind of power during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. They didn't have these kinds of resources. They didn't have the communications across the country that would have enabled this to happen quickly. Still, … in the words of Sir Thomas Smith, he was, "the life, the head, and authority of all things that be done in the realm."

The first point to make about the government headed by Henry VII was that it was small (about 1,500 officials), poor, and limited in its responsibilities. There was no standing army; FBI; IRS; national postal service; Departments of Agriculture, Education, Housing and Urban Development; Medicare; student loans; or similar organizations and programs. The king was at the center of government. He had the power to declare war, raise the militia, summon Parliament, award titles and lands, and grant pardons. The king needed advice on all these matters, which was provided by a council made up of great nobles, department heads, and (after Edward IV) important merchants and professionals. Later under the Tudors, it would evolve into the Privy Council.

The Council deliberated policy at the king's request. It administered royal lands, taxation, and justice in the localities. It arbitrated disputes among powerful men. It acted as a legal tribunal when it met in Star Chamber. The Council was considered part of the royal household. The royal household was divided into two parts. The *household below stairs*, under the Lord Steward, took care of food, linen, and other domestic needs. The *chamber*, under the Lord Chamberlain, staffed the public rooms and managed ceremonial occasions.

Because it put on pageants and ceremonies and fed and housed hundreds of people, the household tended to be very expensive. It received its funds at the Exchequer. The Exchequer received and dispersed the king's money

at the direction of the Lord Treasurer. However, because its procedures had become fossilized, Yorkist and early Tudor kings often tended to pass their money through a household officer, the treasurer of the chamber.

The Chancery, under the Lord Chancellor, began as part of the royal household in the Middle Ages, but by the 15th century, it was a separate department. It kept the Great Seal, attached to important documents, such as grants of land and titles. It also served as a court of law for equity jurisdiction. Other documents were issued by the keeper of the Privy Seal or the king's secretary (later called the Secretary of State). Other law courts included the King's Bench, for civil and criminal cases involving the Crown; common pleas, for cases in common law; assize courts, on a circuit through the countryside, for capital felonies; quarter sessions in the countryside, for lesser felonies and misdemeanors; borough courts, for lesser disputes in towns; and manor courts, for lesser disputes in the country.

Laws were enacted and funds were voted by Parliament, which was summoned, prorogued (suspended temporarily), or dismissed (implying a new election) at the king's pleasure. Parliament consisted of two houses. The House of Lords consisted of all the male peers, bishops, and important abbots of the realm. The House of Commons consisted of selected landed gentlemen and a few merchants and professionals, representing the counties (two members per), important boroughs, and the universities (Oxford and Cambridge). They were elected by male property owners. Together, the two houses of Parliament voted new taxes, impeached corrupt ministers, and presented petitions, which after debate and successful vote, became bills. These, after three readings and successful vote, became acts, which, if approved by the monarch, became statutes. These statutes were enforced by the king's officers in the countryside. They included the following:

- The Lord Deputy of Ireland and Councils of the North and Wales, consisting of great magnates, maintained the king's authority on these frontiers. Later, the latter would evolve into lords lieutenants for Ireland and each shire.

- Administrators of Crown lands oversaw the royal estates.

- Customs officials collected duties on trade.

- Sheriffs collected taxes, impaneled juries, and raised the militia.

- Justices of the peace enforced the law, investigated crimes, acted as judges for non-capital crimes, regulated the local economy, and reported back to the council.

- Sheriffs and justices of the peace were unpaid. Late-medieval and early-modern kings, therefore, had to rely on their loyalty and good will to get their business done.

This administration had become corrupt, inefficient, and impoverished under the Lancastrian kings but was revived and reformed by the Yorkists. Henry VII continued and extended those reforms. Having secured his position abroad, Henry sought to make the Crown stronger at home by following three old medieval principles.

Having secured his position abroad, Henry sought to make the Crown stronger at home by following three old medieval principles.

- The king must be strong. Henry demonstrated this in a number of ways. He was victorious on the battlefield. He worked hard at the business of being king. He kept the nobility in check. He gave away few lands or titles. He relied on a wide array of advisors, not a few over-mighty subjects. He encouraged Parliament to pass a Statute against Liveries (1487; renewed 1504), which banned private noble armies. He used attainder or the threat of attainder to destroy uncooperative or dangerous noble families, especially Yorkists.

- The king must govern with consent. Henry was careful to secure parliamentary approval for controversial measures. He summoned a large council of 20 to 30 aristocrats, merchants, and professionals for advice. In the countryside, he relied on his justices of the peace (drawn from the gentry), not his nobles, to keep order. Like

Edward IV, Henry promoted court ceremonies, entertainments, and propaganda to maintain the popularity of the regime.

- The king must live of his own (that is, be financially self-sufficient). Unlike the Lancastrian kings, Henry VII was able to live off his "ordinary" revenue (Crown lands, Customs, and so on) without having to ask Parliament to raise "extraordinary" revenue through more taxes. Henry maximized his ordinary revenue in four areas:

King Henry VII left his successor—Henry VIII—a full treasury and an efficient government.

  - Crown lands: As king, Henry brought with him Tudor lands and inherited Lancastrian and Yorkist properties. He also revoked grants of land made by previous kings, confiscated the lands of troublesome aristocrats, and made few grants of his own. As a result, the yield from Crown lands nearly doubled.

  - Customs: by pursuing peace and trade agreements with other European nations, Henry promoted trade, which increased his yield from Customs.

  - Feudal dues: Henry aggressively pursued fines and fees owed to the Crown from its vassals as feudal rights.

  - Legal fees: Henry's more efficient bureaucracy made it possible to exploit fees and fines from legal cases more effectively.

As a result, Henry VII's annual revenue rose from about £91,000 to about £113,000 by the end of the reign. This meant that he had money to pursue his policies and rarely had to call Parliament for emergency taxation.

As a result of these policies, when Henry VII died in 1509, he left his successor a secure throne, a full treasury, an efficient government, and a mostly loyal nation, apart from the grumbling of a humbled nobility. Unfortunately, he left all this to Henry VIII. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 1, sec. 2.

Davies, *Peace, Print and Protestantism*, chap. 4.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chaps. 1, 3.

Questions to Consider

1. What did people expect early Tudor government to do? What did they not expect it to do? How do these lists differ from ours, today?

2. What aspects of Henry VII's program seem medieval and traditional? What aspects seem those of a modern politician?

Young King Hal—1509–27

Lecture 9

The new king's flash was perhaps just what the country needed after the rather dour, sober, and miserly reign of Henry VII. As we shall see, that flash went a long way but it could not forever obscure the darker side of Henry's nature. Underneath the flamboyant exterior, beat a heart that was every bit as cold and calculating, and a great deal more self-absorbed, than that of Henry VII.

The personality of Henry VIII was larger than life. As a result, he was very popular in his own day, but he is not easy for historians to pin down. The most important result of Henry's larger-than-life personality is that it tempts us to reduce what is arguably the single most important event in English history—the Reformation—to a consequence of the whims and passions of one man. But history is always more complicated than that.

In his early years, Henry VIII was almost universally admired. He was good-looking. He was proficient in riding, hunting, wrestling, and dancing. He was intelligent and learned: He spoke or read Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish. He corresponded with More and Erasmus. He wrote a treatise against Luther for which he was named *Difensor Fidei* (Defender of the Faith). He wrote music and played the lute, organ, and virginals. He was flamboyant. His court sponsored tournaments and pageants, festivals and revels, and progresses through the country.

Wth hindsight, historians and some shrewd contemporaries have noted a darker side to Henry's nature. He was cold and calculating. He was high strung and impulsive. He was lazy, greedy and supremely self-centered. He was disloyal to wives, friends, and advisors and incapable of taking responsibility for failure. These qualities go far to explain why Henry rejected, imprisoned, and condemned to death two queens, one bishop, numerous courtiers, and nearly every single principal advisor who ever served him.

For the first two decades of the reign, the good qualities came to the fore, apart from Henry's laziness. The king lived the life of a playboy with the gentlemen of his Privy Chamber. He left the running of the country to his principal advisor, Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey. Between 1513 and 1530, Cardinal Wolsey dominated Henry's government. Though highly intelligent and supremely competent, he has been called the most hated man ever to hold high office in England. Why?

Wolsey was an upstart, the son of a butcher who had risen to high rank. His power was resented by those better born than he. Wolsey was a corrupt churchman who lived like a lay prince. That is, Wolsey was a pluralist. At any given time, he was a cardinal, was Archbishop of York, held at least one other major bishopric and numerous smaller livings, and he was papal legate, the pope's personal representative. Wolsey was thus an absentee, given that he could not be resident in all of his livings at once.

Wolsey monopolized power in the church; these positions made him virtual head of the Church in England. Wolsey was a nepotist who found positions in the church for his children, fathered in violation of his vows of celibacy. Wolsey was fabulously wealthy owing to these various posts. At his height, he made £35,000 a year, equal to a third of the royal revenue. He built two magnificent palaces— Hampton Court, Surrey, and York Place (later Whitehall), Westminster—more luxurious than anything the king had. He endowed Cardinal College (later Christ Church), Oxford. He ate well and dressed sumptuously. Thus he was resented both by those who would reform the church and those who were kept out of the places he monopolized.

Wolsey was a corrupt government minister who monopolized civil power. He was Lord Chancellor, chief legal officer of the nation. His appointees and clients served as Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State, and so on. This meant that nothing happened in Henry's government without Wolsey's knowledge. Despite his other faults, Wolsey was a fair judge in the courts of Chancery and Star Chamber. In particular, he looked out for the rights of ordinary people against their landlords. But Wolsey was resented by other, less powerful ministers and by members of the aristocracy stung by his judgments.

Finally, Wolsey was chief favorite, which always breeds resentment. The only way to get to Henry was through Wolsey. Virtually the only way to secure a government job was through Wolsey. Disappointed office-seekers and would-be favorites blamed him for their failures.

Wolsey's biggest failing was that he sometimes forgot that all his power depended on the king. Specifically, Wolsey would retain power only so long as Henry remained lazy and Wolsey was able to satisfy his demands. For the first 20 years of Henry's reign, those demands centered on his conduct of war and foreign policy. Henry and Wolsey pursued an aggressive European foreign policy, each of them in support of the other's complementary agenda. Henry fought because he was young, male, and anxious to win glory on the battlefield; he had his father's Treasury surplus to play with; he wanted to do something to please the nobility after his father's strict rule; and he wanted to reestablish England's European empire. Wolsey supported Henry's fights because he wanted to please the king and he wanted to be the diplomatic arbiter of Europe with a view to, possibly, becoming pope.

Henry and Wolsey pursued an aggressive European foreign policy, each of them in support of the other's complementary agenda.

In fact, these goals were hopelessly unrealistic. Europe was dominated by two great rivals, both far wealthier and more powerful than Henry's England: France, ruled by the Valois, and the Holy Roman Empire (most of Central Europe and, after 1519, Spain and the Spanish Empire), ruled by the Habsburgs. They would mainly clash over control of Italy, which reduced England's strategic importance.

Henry's wars were fought in four stages. Between 1511 and 1514, Henry allied with the Holy Roman Empire against France and Scotland. He achieved some success: In 1513, the Scots were defeated at Flodden; in 1514, Henry captured Tournai, in France. But the war cost £650,000, exhausting Henry VII's treasury. Between 1515 and 1520, Henry's situation deteriorated. He was out of money. France was ruled by a new, young, aggressive king, Francis I. He rejected Henry's proposal for a diplomatic marriage with the latter's sister, Princess Mary. He also encouraged a rebellion in Scotland

against Henry's other sister, Queen Margaret. Wolsey's strenuous diplomatic efforts to bring peace to Europe failed. Between 1521 and 1525, Henry allied with the Holy Roman Empire's new, young, aggressive emperor, Charles V, once more against France. Henry landed in France, burnt a few villages, ran out of money, and went home. Charles won a tremendous victory over the French, capturing Francis I, at Pavia in 1525. Henry, hoping to capitalize on this, asked Wolsey to raise money for another campaign, but Parliament refused the Amicable Grant. Without the dowry the Amicable Grant would have provided, Charles refused to marry Henry's daughter, Princess Mary. Between 1525 and 1528, Henry and Wolsey switched to the French side. They were fed up with Charles V's disregard for English interests. They wanted to rescue Pope Clement VII from Charles, who had sacked Rome and taken him into custody in 1527. Henry wanted to free Clement because he wanted the Pontiff to grant him a divorce from Catherine of Aragon, Charles's aunt!

Henry's wars produced four results, none of them good for England. They drained the English Treasury. Henceforward, the King of England would be chronically short of money. They increased popular resentment of high taxes and their perceived author, Cardinal Wolsey. They discredited Wolsey with the king. Neither his diplomacy nor his parliamentary management had achieved the desired results. They demonstrated that England was, at this point, at best a second- or third-rate military power. All these lessons would affect the next great issue of the reign, what contemporaries called "The King's Great Matter." ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 1, secs. 3–5.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 4.

Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chaps. 1–6.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did the personality of Henry VIII so captivate contemporaries? Why does it continue to captivate us today?

2. As the "brains behind the operation," Cardinal Wolsey was far less popular than his master. Are favorites and principal advisors usually more or less popular than their employers? Why should this be so? What role does a favorite or principal advisor play in the state?

The King's Great Matter—1527–30

Lecture 10

Henry VIII's attempt to obtain from the Roman Catholic Church a divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon. That attempt would lead eventually not just to the end of Henry's marriage, but to the end of his kingdom's relationship with the Roman Catholic Church. … It could be argued further that almost everything of note that happens in this course from this point on has something to do with the Reformation.

About 1525, Henry VIII began to contemplate an end to his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Up to this point, the marriage had been happy, not least because Catherine overlooked Henry's unreliable fidelity. So why should the king have wanted to end his marriage now?

The first of Henry's concerns was the royal succession. Catherine's obstetrical history was not happy. In 1516, she gave birth to a daughter, Mary. Subsequent pregnancies ended in miscarriage or still birth. By 1525, Catherine was 40 years old and had not been pregnant for seven years. As a result, it would appear that Henry would be succeeded by a woman. The contemporary view of female rule was negative. It violated the Great Chain of Being. There were few successful precedents in medieval and early-modern Europe. The Wars of the Roses were still a vivid memory. Henry was obsessed with what would happen to England after his death. He feared that a female ruler would be unable to keep the barons in line, leaving the Tudors open to the dynastic chaos of future Wars of the Roses. Henry's elevation of his illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, to the title Duke of Richmond in 1525 indicates that he was exploring all options.

Henry's second concern was the state of his soul. An amateur theologian, Henry knew that there was a problem, based in scripture, with his marriage to Catherine, for she was his brother's widow. Leviticus 20:21 forbids a man to lie with his brother's wife. But Deuteronomy 20:5 encourages men to marry their brother's widows. Pope Julius II had granted Henry and Catherine a dispensation from the penalties associated with the first prohibition in 1504. But as God seemed to deny him a son, Henry began to have doubts about

the dispensation and his marriage. Thus, Anne Boleyn was not the cause of Henry's dissatisfaction with his marriage. But she was the catalyst.

Anne was the intelligent, witty 19-year-old daughter of a diplomat. Her vivacity contrasted sharply with the sober-sided respectability of Catherine. Henry had an affair with Anne's elder sister, Mary, but fell in love with the younger by 1526. This did not lead to immediate physical consummation. Henry could not take the risk of impregnating and, thus, "ruining," the future Queen of England. Anne did not want to be Henry's next concubine; she wanted legitimate status as his wife and queen. Thus, neither would have been served by a simple love affair. They needed a proper marriage.

In 1527, Henry ordered Cardinal Wolsey to begin proceedings to secure an annulment of his first marriage. (Technically, the church could not grant a divorce, but contemporaries generally used the "d" word, not the "a" word.) Wolsey, having failed to secure the Amicable Grant, badly needed a success. At first glance, his chances seemed good. Contrary to popular belief, the early-modern Roman Catholic Church would annul an inconvenient marriage if the parties were important enough. In 1514, for example, the pope broke the marriage contract between Henry's sister, Mary Tudor, and the future Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, so that she could marry France's Louis XII. In 1515, after Louis died, Mary wedded the twice betrothed Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, after the pope declared both of his previous unions invalid. In 1527, the current pope, Clement VII, granted the divorce of Henry's other sister, Margaret, Queen Dowager of Scotland, from Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, so that she could marry Henry Stewart, later Lord Methven.

In May of 1527, Wolsey, acting as papal representative, convened a secret court in London to investigate the royal marriage. The plan was to come to a quick judgment, then simply inform Catherine and the pope that the marriage was invalid. But at this point, three difficulties arose:

- Catherine, getting wind of these plans, notified the pope and the Holy Roman Emperor.

- Clement refused to overturn the previous pope's dispensation and, thus, undermine papal power in general.

- Charles V opposed the divorce because Catherine of Aragon was his aunt; worse for Henry, in the spring of 1527, Charles's armies sacked Rome and took the pope prisoner. Now, Clement had even less reason to grant the divorce.

Things looked up for Henry in the year 1528. The French were on the move against Charles V, which reduced the pressure on the pope. In that year, he granted Wolsey a commission to hold a trial. But he also named to that commission Lorenzo, Cardinal Compeggio, a wily master of Vatican politics. Compeggio had secret papal instructions to prevent the divorce at all costs. Compeggio managed to delay the opening until May 1529. This gave Catherine and her supporters time to prepare a case.

The queen appeared, unexpectedly, at the trial. Catherine made three points: First, she questioned the right of the court to examine her marriage. Given that the law was the king's law, how could it pass judgment on a royal person? Second, she explicitly denied having had sexual relations with her first husband, Arthur. Thus, their unconsummated marriage was invalid

Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn being observed by Queen Catherine.

in canon law. Third, she demanded the right to appeal her case directly to Rome. All three arguments caught Wolsey off guard.

In the end, it did not matter. In July 1529, Compeggio, arguing that a papal court should follow the same schedule as it would at the Vatican, suspended proceedings for the hot Italian summer—despite the fact that it was meeting in London! The court would never meet again. This outcome destroyed Wolsey's credit with the king. Henry charged Wolsey with *praemunire*, that is, acknowledging a foreign jurisdiction (the pope) in violation of his loyalty to Henry. He then stripped Wolsey of his civil offices and property. Wolsey slowly made his way to York, which he had long neglected. But he also began to engage in intrigue at court to regain his old position. This led to accusations, followed by a charge, of treason. Mercifully, Wolsey died at Leicester Abbey, while returning to stand trial, in November 1530.

These events proved four things: Henry had always been the real power in England. For all his titles and wealth, once Wolsey lost the king's confidence, he was doomed. The divorce started out as a private matter between husband and wife, but it inevitably became bound up with arcane theology, high politics, international diplomacy, even the weather in Italy. On the diplomatic front, Henry and England mattered far less in Europe than the emperor; therefore, the divorce would never come from Rome.

The divorce started out as a private matter between husband and wife, but it inevitably became bound up with arcane theology, high politics, international diplomacy, even the weather in Italy.

After Wolsey's fall, the English court and aristocracy divided into three factions. The Aragonese faction, secretly led by Sir Thomas More, supported and advised the queen. The Boleyn faction supported the divorce and Anne's ambition to be queen. They included clergymen who wanted reform and a former servant of Wolsey's named Thomas Cromwell. Finally, a middle faction, composed of conservative nobles, such as Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, inclined toward unreformed Catholicism and against the divorce. But their

habit was to do the king's bidding. Following the recall of the divorce case to Rome, these factions fought over both the king's ear and his soul.

During this period, Henry tried two strategies. He asked the great universities of Europe for their opinions on his theological predicament. Predictably, they offered no clear consensus. Far more significantly, he called a Parliament and invited it to inquire into the state of the church. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 2, sec. 1.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 5.

Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chaps. 6–8.

Questions to Consider

1. Why were Henry and his subjects so dead set against a female succession? How did contemporary theology and the Great Chain of Being affect their judgment? How important was the memory of the Wars of the Roses?

2. Why did the pope not grant the divorce? He and his predecessors had done so in earlier cases. What special circumstances made Henry's request so problematic?

The Break from Rome—1529–36

Lecture 11

It was almost certainly Cromwell who recognized the reality of the situation: The pope would never grant a divorce. The only way of securing a divorce was to replace the pope with the king as head of the church of England. Since the people didn't care for the divorce, they might not stand for that as an excuse to break with the pope, but they might go for it as a means to reform the church.

Gradually, out of the wreckage of Henry and Wolsey's initial attempt to secure a divorce from the church arose Thomas Cromwell's idea: make Henry its head in England. In 1529, Henry called a Parliament for the specific purpose of enquiring into the state of the church. He had no long-term goal yet. He hoped that by opening the church to criticism and threatening reform, he could get the pope to listen.

What was the state of the Roman Catholic Church in England in 1529? Historians have long argued about this. For many years, it was thought that the late-medieval church was lax, corrupt, and unpopular, as alleged by some literary sources (Chaucer, Langland) and later Protestant reformers. But more recent scholarship argues that the church was, by and large, popular and effective. Can we sort this out?

The Roman Catholic Church was the only legal religion of the English state. It was ever present in the lives of English men and women. It provided their explanation of life, death, success, and misfortune. Its holidays, sacraments, and ceremonies marked the stages of the year and the stages of their lives. Its pulpits provided the only regular source of news. Its schools and colleges provided the only source of education. Its monasteries, convents, and hospitals provided charity and health care. Its courts monitored adultery and fornication, blasphemy and swearing, drunkenness and gambling, and inheritance and debt. Its guilds monitored economic activity in towns. It owned nearly a quarter of the land in England, which made it the neighbor or employer of many. It was a heinous sin and a capital crime, punishable by burning at the stake, to publicly disagree with the teachings of the Church;

thus, we should not be surprised if historians have found that most English people were orthodox. It was dangerous to be otherwise.

This does not mean, however, that most people had a clear idea of what the doctrines of their faith actually were. They were passive observers of mass said in Latin behind a screen. The Bible was also kept in Latin and out of the hands of the laity. There was a shortage of priests to teach them, and most livings were very poor. As a result, many parishes were not served (absenteeism). Some priests took on multiple parishes, serving none adequately (pluralism). Standards of clerical education and morality varied. The small minority of priests who were excessive drinkers, living with women, or committing other sins clouded the reputations of all. The poverty of most good priests—and their parishioners—stood in uncomfortable contrast to the wealth and worldliness of men like Wolsey.

The late-medieval Church had critics. The Lollards (Dutch for "mumbler") were founded in the 14th century by John Wycliff. Dismayed by corruption in the church and its distance from ordinary people, Wycliff argued that church doctrine, ritual, and organization should be based solely in scripture. This attacked the power of the pope and church hierarchy as well as the sacramental role of the church. The Lollards translated and disseminated the Bible, but they were hampered by the lack of a printing press and royal persecution. In 1401, an act was passed for the burning of heretics. Lollards went underground and were just about extinct by 1529, but they did have an indirect influence on the Lutherans.

Martin Luther, a 16th-century German monk and theology professor, was deeply disturbed by the worldliness and corruption of the church and doubtful of its sacramental role. Like Wycliff, he emphasized scripture over church authority. He also argued that faith alone, not sacraments or good works, led to salvation. In 1517, Luther publicly attacked the church's granting of indulgences from punishment in purgatory. Luther developed a small following in English port cities and the universities, especially Cambridge.

Finally, Wolsey had monopolized so many offices in the church that his fall left a gaping vacuum at the top of its leadership, just as it was about to face its most skillful and ruthless antagonist: Thomas Cromwell. It is generally

thought that Thomas Cromwell came up with the idea that if the head of the Roman Catholic Church in England—the pope—would not grant the king his divorce, then the king would just have to assume that position himself.

Thomas Cromwell had traveled as a soldier and merchant on the Continent, where he picked up reformist ideas. He came to Henry's attention by distinguishing himself in the attack on church corruption in the Parliament of 1529. In March 1532, Cromwell encouraged Parliament to draw up a list of clerical abuses, "The Commons Supplication against the Ordinaries." After a stern warning from Henry, the Convocation, the legislative body of the church, agreed to "The Submission of the Clergy" (May 1532). This document gave Henry the right to summon the Convocation and approve or veto all its legislation, making him the effective head of the church in England.

"The Submission of the Clergy" … gave Henry the right to summon the Convocation and approve or veto all its legislation, making him the effective head of the church in England.

In December 1532, Anne Boleyn became pregnant. She and Henry were married in January 1533. (Remember, he already considered the marriage to Catherine invalid.) In the spring of 1533, Parliament passed the Act in Restraint of Appeals, forbidding English subjects from appealing to any foreign jurisdiction. Thus, the pope's power in England was a dead letter, and the divorce case could be heard only in England. In May 1533, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, heard the divorce case and pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catherine to be null and void. In June, Anne was crowned. In September, she gave birth to a girl, named Elizabeth. The king did not conceal his disappointment.

In 1534, Parliament passed new legislation diverting church taxes into royal coffers, delegitimizing Mary, establishing a new order of succession, and making it treason to deny that succession or the king's title or to call him heretic, infidel, tyrant, or usurper. In 1535–1536, Cromwell, as the king's Vicar-General in Ecclesiastical Affairs, ordered the imprisonment of clergy who preached against the Royal Supremacy, the destruction of shrines and

images, and the placement of English Bibles in all churches. In 1536, the Crown began to dissolve the monasteries.

How did Englishmen and women who grew up in the old church react to this religious revolution? Most people conformed, but here were exceptions. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher had no trouble with the new succession, but as good Catholics, they could not agree that the first marriage was invalid. Eventually, they were convicted of treason on perjured evidence and beheaded. Many clergy resisted, preaching against the changes. A series of rebellions, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, erupted across the North of England. Some of the rebels' demands were religious and some, economic. The rebels seem to have felt that if Henry would only listen to his people and dismiss the "evil" advisors of the Boleyn faction, he would go back to his wife and his religion. Because Henry did not have an army large enough to crush the rebels, he prevaricated, making some concessions until he could raise more forces. In the spring of 1537, he crushed the Pilgrimage of Grace, executing some 180 people. Henry's reaction to the Pilgrimage of Grace reminds us that Tudor rule was firm, ruthless, and unscrupulous. Henry was ultimately in control but willing to allow his advisors to take the blame for unpopular policies.

The country's reaction to the divorce and royal supremacy suggests that most people did not yet see the implications of these policies or felt more loyalty to bluff King Hal than they did to the old church. Finally, it should be noted that from this point on, religious policy, high politics, diplomacy, and the succession would also be bound up with the state of the English economy. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 2, secs. 2–4.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 5.

Haigh, *English Reformations*, pt. I.

Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chaps. 9–10.

Questions to Consider

1. If the Roman Catholic Church was so important in the lives of early-modern Englishmen and women, why did so many people go along with the break from Rome?

2. Why did the Pilgrims of Grace think that the king would listen to their demands?

A Tudor Revolution—1536–47?

Lecture 12

G. R. Elton … argued that the gentlemen and peasants who embarked upon the Pilgrimage of Grace were on to something when they connected religious with political and economic issues. While they were mistaken in letting Henry off the hook, they were more than half right in viewing Thomas Cromwell as the engineer of a new and very different world.

In 1953, G. R. Elton published *The Tudor Revolution in Government*. He argued that the break from Rome implied an expansion of the power of the monarchy and, therefore, the state, in many areas of English life. To achieve their ends, Henry and Cromwell had to reconfigure the power of Parliament, reorganize central and local government, and increase their responsibilities, in effect, creating the first modern nation-state, run by the first real government bureaucracy. Since 1953, historians have argued vigorously about these claims, and the broadest ones have largely been rejected. Still, something remarkable was going on in Henrician England.

The key to the Tudor Revolution lies in the prologue to the Act in Restraint of Appeals of 1533, which calls England "an empire … governed by one supreme head and king." In this context, *empire* means what the Romans called *imperium*, the power to give commands and have them obeyed. Thus, the act states that there was no higher power, jurisdiction. or loyalty—not papal, tribal, feudal, or local—than that of and to the sovereign. According to the Great Chain of Being, there had been many human chains of authority (the church, towns, the family) that competed with the principal human chain of king, nobles, gentry, and so on. Henry and Cromwell eliminated that competition by assuming control of the Church chain and subordinating all the others. Thus, they created something akin to the modern nation-state, with impermeable borders and clear lines of authority and loyalty.

But in order to do this, Henry and Cromwell had called on parliamentary statute. They probably wanted the appearance of consent for so bold a statement. This rendered England, in some sense, a constitutional monarchy. Parliament was the junior partner, but still a partner. Moreover, Parliament's

share in the partnership had increased to include religion and, as we shall see, social welfare. This meant that some future, weaker king than Henry might find his sovereignty challenged.

To make effective the king's *imperium*, Henry and Cromwell launched a series of government reforms. In making himself indispensable to the king, Cromwell raised the importance of his office, Royal Secretary, laying the foundation for the modern office of Secretary of State. Henry reduced the Council to 20, making it a true "Privy Council." After 1540, it had its own clerk and minute book. Cromwell reduced the power of the inefficient Exchequer, giving much of the revenue to a series of law courts, answerable to Cromwell.

Henry and Cromwell's toughest task was to try to impose their *imperium* on areas beyond the center. Most of the territory ruled by the Tudors was "borderland," far from London geographically and culturally, such as the North, Wales, and Ireland. In the North, the main area of tension was the 110-mile border with Scotland. The Crown abolished liberties and franchises independent of the king's authority, such as that at Durham. It revived and strengthened the Council of the North, thus marginalizing the great peers who had sometimes challenged the monarchy and proven so unreliable during the Pilgrimage of Grace.

Wales was a tangled web of jurisdictions between the south and west, ruled on the king's behalf by the Marcher Lords, and the north, ruled by the king's son, the Prince of Wales, but as we recall, Henry did not have one. Worse, the native rural population resented English interlopers. Here, Cromwell engineered an Act of Union (1536). This and subsequent legislation abolished the Principality and Marcher Lords; imposed the English system of shires, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and so on; abolished Welsh law in favor of English; and eliminated any distinction between English and Welsh subjects.

Technically, the King of England was overlord over all of Ireland. In reality, his authority was strong only in the area around Dublin, known as the Pale. Beyond it, real power lay with two often-feuding groups, neither particularly loyal to the Crown: the Gaelic-Irish clan leaders, especially powerful in the

north and west, and the Anglo-Irish descendants of English colonists who had intermarried with the natives, controlling the south and east. Traditionally, late-medieval English kings had relied on an Anglo-Irish Lord Deputy, usually the current Earl of Kildare, to keep a lid on things. Unfortunately, the Tudors found the Earls of Kildare to be unreliable and, in 1533, rebellious. Henry and Cromwell suppressed the rebellion and executed the tenth Earl of Kildare in 1537. They passed an Act of Supremacy for Ireland, making Henry Supreme Head of the (Protestant) Church of Ireland. They initiated a policy by which clan leaders would surrender their lands to Henry and receive them back, with noble titles. They established a garrison in Dublin.

The outcomes of these policies were mixed. The North remained an area of instability. Wales was successfully integrated into the English system politically, socially, economically, and even to some extent, culturally. Ireland remained resistant to both Protestant reformation and royal authority. This culminated in a series of revolts in the 1560s–1590s.

The monasteries owned 15 percent of the land in England. Cromwell's plan was to claim this for the Crown and wipe out Henry's money troubles with one blow.

At home, Cromwell sought to use the Crown's growing powers to promote a broader concept of social welfare. England was facing massive socioeconomic problems in the mid-1530s. The population was growing faster than the economy could provide jobs. Food prices and rents were also rising, creating more poverty and increasing the numbers of beggars and vagrants. The church institutions that had traditionally regulated the economy (guilds) and distributed charity (the monasteries, see below) were being weakened or eliminated by the Crown. Cromwell's solution was to promote a Poor Law (1536), which authorized local authorities to raise funds for "the deserving poor," that is, the sick, widows, children, and others. This was the first step toward a system of public welfare in Europe.

The dissolution of the monasteries was the capstone of the Tudor Revolution, because this was how it was all to be paid for. In 1536, the government began to investigate the state of the monasteries in England. The ostensible reason

was church reform. But, in fact, Henry and Cromwell had already made up their minds to close all the monasteries. The real motivation was that the monasteries owned 15 percent of the land in England. Cromwell's plan was to claim this for the Crown and wipe out Henry's money troubles with one blow.

These policies had unforeseen consequences. Some 10,000 monks and nuns were evicted from their vocations. Priceless artwork was destroyed, metalwork was melted down, libraries were dispersed, and buildings were razed or ransacked. Church-run hospitals, schools, and charitable institutions were abolished, putting more pressure on the Crown and local authorities to fill the gap. The Crown received some £90,000 a year for several years. However, a series of invasion scares (1538–1540) and another war in France (1542) caused Henry to begin to sell off his newly acquired lands. Thus, in the long term, the Crown remained poor. This land was bought by nobles, gentlemen, and yeomen who thereby rose into the ranks of the gentry. The end result of the dissolution of the monasteries was, therefore, not to endow the Crown, but to enrich and expand the ruling elite. This had two further repercussions: It increased the power of that elite in relation to the Crown, not least because the latter would have to ask their representatives in Parliament for money. It reconciled the elite to the Reformation. A revival of Catholicism would be a non-starter with them if it meant giving up their monastic lands.

Cromwell's legacy was mixed. Some of his policies actually revived Yorkist policies (for example, the use of councils to tame borderlands). Some were soon reversed (for example, his de-emphasis of the Exchequer). Some failed miserably (Ireland). Some were highly ambiguous in intent or effect. He sought to empower and enrich the Crown by breaking the power of Rome and the great nobles in England. But in order to do this, he empowered Parliament and enriched the landed gentry. He sought to wean the country away from papal Catholicism. But that does not mean that he succeeded in making it Protestant. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 2, sec. 5.

Coleman and Starkey, *Revolution Reassessed*.

Elton, *Tudor Revolution in Government*.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 6.

Questions to Consider

1. In making the king more powerful, was Cromwell empowering the man or the office? Henry or that abstraction called the Crown?

2. How much of the Tudor Revolution do you think was part of a conscious plan on Henry's part? On Cromwell's? How much was a reaction to immediate necessities?

The Last Years of Henry VIII—1540–47

Lecture 13

Henry was a conservative in theology and his beliefs about church discipline. He always considered himself to be a good Catholic. He just didn't want to have to listen to the pope. Apart from the change at the top that he engineered, he wanted the Reformation to stop.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary to explain the fundamental differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the 16th century. This is made difficult by the facts that (1) Protestantism was never a single, unified faith and (2) these two faith traditions have changed markedly in 500 years.

The fundamental difference between Catholics and Protestants was in their source of authority, or religious truth. Catholics found religious truth in three sources:

- Scripture—but scripture was difficult to interpret, and most people could not read in any case. Therefore, the church reserved the interpretation of scripture to religious professionals.
- Tradition—that is, what the church had thought and done for centuries.
- Papal and conciliar decrees—that is, what the church hierarchy decided.

Protestants, noting the corruption in the church and the fallibility of human nature, relied on scripture alone. Strict Protestants rejected anything lacking a scriptural basis, including popes and bishops, along with elaborate rituals and church decor, such as crucifixes, images of saints, and so on.

This difference implies differences in structure. The structure of the Roman Catholic Church was hierarchical and complicated, because the discovery and dissemination of God's truth required learned professionals and strict

discipline of the laity. The structures of early Protestant churches were simple, with little hierarchy, because the Bible did not authorize it. Rather, if all one needed to know was to be found in scripture, then the church should be "a priesthood of all believers." Given that the church hierarchy was obviously unscriptural and corrupt, Protestants saw the only hope for reform in secular authority, that is, righteous rulers, such as Henry.

These differences were reflected in each tradition's attitude toward salvation. Catholics believed that salvation was won through faith and the performance of good works, especially the seven sacraments, which forgave sins (in three cases) and produced grace. Protestants believed that no human being could "win" salvation through his or her own efforts. Faith alone justified the individual in God's eyes; sacraments might or might not be useful in inclining individuals toward God, but they did not automatically result in forgiveness or salvation. Other rituals, such as the sign of the cross, holy water, veneration of images, and so on, were mere superstition and idolatry. One Continental Protestant reformer, John Calvin, argued that an omniscient God has already decided who is saved or damned. Thus, some Protestants embraced predestination.

It might be assumed that, having thrown the pope out of England, Henry was an enthusiastic Protestant. In fact, he was uncomfortable with the seemingly democratic element in Protestantism. He was much more comfortable with Catholicism's emphasis on hierarchy, ritual, and obedience. He just wanted to be at the top of that hierarchy, the center of that ritual, and the object of that obedience. Ironically, he soon found that only the Protestants surrounding Thomas Cromwell and Anne Boleyn embraced his royal supremacy with enthusiasm. Their ascendancy circa 1536 ensured a Protestant religious policy and a pro-French foreign policy.

The ascendancy of the Boleyn faction did not last long. France proved no more reliable an ally than the empire. Henry's relationship to Anne went sour; he tired of her enthusiastic Protestantism. He was beginning to fall for Jane Seymour, also a Protestant. Then Anne miscarried a little boy in January 1536, and Catherine of Aragon died in the same month, thus clearing the way for Anne's removal. That spring, Anne was accused of adultery and beheaded. Henry wed Jane Seymour in May 1536. In October 1537, she gave

birth to a son, Prince Edward. Twelve days later, she died of sepsis. Henry later claimed that he loved her best.

Henry's new single state gave Cromwell the opportunity to play matchmaker to the king, promote Protestantism, and secure the defense of the realm at the same time. This was especially pressing because the Catholic powers were threatening invasion. In 1539, the pope finally excommunicated Henry. This absolved good Catholic subjects of their loyalty to the "heretic king"; it gave France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire an excuse to attack him, as well.

In 1539, Francis I and Charles V made peace. In response, Cromwell sought an alliance with German Protestant princes who had long opposed Charles V. His strategy had two prongs:

- To promote Protestantism, thus showing Henry's solidarity with the German Protestant princes. As vicar-general in ecclesiastical affairs, Cromwell dissolved the monasteries and issued injunctions (1536, 1538) promoting the destruction of images, prayers in English, and the English Bible. Significantly, Henry neither opposed nor embraced these measures; he was taking a wait-and-see attitude on reform.

- To arrange a marriage with Anne, daughter of the powerful Duke of Cleves. But when she arrived in England in January 1540, Henry found her "dull of face and dull of wit." He went through with the marriage reluctantly, but it was never consummated.

Despite this failure, Cromwell appeared to be secure in the king's regard. In April 1540, the king named him Lord Chamberlain of the household and Earl of Essex. But a Catholic faction centered around the Howard family, led by the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Stephen Gardiner, was working against Cromwell. They played on the failure of Cromwell's German strategy; Henry's growing fear that the Catholic powers would invade; and Henry's heart, which was falling for the vivacious and sensual 19-year-old Catherine Howard. While Cromwell ran the government, the Howards poisoned the

king's mind against him. This, plus his growing affection for Catherine and his desire to appease the Catholic powers, had several results:

- Henry used the proceeds from the sale of monastic lands to strengthen the Royal Navy and the coastal defenses.
- He backed away from Protestant reform.
- He seized and executed surviving Yorkist claimants to the throne, as well as Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, in the summer of 1540.
- He divorced Anne of Cleves (on grounds of non-consummation) and married Catherine Howard at the same time.

Henry soon regretted the decisions of 1539–1540. In the spring of 1541, his government discovered a series of Catholic plots in the North. In the summer of 1541, France and the Holy Roman Empire resumed hostilities. This took the pressure off of Henry to appear Catholic. Without Cromwell to restrain him, he decided to join the war on the side of the emperor, attacking both Scotland and France. These martial adventures embittered Scotland and France and cost immense sums of money, wiping out what was left of the monastic nest egg and leading to a re-coinage, immense royal debt, and a wrecked national economy.

While Cromwell ran the government, the Howards poisoned the king's mind against him.

In the autumn of 1541, the Privy Council uncovered evidence of Queen Catherine's infidelity. Henry reluctantly ordered her execution in February 1542. In 1546, the Catholic Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, another descendant of Edward I, was executed for including the royal arms on his crest (a seeming threat to the claims of young Prince Edward). Henry became convinced that whatever his personal religious preferences, he could not trust Catholics to be loyal to his regime as he could Protestants. In July 1543, he married Catherine Parr, Lady Latimer, a middle-aged Protestant widow who proved a good mother to the royal children and to the aging king

himself. In 1546–1547 he named a Regency Council and set of tutors for his son made up of Protestants.

Henry VIII died on 25 January 1547, in his eyes, a good Catholic and a good king. But to provide his people with a male heir, he had started processes that would unleash the Protestant Reformation; wreck the economy; embitter the French, Scots, and Irish; and eventually, weaken the Crown he had sought to strengthen. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 3, secs. 1–3.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 7.

Haigh, *English Reformations*, pt. II.

Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, chaps. 11–15.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did it take the pope so long to excommunicate Henry VIII?

2. Why did Thomas Cromwell fall? Was Henry's action justified? How might the last years of Henry's reign—and English history in general—have been different if Cromwell had remained in power?

Edward VI—1547–53

Lecture 14

In 1547, Henry and his country got what they had wanted: his son on the English throne. But that son was only nine years old at his accession. How could young Edward possibly solve the problems left to him by his father and the steps necessary for him to exist?

England's situation at the accession of Edward VI (1547–1553) was not good. Henry VIII left his successor numerous problems, including massive government debt; widespread economic distress; religious uncertainty; and hostilities with Scotland, France, and Ireland. Henry's one real achievement was to give the country a male heir. But even this occurred at the cost of religious unity and a confused order of succession. Characteristically, Henry tried to end the confusion by actually willing the kingdom to his son; then, if Edward should die without heirs, to Mary; and, if Mary also died childless, to Elizabeth. It is a measure of Henry's posthumous prestige that this is exactly how the succession went.

Edward's personality can be compared usefully with that of his father. Unlike his father, he was a delicate boy, lacking strength and vigor. Like his father, he had a quick mind and a strong will. But Edward was too young to rule actively. That was reserved for his uncle.

Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was a brother of Edward's mother, Queen Jane. He was ambitious. Within days of the new king's accession, he persuaded Edward to dismiss the rest of his Regency Council and name him Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector of the realm. He was idealistic and interested in social and economic justice. Unfortunately, his concern for the poor would offend the ruling elite. Worse, he was imperious, bull-headed, and a poor politician. Worse still, he had no killer instinct.

Somerset tried to solve the problems left over from Henry VIII. He continued Henry's "rough wooing" of Scotland, offering either marriage between Edward VI and Mary Queen of Scots or military reprisal if the Scots refused. He defeated the Scots in September 1547 at the Battle of Pinkie Cleugh. But

he did not have enough troops to follow up the battle with occupation. The Scots refused the marriage with Edward. In 1548, Mary escaped to France, where she married the *dauphin* (crown prince), Francis. Thus, Somerset's Scottish campaign further weakened the English treasury and drove the Scots back into the arms of the French and their "Auld Alliance."

One reason for Somerset's failure in Scotland was that Mary was Catholic and the Edward-Somerset regime espoused Protestant reform. In 1547, Somerset asked Parliament to repeal the Henrician Treason laws, the Act for Burning Heretics, the Six Articles, and all restrictions on reading and printing the Bible. These actions opened religious debate. Bibles and other Protestant tracts flooded into England. Also in 1547, Parliament passed the Chantries Act, dissolving churches endowed to pray for souls in purgatory, as well as almshouses, schools, and hospitals. This brought £600,000, badly needed, into the treasury; destroyed much of what was left of institutional Catholicism in England; and exacerbated the current social and economic crisis.

In 1548, Somerset commissioned a new English Book of Common Prayer from Archbishop Cranmer. This interim prayer book was a compromise. It retained much Catholic doctrine, including altars, vestments, private confession, and prayers for the dead. But it rejected transubstantiation and, for the first time, Englishmen and women could worship God in their own language. That June, a revolt developed in the remote West Country. The rebels demanded a return to the religious arrangements of the Six Articles, suppression of the English Prayer Book, and restoration of the Latin mass and the monasteries. Before Somerset could solve this problem, he faced a second rebellion over the state of the economy. The population was rising, from 2.4 million in 1525 to 4.5 million by 1600. Unfortunately, the English economy was not flexible enough to absorb the new laborers. Rents and food prices rose; wages plummeted. The Crown debts and re-coinage only added to inflation. Although wool remained lucrative, many landowners threw their tenants off the land or seized common land to graze sheep. But after about 1550, the religious wars in Europe began to stifle even this trade. The government pursued ineffective remedies: laws against enclosure, which were impossible to enforce; enforcement of trade monopolies, which benefited only the wealthy; new Poor Laws, which did little to actually help

the poor, while the dissolution of the monasteries, almshouses, and so on did much to hurt them.

In July 1549, an army of East Anglian tenant farmers led by Robert Kett rebelled, demanding reduced rents and entry fines, restrictions on landlords' use of common land, more local participation in government, and the reform of absentee or neglectful priests. The characteristic Tudor response to each of these rebellions would have been to promise the rebels anything to buy time to raise an army, then crush them. But Somerset had little money to raise an army. He had no desire to persecute the West Country religious rebels. He actually sympathized with some of the demands of Kett's rebels. Therefore, he hesitated.

Like Somerset, the new Duke of Northumberland was ambitious, courageous, and intelligent. … But he was much less scrupulous, lacking Somerset's social conscience.

In the summer of 1549, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, began to plot with his fellow councilors and, later, the king, to replace Somerset. In August 1549, Edward gave Warwick command of an army with which he crushed Kett's rebellion. Kett was executed, along with many of his followers. At the same time, John, Lord Russell, suppressed the West Country rebels. On Warwick's return, he seized power and sent Somerset to the Tower. He was created Duke of Northumberland in 1551.

Like Somerset, the new Duke of Northumberland was ambitious, courageous, and intelligent. He was a better administrator, trying to get the king out of debt by launching reforms of government and seeking peace with France and Scotland. But he was much less scrupulous, lacking Somerset's social conscience. His primary goal seems to have been power for its own sake. Having achieved it, the next task was retaining it. This posed a problem. On the one hand, the young king wanted more Protestant reform. But Edward's health was poor and his long-term prospects were uncertain. If he died, he would be succeeded by the arch-Catholic Mary.

At first, Northumberland bet on the king to live; he embraced the cause of Protestant reform. He suppressed all prayer books but Cranmer's, removed the last Catholic bishops, and sanctioned another wave of image-breaking. In 1552, he commissioned a revision of the Book of Common Prayer to eliminate more Catholic ritual. This was mandated by an Act of Uniformity imposing a financial penalty of four shillings for non-attendance at church. In 1553, Northumberland commissioned Forty-Two Articles of Faith, a doctrinal statement that retained only two sacraments: baptism and the Eucharist. England was now officially (if not yet popularly) a Protestant nation.

The young King Edward VI became increasingly ill with tuberculosis, setting off a battle for the crown.

In the winter of 1552–1553, King Edward began to manifest increasing signs of tuberculosis. That spring, Northumberland persuaded Edward to will the Crown to Lady Jane Grey, a great granddaughter of Henry VII. He then persuaded Jane to marry his son Guildford. When Edward died on 6 July 1553, Northumberland and the Privy Council proclaimed Jane queen. In the meantime, Mary had escaped to Norfolk, which was ominated by the Catholic Howard family. There, she was proclaimed as well. Both sides raised armies and marched out to capture the opposing queen. Mary's reached London before Jane's reached Norfolk. There, the Earl of Arundel convinced the Privy Council to proclaim Mary on the 19th of July. Jane's army disintegrated, leading Northumberland to try to abandon her for Mary. The latter was not fooled. Thus, the long-suffering Mary became queen. Jane, Guildford, and Northumberland were arrested and the latter executed immediately. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 3, secs. 4–5.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 8.

Haigh, *English Reformations*, pt. II.

Questions to Consider

1. Why, given Somerset's obvious intelligence, ambition, and good intentions, did he fail so miserably?

2. Why did the country choose the Catholic Mary over the Protestant Lady Jane Grey in 1553?

Mary I—1553–58

Lecture 15

Mary's reign is full of ironies, and one of them is that Mary's virtues would turn out to be vices.

The English people rallied to Mary because she was the daughter of Henry VIII, a Tudor, and the rightful heir. They did not do so because she was a woman, because she was half-Spanish, or because she was Catholic. It was the great tragedy of Mary's reign that she failed to realize this.

The new queen had many positive attributes. Like all Tudors, she was intelligent, courageous, dignified, and resilient, and she had a Renaissance education. Unlike her father, she was merciful, sparing, for now, both Lady Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley. But the new queen was otherwise ill-fitted for her role. She was naive in politics and inexperienced in government. Her education involved no training to be queen. Rather, her father had kept her away from the corridors of power. Lacking experience, she relied on her conscience and her faith, which led to an inflexibility lacking in the other members of her family. Above all, she was half-Spanish and all Catholic, which led her to ally with the Spanish Empire, sometimes against her interests, and attempt to undo the Reformation, at tremendous human cost. Both policies would bring misery to her people and infamy to her reign.

The first major issue facing Mary was that of her own marriage. Mary had been the least eligible bachelorette in England before her accession, thanks to her father's repudiation. Now, suddenly, at age 37, she was a catch. Any number of European princes now found her (and an English alliance) desirable. The contemporary attitude to gender that had almost cost her the throne now dictated that she marry quickly: This society was not comfortable with the idea of an independent, unattached woman. Mary felt a similar urgency, because she wanted an heir before time and her body gave out.

Mary's choice of a husband was controversial. The Privy Council wanted her to marry an Englishman. Mary preferred her Habsburg roots and opted

for her cousin, the son of Charles V, Philip, King of Naples. This choice was unpopular with many of her subjects. In January 1554, Sir Thomas Wyatt raised a rebellion of 3,000 men in Kent and marched on London. Their goal was to prevent the Spanish marriage and, possibly, displace Mary in favor of the Protestant Elizabeth. Mary rallied the royal guards and the London-trained bands to stop the rebels. Afterwards, Wyatt and about 90 of his followers were executed, along with Lady Jane Grey and Guildford Dudley. Princess Elizabeth also came under suspicion, but she had been careful to avoid overt involvement in Wyatt's plot.

Mary I of England lacked political experience, and her policies brought great misery to her subjects.

The marriage to Philip took place in January 1554. It would not prove happy. Mary loved Philip. Desperately wanting an heir, within months, she experienced a false pregnancy. But Philip saw the match as a diplomatic alliance.

The return to Rome was the principal policy goal of Mary's reign. To undo what Henry VIII and Edward VI had done, Mary would, like them, have to turn to Parliament. This was a problem, because the aristocrats whom Parliament represented did not want to give up their monastic lands. In the fall and winter of 1553–1554, Parliament revoked the Acts of Uniformity and banned the Book of Common Prayer. But they would go no further. In 1554, Reginald, Cardinal Pole, Mary's principal advisor in religious affairs, returned from Rome with a dispensation from the pope to allow purchasers to keep their monastic lands. In the short term, this made possible the further restoration of Roman Catholicism in England: Parliament consented to the return to Rome and reenacted the Heresy Laws. But in the long term, it meant that much institutional Catholicism, monasteries, almshouses, guilds, schools, and

hospitals, would never be restored. This would make it all the more difficult to win Mary's subjects back to the faith.

In its absence, all Mary could do was mandate the return to Catholic forms of worship, restore deprived Catholic bishops, and deprive priests who married or refused to recant Protestantism. Recent evidence suggests that most churches and their parishioners restored the rood crosses and images and returned to the old ways without a murmur. But a significant minority did not. Some 800 Protestants fled to the Continent. These "Marian exiles" flocked to centers of Protestantism, such as Frankfurt or Geneva, to imbibe its theology at the wellspring. Others stayed to face persecution. Beginning in February 1555, Mary and Pole resorted to burning the most recalcitrant Protestants, including Archbishop Cranmer. Eventually, some 290 men, women, and adolescents, mostly of humble background, were incinerated.

Mary and the Catholics might have written that history if she had been more successful, lived longer, or produced an heir.

Why did Mary pursue a course that can only strike us as barbaric? Like most of her contemporaries, she rejected the idea of religious toleration, believing that hers was the One True Faith and that anyone who disagreed was a disloyal subject, a minion of the devil, and a double menace to society, dragging her other subjects not only into disobedience but, ultimately, to hell. By this argument, it was Mary's solemn duty to cut out the cancer before it spread. In the end, Mary's Counter-Reformation failed, not so much because of the burnings, but because her reign was too short to either extirpate Protestantism or reestablish Catholicism.

After the reign, Protestants began to write its history, in particular, John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of the English People* (better known as *The Book of Martyrs*). This work portrayed the burning of each martyr in the most grisly, but also inspiring, detail. It became the bestselling work, in English, after the Bible. In the next few years, as the English faced Catholic invasions from abroad and plots at home, Foxe's stories of Mary's cruelty

would convince his readers that God had chosen them as an elect Protestant nation, facing the forces of the foreign Catholic anti-Christ. Still, Mary and the Catholics might have written that history if she had been more successful, lived longer, or produced an heir.

In January 1557, Mary's husband, now Philip II of Spain, declared war on France. He expected Mary's England, which he regarded as community property, to join him. The Privy Council and Parliament opposed this, because England was gripped by an economic crisis and an influenza epidemic and lacked an adequate army. But Mary overruled her councilors on the grounds of the desire for glory on the part of her nobles. The war went badly, partly because Parliament refused to pay for it. In January 1558, the French surprised and captured the last English possession in France, Calais. Calais no longer had any real strategic significance to the English, but as the last outpost of the Continental empire that England had ruled since William the Conqueror, its psychological importance was immense. Mary said that at her death, her subjects would find the word "Calais" engraved upon her heart.

During the spring and summer of 1558, the queen once again thought herself pregnant. In fact, she was probably suffering from a uterine tumor and dropsy. In November, her Privy Council persuaded her to recognize Elizabeth as her heir. Days before Mary's death on 17 November, Elizabeth began to hold court. Possessing many Tudor virtues, Mary lacked the most essential two of all: an instinct for what her people wanted and the flexibility to give it to them. Rather, she followed her Catholic conscience and Spanish heart to disaster. Worse, she confirmed everything that contemporaries feared about female rule. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 3, secs. 6–8.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 8.

Haigh, *English Reformations*, pt. III.

Questions to Consider

1. Was English resistance to Mary's Spanish match a matter of xenophobic prejudice or a realistic assessment of England's needs?

2. Why did the fates of the Protestant martyrs capture the imagination of the English people, as those of Catholic martyrs (More, Fisher, Jesuits under Elizabeth I) have not?

Young Elizabeth—1558

Lecture 16

Perhaps no figure in English history has inspired more myth than Queen Elizabeth I. … She had many personas: the virgin queen, "Gloriana," and good Queen Bess to her subjects. To her enemies, she was the heretic and bastard daughter of that whore, Anne Boleyn. In her day, scores of artists and writers celebrated or excoriated these images. Afterwards, legions of writers, some scholarly and some popular, as well as filmmakers and playwrights, have sought to relate and explain the achievements of her reign and the mystique that she held for her people.

According to legend, Elizabeth's ascension to the throne of England was greeted with rapturous rejoicing. In fact, although committed Protestants were happy to be delivered from "Bloody Mary," most people had little to cheer about. Among England's many troubles, it was still embroiled in a disastrous war with France; the economy continued to suffer from depressions in agriculture and trade; the royal treasury was nearly bankrupt; an influenza epidemic raged, often fatally; and religious strife continued to tear the country. Perhaps worse in her subjects' eyes, all these problems were left in the lap of another female. Surely, the last reign demonstrated the consequences of defying the Great Chain of Being and giving power to a woman? This attitude, did not, of course, figure on the personality of Elizabeth Tudor.

The new queen was, like her father, larger than life, which makes her difficult to pin down. Elizabeth's positive qualities were many, and they, too, recalled her father: She was young (25) and good-looking. This would come in handy. She was exceptionally intelligent and well educated, fluent in Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian; wrote poetry; played the virginals (a keyboard instrument); and danced. She was athletic, enjoying both riding and hunting.

Where even Mary's good qualities proved detrimental, Elizabeth's bad ones had their advantages. She was (again, like her father) vain, imperious, and self-centered. But these qualities probably prevented male politicians from

dismissing her. She was often indecisive. Male politicians then and male historians since have often criticized her for this. But caution, even hesitancy to commit to one policy or action, made sense given Elizabeth's history and England's precarious situation. What often seems like hesitation (over marriage, foreign policy, Mary, Queen of Scots) may have been prudence, even mastery in playing one side off against another. We see this in her handling of court factions.

Historians have tended to divide Elizabeth's court into two broad factions, led by two very different men. William Cecil (from 1571, Lord Burghley) was trained as a lawyer and had served as secretary to Protector Somerset and Secretary of State to Edward VI. He was a brilliant and hard-working administrator who served Elizabeth, first, as Secretary of State and, from 1572, as Lord Treasurer. As his responsibilities increased, he became ever more prudent and cautious, urging the queen to maintain good relations with the Catholic powers, France and Spain, and avoid expensive and bloody wars. He gathered about him a circle of like-minded, if somewhat colorless, administrators, such as Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal; Sir Francis Knollys, Vice Chamberlain of the Household; and Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, Lord President of the North. These cautious men stood in sharp contrast to the other great court circle and its leader.

Robert Dudley (from 1564, Earl of Leicester) was a born courtier and soldier. He was dashing and handsome and served Elizabeth as her Master of the Horse, which gave him constant access to her person. Where Cecil urged caution, Dudley wanted action, in particular a Protestant crusade against the Catholic powers, which he would, of course, lead as Elizabeth's general. His circle attracted soldiers, poets, and other flamboyant characters, such as Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, and Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (and master of the queen's spies). Historians used to see these groups as constantly at each other's throats. More recent work demonstrates that most of the time, they got along well with each other, agreeing on basic principles, such as their loyalty to the queen. But at times of crisis, they fought spirited battles in council and at court. One of these groups appealed to Elizabeth's head; the other, to her heart.

The queen made clear which organ she would listen to in the very first crisis of her reign, that over her marriage. As with Mary, contemporaries were uncomfortable with the idea of an unmarried queen. As with Mary, Elizabeth had been ignored before her succession; now, she was the most desirable woman in Europe. Only a few men had the pedigree and importance to hope for the hand of the new Queen of England. Foreign candidates included the widowed Philip II of Spain, the boy-king Charles IX of France, King Erik XIV of Sweden, and the Archduke Charles (Habsburg) of Styria. Local boys with the right pedigree included the Earl of Arundel and Sir William Pickering. But Elizabeth hesitated. She remembered what Mary's loveless and controversial marriage had done to the country, and her heart was already spoken for.

Elizabeth realized that, unlike her father, because she was a woman, marriage was a card she could play but once.

Elizabeth was clearly smitten with Robert Dudley, but there were two drawbacks to her attraction. Dudley was considered an upstart, not sufficiently weighty to be the next co-ruler of England. In particular, he was opposed by the Cecil faction. Dudley was already married to Amy *née* Robsart, Lady Dudley. When Lady Dudley turned up dead at the bottom of a stairwell in Cumnor Hall, Oxfordshire, many suspected that her ambitious husband had had her killed. In fact, Lady Dudley was suffering from breast cancer; she may simply have fallen down the stairs due to weakness, or she may have thrown herself down the stairs in dejection. In any case, the scandal brought Elizabeth to her senses: In 1566, she finally repudiated any notion of marrying her "sweet Robin." Instead, Elizabeth became the unpossessable virgin queen, married to her people of England. Dudley remained Elizabeth's chief favorite, being raised to the peerage as Earl of Leicester in 1564.

Elizabeth was urged again and again to get married by her Privy Council, by Parliament, and by her people. As the reign progressed, she learned to use the possibility of her marriage as a diplomatic card, especially with the Catholic powers. After all, why invade England when it might be won through love? During diplomatic crises, especially, a succession of French princes and imperial aristocrats courted her. But Elizabeth realized that, unlike her father, because she was a woman, marriage was a card she could play but

once. Once played, her freedom of maneuver and that of England was over. In the end, she never played it, perhaps because she wanted to preserve that freedom of maneuver; perhaps because she could not see herself ruled by any man; or perhaps because the right guy never came along. Instead, she became the virgin queen, wedded, not to some mere man, but to her first love, the people of England. She played out this metaphor masterfully, referring to the English people as her "good husbands," demonstrating her common touch by going out amongst them on frequent progresses, and cultivating an image of virginal purity, requiring defense by the gentlemen of England.

The image of a virtuous virgin queen leading the nation against its would-be ravishers evolved, by the 1580s, into that of "Gloriana," a benevolent goddess above mere mortal desires and certainly above faction. In effect, she replaced the Catholic image of the Virgin Mary as a symbol of the softer, more accessible side of power. Elizabeth urged artists, poets, and playwrights to portray her as a semi-divine being, no mere woman but a symbol of England. She guarded this image jealously. This image would come in handy as she faced challenges to her rule both at home and abroad. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 4, secs. 1–3.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 9.

Haigh, *Elizabeth I*.

MacCaffrey, *Elizabeth I*.

Questions to Consider

1. Given contemporary views of women and the poor performance of Queen Mary, why did Elizabeth face no opposition at her accession to the Crown in 1558?

2. Was Elizabeth's notorious prevarication and apparent indecision a masterful game designed to keep her options open and her friends and enemies off balance or evidence of a lack of a real long-term plan?

The Elizabethan Settlement—1558–68

Lecture 17

When in January, on the way to the state opening of Parliament, she ran into the Abbot of Westminster and his monks carrying lighted tapers, she dismissed them. "Away with these torches, for we see very well."

Englishmen and women were deeply divided about religion in 1558. Because of this fact and the international situation, the Elizabethan settlement in religion would not be easy. A Catholic settlement would have pleased the great powers of Europe, but it would have been unacceptable to Protestants after the bitter legacy of Bloody Mary. A Protestant settlement would have pleased the Marian exiles but alienated committed Catholics and the Catholic powers, especially France and Spain.

Fortunately, Elizabeth I was well-suited for compromise. Unlike Edward or Mary, she had never committed publicly to one side or the other. Though temperamentally drawn to Protestant theology, Elizabeth was, like her father, also attracted to Catholic ceremony and hierarchy. Above all, she had no desire to make "windows into men's souls." That is, she cared less about what her subjects believed inwardly than that they were loyal outwardly. She realized that England needed a religious settlement that most people could accept, whatever its doctrinal inconsistencies.

The Settlement of 1559–1563 and the resultant Church of England was, therefore, a compromise. After the opposing Catholic bishops were sequestered in the Tower, Parliament passed a series of statutes with concessions for both sides. In a sop to conservatives, Elizabeth was named Supreme Governor of the Church of England. They could not abide a female "Supreme Head." In a concession to Catholics, clergy had to swear an oath to the Supreme Governor, but the laity was excused. Protestants were pleased that the Act of Uniformity of 1559 required all the queen's subjects to attend Sunday services conducted according to the second, more Protestant, Book of Common Prayer. But Catholics secured a revision allowing for transubstantiation, elaborate vestments, and Catholic rituals, such as the sign of the cross.

The Treason Act of 1563 made it a capital crime to express support for the pope or to *twice* refuse to swear the oath of allegiance. This last gave Catholics some elbow room. The Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith of 1563 articulated a Protestant theology, embracing justification by faith and denouncing purgatory and the mass. But the structure of the Church remained hierarchical. In short, the genius of the Elizabethan religious settlement is that it thinks Protestant but looks Catholic. The doctrine of the Church of England was Protestant. The structure and much of the ritual of the Church of England were reminiscent of Catholicism. Thus, it appealed to what each religious tradition most cherished: for Protestants, the Word, and for Catholics, ritual and structure.

Queen Elizabeth I compromised to establish a new Church of England, a compromise that appealed to values held deeply by Catholics and Protestants.

Though Elizabeth's new Church of England won the cooperation, if not yet the hearts, of most of her subjects, there were exceptions. Many committed Protestants regarded the compromise of 1559–1563 as temporary. They wanted additional reform to purify the Church of Catholic rituals, practices, and so on. Within a decade, their critics would label them "Puritans." Puritans did *not* want to form a separate church. They wanted their Church and society in general to conform to biblical standards and practices. In practical terms, this meant that puritans wanted to abolish elaborate vestments and Catholic rituals, such as the sign of the cross. Many Puritans wanted to reduce or eliminate the role of the bishops. Following Luther's idea of a priesthood of all believers, they wanted a more presbyterian style of church government.

Queen Elizabeth reacted negatively to the Puritans for many reasons. She saw the attack on bishops as an attack on all hierarchy and, therefore, on her position in the Great Chain of Being. She personally liked ritual and hierarchy; she did not want to alienate her Catholic subjects who liked them, too. She did not want to alienate the Catholic powers by embracing full-blown Protestantism. As long as the Church of England remained a compromise, as long as France and Spain could hope that the queen might return to Rome, they would not attack. Thus, Elizabeth ordered her bishops to persecute Puritans. Some Puritans conformed at least outwardly. Some formed separate congregations or fled abroad.

The pope and the Catholic powers took a wait-and-see attitude toward Elizabeth. The pope forbade Catholics from attending Church of England services, thus forcing them to make a choice. Most became Anglicans. But, hopeful of her return, he did not yet excommunicate Elizabeth.

In 1559, France and Spain signed the Treaty of Cateaux-Cambresis, ending the war begun in 1557. However, tensions remained, not least because of France's "Auld Alliance" with Scotland. Recall that previous Tudor attempts to force the infant Mary, Queen of Scots, to wed Edward VI had failed, driving her into the arms of Francis II of France. But in 1560, Francis died, and Mary returned to a much-changed Scotland. While Mary had been away, much of the Scottish aristocracy had embraced Calvinist Protestantism. Persecuted by Mary's mother and regent, Mary of Guise, these aristocrats had banded together in 1557, swearing to defend a Protestant "Congregation of God."

In 1559, the Lords of the Congregation rebelled against the two Marys, abolished papal jurisdiction, and began to establish a Presbyterian Church structure. The French, fearing the loss the Auld Alliance, sent troops to aid Mary of Guise. In response, the Scots Protestants asked Elizabeth for comparable help. Elizabeth and her Privy Council hesitated. To support the rebels would be to support rebellion against a legitimate and divinely sanctioned monarch. This would violate the Great Chain of Being. It would also reveal Elizabeth's Protestant sympathies to the Catholic powers. Finally, failure would invite a Franco-Scottish invasion of England. To fail to support

the rebels would leave a strong Catholic Scotland, allied with France, on England's northern border, and infuriate the Puritans.

The queen decided to support the rebels, sending money, then ships. This move was decisive. In July, all parties signed the Treaty of Edinburgh, establishing joint rule, but placing most of the power in Scotland in the hands of Protestants. Mary, now fully Queen of Scots, would have to please both sides.

Mary, Queen of Scots, is sometimes seen as a Catholic counterpart to Elizabeth I. She, too, was ambitious, intelligent, and beautiful. But where Elizabeth was cautious and shrewd, Mary was impulsive and duplicitous. Above all, where Elizabeth never put herself in the power of any man, Mary repeatedly married men who were unworthy of her. In 1565, she married Lord Darnley, who proved vain and cruel. He was murdered in 1567 by the Earl of Bothwell. In 1567, she married the Earl of Bothwell, who had abducted her! Many Scots nobles concluded that Mary was, at best, mad and, at worst, a murderess. They deposed her in favor of her infant son by Lord Darnley, who became King James VI.

Above all, where Elizabeth never put herself in the power of any man, Mary repeatedly married men who were unworthy of her.

In 1568, Mary was forced to flee south and seek the protection of her cousin, Elizabeth. Once again, a request from Scotland posed a dilemma for Elizabeth. If she granted Mary's request, she would be harboring the next heir to the throne (thanks to her Tudor grandmother) in her own kingdom. Elizabeth remembered her own destabilizing influence under Mary. If she refused, she would be abandoning her own cousin, a legitimate monarch, and the Great Chain of Being. Elizabeth granted Mary's request. Given Mary's impulsive nature and claim to the throne, there was every reason to believe that she would be tempted to plot against Elizabeth. Given her Catholicism, those plots were likely to receive the support of the Catholic powers. In the end, one of these two women would have to go. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 4, secs. 4–7.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 10.

Haigh, *English Reformations*, pt. III.

Questions to Consider

1. What would have been the consequences for England if Elizabeth had chosen the Catholic option? What if she had chosen the Puritan?

2. Why were the English so concerned about the situation in Scotland?

Set in a Dangerous World—1568–88

Lecture 18

"I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a King of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm."—Elizabeth I

Given England's relative weakness, it was crucial to maintain good relations with its neighbors. England's oldest and most proximate enemy, Scotland, was safely in the hands of a pro-English Protestant government. England's other traditional enemy, France, was just entering a period of weakness and instability, wracked by the Wars of Religion. Under the leadership of Philip II, Spain was, on the other hand, the most powerful state on earth. It controlled most of southern Italy, the Netherlands, all of Central America, and much of South America. This empire provided the wealth for the greatest army and navy in Europe, but it also made Spain a target for English ambitions.

England and Spain were longstanding allies. Philip II wanted to maintain this alliance to protect his northern flank in the Netherlands. Elizabeth needed Spain's friendship. But, in 1568, two areas of tension arose between England and Spain. English seafarers, including Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, began to plunder Spanish trade by hijacking treasure fleets, raiding Central and South American ports, and so on.

The Protestant Dutch under William the Silent, fearing the imposition of the Spanish Inquisition, rebelled against Spanish rule. The English privateers and the Dutch rebels asked for Elizabeth's support. Once again, she faced a dilemma. If she supported her privateers and the Dutch rebels, she risked war with Spain. If she abandoned them, she would lose a valuable source of revenue (she always took a cut) and leave fellow Protestants to their fate. Typically, Elizabeth chose to denounce her privateers and the Dutch rebels in public, while encouraging them with money and shelter in private. Philip II was not fooled. In response, he began to wage a secret war of his own,

exploiting the existence of Mary, Queen of Scots, and the Catholic minority in England.

Mary, Queen of Scots, signed an agreement to assassinate Elizabeth, in essence signing her own death warrant.

By the 1560s, Roman Catholicism was dying out in England. The Catholic Church sought to remedy this by sending missionary priests, mostly Jesuits. Theoretically, their mission was not to convert Protestants or destabilize the Elizabethan regime, but to minister to the shrinking Catholic community, mostly in the North. But most missionary priests stayed hidden with wealthy aristocratic families in the South. Inevitably, some became involved in political plots. Beginning in 1568, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the wealthiest peer in England and a secret Catholic, hatched a plot to wed the soon-to-be divorced Mary, Queen of Scots; purge Cecil from the Privy Council; and dictate terms to Elizabeth. He lost his nerve when the plot was discovered by Walsingham's spies. However, in 1569, two northern peers, Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, raised their tenants and marched south. Few southern Catholics joined them, and the Northern Rebellion petered out. Eventually, Westmorland fled, but Northumberland and 450 followers were executed.

In 1570, the pope finally excommunicated Elizabeth. An Italian diplomat named Robert Ridolfi got his backing, and that of Philip II, Mary, and Norfolk, for another plot. The Ridolfi plot, too, was discovered, and Norfolk was executed. These events led to a change in policy. Parliament, with the queen's reluctant consent, began to pass laws against recusancy, that is, Catholicism. In 1571, the Henrician Treason statute was revived and expanded to include reception of papal documents. In 1581, the fine for absence from church was raised to £20, a crippling sum for ordinary people. In 1585, it became treason to be a Catholic priest in England. This legislation

resulted in the execution of nearly 200 Catholics (mostly clergy) and further decline in their numbers. Elizabeth and her Privy Council realized that war with Spain was probably inevitable, but not yet.

Throughout the 1570s, the Leicester faction urged war, but Burghley and his followers reminded Elizabeth that England was not ready. The queen bought time in two ways. She toned down her support of English privateers and Dutch rebels. She tempted the Catholic powers with the possibility of a peaceful conquest through diplomatic marriage. This worked for a while, enabling Hawkins and Drake to strengthen the Royal Navy. However, in 1584, William the Silent was murdered, threatening the Dutch revolt with collapse.

In 1585, Elizabeth made a choice, sending 7,000 troops to the Netherlands under her beloved Leicester. This meant war. In response, Philip II began to prepare a vast Armada with which to invade England. The English sought to delay the invasion by successfully attacking the fleet in port. With the Spanish fleet preparing to ferry the Spanish army across the Channel, it was imperative to do something about Mary.

Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed at Fotheringhay Castle on 8 February 1587. … Philip II now added righteous vengeance to his list of reasons to invade Elizabeth's realm.

Elizabeth was reluctant to harm her cousin and a fellow monarch, but Mary had given her cause. In mid-1586, Secretary Walsingham learned of another plot to put Mary on the throne, this one organized by Anthony Babington, one of her household servants. This time, Mary signed a letter agreeing to Elizabeth's assassination. On the evidence of the Babington plot, Mary was tried and convicted of treason by autumn. At this point, Elizabeth hesitated. She signed the death warrant, but instructed Secretary of State Davison not to use it. Davison, backed by his fellow privy councilors, implemented the warrant anyway. Mary, Queen of Scots, was executed at Fotheringhay Castle on 8 February 1587. When she heard, Elizabeth was furious.

Philip II now added righteous vengeance to his list of reasons to invade Elizabeth's realm. In the summer of 1588, the Spanish Armada, the largest oceangoing navy yet assembled, sailed for England. The English assumed that the point of the Armada was to conquer England for Spain and Catholicism. In fact, Philip would have been content with English withdrawal from the Netherlands and a toleration for Catholics. The opposing forces appeared to be mismatched. The Armada consisted of 130 ships, manned by 7,000–8,000 sailors and carrying 17,000–19,000 soldiers. Opposing them were about 50 warships of the Royal Navy, which were faster and better gunned than the Spanish, and the English militia, made up of common farmers. The Spanish plan was to sail up the English Channel, rendezvous with another 17,000 crack troops waiting in the Netherlands, then ferry these forces across the Channel to England.

Unfortunately, the Armada was slow and poorly gunned, having few heavy cannon. This meant that, if intercepted by the Royal Navy, it could neither sink the English ships nor close and board them unless the English cooperated. Instead, when the Armada was sighted in late July, the English ships stood at long range and pounded it, but the latter held formation. When the Armada pulled into Calais, the English sent in fireships, causing the Spanish to flee in chaos. This allowed English gunfire to pick them off one by one. When the Spanish attempted to return to Spain by sailing north around Scotland and down the west coast of Ireland, they were battered by storms. About half reached port safely.

The defeat of the Armada was a tremendous propaganda victory and confidence-booster for England. It was perceived by many as another sign that England was a "chosen nation." But it did not seriously weaken Spain. This was only the beginning of the war. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 4, secs. 8–10; chap. 5, secs 1–2.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chap. 12.

Mattingly, *The Armada*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Elizabeth support the English privateers and Dutch rebels at the risk of war with Spain? Why did Philip II delay fighting that war for so long?

2. Why did Elizabeth hesitate to do something about Mary, Queen of Scots? How do you interpret her behavior both before and after the execution?

Heart and Stomach of a Queen—1588–1603

Lecture 19

When she speaks, it must have seemed to those who were listening, kneeling, as if a goddess, at once familiar and yet from another world and time, had opened her mouth. … Can there have been a dry eye in this house as the dear old queen, probably addressing Parliament for the last time, reminds them of the dangers that they had faced together? Reminds them of the love that she bore for them rather than share it with any man? Do you think anybody noticed that she's just dismissed Parliament?

The war against Spain was, arguably, the first world war, fought on both sides of the Atlantic. The queen and her Privy Council were torn between two strategies, corresponding to the two theaters of war. One group in Council, led by Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex, and supported by adventurers, such as Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, wanted to concentrate on the naval war, raid Spanish shipping, and plunder Spanish towns. Expeditions in 1589 and 1595–1597 suffered heavy losses in return for little real strategic significance. Lord Burghley, his son Robert Cecil, and their followers wanted to concentrate on the land war.

The queen continued to support the Dutch rebels, who under Maurice of Nassau, finally began to repel the Spanish in the 1590s. In 1589, the queen also sent English troops to France to assist Henry of Bourbon, who, as Henry IV, was fighting against the Catholic League, backed by Philip II, for the throne of France. Henry's forces triumphed by 1598. But the most important theater for England was Ireland.

The history of Ireland under the Tudors had been anything but happy. From the 1540s, the English government began to confiscate the lands of disaffected Gaelic and "Old English" (that is, English Catholic) nobles and establish plantations of Protestant English (later Scottish) landlords, called "New English." This, combined with the English government's attempt to impose Protestantism, produced resentment and occasional isolated rebellions into the 1590s. These rebellions were suppressed with increasing

savagery, including massacres of defeated men, women, and children; the burning of crops; and other atrocities.

In 1594, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, the leading Gaelic chieftain in Ulster, rebelled and sought Spanish help. The Spanish mounted Armadas in 1596, 1597, 1599, and 1601, but only the last managed to land troops. In 1599, the queen dispatched about 17,000 troops under the Earl of Essex. He proved ineffective, abandoning his command to return to London in order to justify his conduct. Essex's replacement, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, routed the Irish and Spanish forces at Kinsale at Christmas 1601. Tyrone submitted in March 1603.

In 1607, Tyrone and other Catholic aristocrats fled to Europe, leaving their tenants to face the consequences. In 1608, the Crown began to confiscate most of Ulster, establishing a Scots-Presbyterian plantation. Gaelic Irish and Old English were evicted from their homes and forced to the barren West of Ireland. The remainder became tenants. By 1640, Protestants owned 35 percent of the land in Ireland. The displaced Catholic Irish population continued to nurse bitter resentment toward the English Crown and their Protestant landlords.

The world war with Spain stretched the capabilities of the Tudor state to their limit. The need to build and maintain the Royal Navy, raise and supply vast armies, and subsidize English allies at great distances necessitated huge sums of money. Wartime expenditure was about £240,000 a year. This was in addition to the Crown's regular peacetime expenditure of about £100,000, still necessary to keep things running at home. In response, Lord Treasurer Burghley stretched the revenue to about £300,000 a year by employing extreme frugality; exploiting feudal dues, old laws, and taxes; and selling off £100,000 in Crown lands. Each of these measures diminished either the queen's popularity or her long-term financial prospects; nor did they fully pay for the war.

To make up the shortfall, Elizabeth was forced to call Parliaments seven times between 1585 and 1601. This had two effects:

- Parliament voted over £1 million in taxes during this period. This enabled the queen to pay for the war, leaving a total government debt of just over £365,000 at her death.

- Parliament gained experience, confidence, and a sense of corporate identity. It spent most of its time passing local legislation. But it also used its right to petition for redress of grievances to raise issues the queen found uncomfortable, such as her marriage prospects (early in the reign) and the succession (later, when it became clear that she would not marry); religious reform; and war and foreign policy.

Consequently, Elizabeth did not much like Parliaments. In her view, Parliament was infringing on affairs of state reserved to her prerogative. Her response was to imprison outspoken M.P.s, such as Peter Wentworth, and use her powers of veto or, if possible, honeyed persuasion. An example occurred in 1601, when Parliament met in an angry mood.

Elizabeth did not much like Parliaments. In her view, Parliament was infringing on affairs of state reserved to her prerogative.

The previous decade had been a hard one in England. By 1601, the country had suffered 15 years of war and high taxes. During the 1590s, it had also suffered bad harvests, a major agricultural depression, and famine. The wool trade was also in decline, thanks to the war. Parliament passed two new Poor Laws and attacked royal monopolies. The queen granted monopolies on individual products to her courtiers as a way to reward them without having to dip into her own revenue. A courtier who received a monopoly on, say, all the nails in England, took a cut of the profits made by nail manufacturers. The additional costs were passed onto the consumer. Thus, monopolies were, in effect, taxes not voted by Parliament.

The issue came to a head in 1601 when, responding to public demonstrations in London, Parliament threatened to outlaw the practice. Elizabeth responded by delivering the famous Golden Speech in which she told the honorable members that "there is no prince that loves his subjects better," promising, vaguely, to do something about monopolies, then dismissing them. Thus, she

used the image of Gloriana once more to deflect attention away from cracks and tensions in the regime.

By the turn of the century, most of Elizabeth's old cronies (Burghley, Hatton, Walsingham) were dying off. There remained two great factions, fighting to control the government when the next reign began. The Cecil faction, now led by Burghley's son, Secretary of State Robert Cecil, was made up of administrators. Elizabeth trusted him, and they controlled most of the patronage and jobs at court. The Essex faction, led by Leicester's stepson, Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex, was made up of courtiers, poets, soldiers, and adventurers. After Leicester's death in 1588, the aging Elizabeth was attracted to the dashing Essex, but she did not trust him to run her government, particularly after his humiliation in Ireland. Feeling increasingly marginalized, Essex quarreled with and nearly struck the queen at a Council meeting in July 1598, then launched a foolhardy rebellion in February 1601. This was easily suppressed, and he was executed.

By this time, it was clear that a new reign was fast approaching. While Elizabeth refused to discuss the succession, Cecil negotiated with James VI of Scotland, the logical nearest heir. When Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603, Secretary Cecil played kingmaker, proclaiming James King of England.

Perhaps the real Tudor achievement is that, unlike Henry VII, the first Stuart ascended peacefully, without any breakdown of order. Elizabeth and her predecessors had defended the country from foreign invaders, tamed the nobility, worked out a religious settlement, and forged an English and Protestant nation. But they had also oppressed the Irish, offended the Scots, raised the profile of Parliaments, and left unresolved great social and economic tensions. These tensions would haunt their successors. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 5, secs. 3–5.

Guy, *Tudor England*, chaps. 12–16.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did men like Leicester, Essex, Drake, and Raleigh want an aggressive war with Spain? Why did Burghley and Cecil favor the Continental option?

2. Why did the war in Ireland become so savage? What factors exacerbated its violence?

The Land and Its People in 1603

Lecture 20

That is, in the old days, professional historians didn't tend to worry very much about the day-to-day lives of ordinary people. Our bailiwick was the big stuff of political and diplomatic history: reigns, wars, treaties, laws, political scandals, and the biographies of about 12 really important people, with the occasional economic trend thrown in to please the Marxists. … About the middle of the last century, we historians began to realize that that story was not the whole story, and that telling it was not enough.

The single fundamental fact that drove the economic and social history of England at the end of the Tudor period was that the population was expanding. Between 1525 and 1600, the population of England and Wales rose from 2.4 million to 4.5 million souls. Between 1600 and 1660, it rose to over 5.5 million. This growth was not steady. It slowed down or halted at times. Bad harvests made for hard times in the 1540s, 1550s, 1590s, 1620s, and 1650s. In all these decades, food grew more scarce and prices rose. Sometimes, this led to outright famine. More often, it led to poorer resistance to disease. Plague epidemics struck repeatedly between 1547 and the last outbreak in 1665. The sweating sickness, or influenza, killed many between 1555 and 1560. Other diseases included smallpox, cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, and whooping cough. Many were especially virulent among children, who had no resistance.

The early-modern English economy was not flexible enough to deal with either temporary setbacks or the overall expansion. This was made worse by Henry VIII's re-coinage and Elizabeth's high war taxes. This situation created winners and losers. Landowners did well. The scarcity of food meant that they could charge more for crops grown on their land. Food prices rose 400 percent between 1500 and 1610. The oversupply of tenants meant that they could charge higher rents. Some rents increased tenfold between 1510 and 1642. Landowners could use the cash thus raised to buy new land flooding the market from the dissolution of the monasteries. This enabled

many nobles and gentry to expand their holdings. It also enabled many prosperous yeomen to rise into their ranks.

Tenants and landless laborers, on the other hand, did poorly. High food prices meant poorer health and less resistance to disease. High rents cut into income necessary to purchase food. The glut of tenants also made it easier for landlords to throw delinquent tenants off the land and replace them with new faces. Many lost their leases or left their land for cities and towns, where work was more plentiful but growing less so as the population grew; the wool trade also went into decline. After 1607, others migrated to the new English colonies in America. Those who stayed in England and failed to find jobs became vagrants and, thus, outlaws.

Obviously, these economic changes had a profound effect on each of the ranks in the Great Chain of Being. (In this lecture, we will concentrate on rural England. Townspeople will be addressed in Lecture 25). The nobility (comprising dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons) was expanding in size, from about 40 families in 1485, to 60 in 1600, and 130 by the 1640s. They did well economically, making thousands of pounds a year on rents and sale of produce grown on their land. But they, too, were experiencing uncomfortable changes. The Tudors had effectively reduced their power by outlawing private armies, replacing great magnates with councils or direct rule, and ruining rebellious peers by attainder, execution, and confiscation of lands. Their expansion in numbers made them less exclusive, especially since James I would actually sell noble titles.

The sheer expense of aristocratic life ruined many. It was expected that late Tudor nobles were to live in great state. They built elaborate country houses, such as Hatfield or Theobalds. They provided hospitality to their neighbors, tenants, and the monarch should he or she come to visit. The gentry (comprising knights, esquires, and plain gentlemen) was also expanding in size and wealth, as well as in importance. The availability of monastic lands swelled their ranks from about 6,500 in 1540 to perhaps 20,000 in 1640, or about 2 percent of the population. The greater gentry, now with multiple estates, rivaled the peerage in wealth, making anywhere from £500 to several thousand pounds a year. The lesser, or parish gentry, with but one estate, might still struggle to make £100.

So many moved into the ranks of the gentry, or considered themselves gentry, that they increasingly suffered from a problem of definition. By the end of the period, a gentleman was someone who could call himself that without people laughing. Gentry justices of the peace (JPs) were given increasing responsibility by the Tudors for policing the localities. At the center, the House of Commons, dominated by the gentry, was becoming the more important of the two Houses of Parliament. Yeomen were substantial farmers, perhaps 90,000 families in 1600. During this period, they split. Greater yeomen, with large estates and excelling the parish gentry in wealth, profited from inflation to become or, at least, live like gentlemen. Lesser yeomen who had no tenants and made anywhere from £40 to £200 a year lost ground as prices rose. Increasingly, these fell into the next rank.

By the end of the period, a gentleman was someone who could call himself that without people laughing.

Husbandmen (holding up to 30 acres of land and making £15 to £30 a year) and cottagers (renting only their houses and making only a few pounds a year) suffered the most from these economic conditions. Many had to take on extra work as wage laborers on their landlord's demesne land. Their wives helped by spinning or weaving wool cloth. Many went into debt to purchase crops or fell behind on their rents. During the 1590s, 1620s, and 1650s, especially, some were thrown off their land when unable to pay. They then joined the ranks of the poor. The very poor, made up of husbandmen and cottagers who had lost their land and, often, became migrants, will be addressed in greater detail in Lecture 24.

During this period, the rich were getting richer and the poor, poorer. Some historians have argued that this economic gap was mirrored by an increasing cultural distance between aristocratic landlords and their tenants that made nonsense of the old traditions of paternalism and deference. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, secs. 1–2.

Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, chaps. 1–6.

Wrightson, *English Society*, chaps. 1, 5.

Questions to Consider

1. How did the role and fortunes of the landed aristocracy change between 1485 and 1603? How much of this was due to the Reformation? How much was due to the Tudor Revolution in government?

2. Why did the increasing gap between rich and poor threaten the Great Chain of Being? How did it lessen the effectiveness of paternalism and deference?

Private Life—The Elite

Lecture 21

During the Middle Ages, it could be argued that there really was continuity across these various ranks and a lot of contact between them. That's no longer the case as these people build elaborate country houses behind wrought iron gates and stone walls that increasingly physically separate them off and … have a sort of cultural implication that separates them off from other people.

All children in the early-modern period were born at home. Despite contemporary advice to the contrary, aristocratic (that is, noble and gentle) children were then put to wet-nurse. This freed their mother to resume her duties as hostess. It allowed her to resume breeding more heirs. It may have compromised the health of aristocratic children. It certainly increased the physical and psychological distance between parents and children. As soon as possible, aristocratic children were placed into the hands of nannies and tutors. They provided instruction and companionship while parents attended to political and social business in London. Tutors introduced pupils of both genders to a humanistic education: Latin and Greek grammar and translation, some mathematics, and religious instruction.

From early adolescence, only aristocratic males received a school education. Males were trained to run the country: Around age 10, a male was sent off to a "public" school, such as Eton, Harrow, or Winchester. There, he studied English, some Greek, and above all, the classics of Latin literature and history, which were intended to train him to rule. He also "networked" with fellow future ministers, peers, and members of Parliament. At around 16, he was sent up to university, that is, Oxford or Cambridge, where he continued networking and studying a similar curriculum. Taking a degree was optional. After university, he might be sent to one of the four Inns of Court (Grey's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, the Inner Temple, or Middle Temple) in London to study the law and to acquire further polish. Once again, application to the bar was optional.

After about 1620, the wealthiest sons of the aristocracy embarked with their tutors on the Grand Tour of European capitals. Here, they would acquire more polish; a smattering of foreign language and culture; valuable diplomatic contacts; and paintings, sculpture, and other artworks for the family estate. Upon his return, an aristocratic male made his debut at court, where he might hope to acquire office and a suitable wife.

Females were trained to run a household. Female children received formal education from tutors and training in managing an estate, running a household, and so on from their mothers. As teenagers, a chosen few might become maids of honor at court. Their chief goal was to acquire an aristocratic husband.

Whether at court or in the countryside, aristocratic children married fairly young and almost always with a view to property. Generally, parents looked out for suitable matches. However, aristocratic children were almost never forced to marry against their will. Most people agreed that although two suitable young people need not love each other, they should be compatible and should certainly not actively dislike each other. Still, aristocratic marriages had less to do with love than money. In the rare cases in which an aristocrat married below his or her class—say, into a merchant family—it was for money, not love. This was because marriage was the most important business deal struck by a family. A good match could increase a family's power and wealth enormously. As a result, aristocrats had to learn to love each other *after* the marriage ceremony. Many never did, leading to a double standard: Many males felt free to keep mistresses and carry on affairs, often acknowledging and rearing their illegitimate children. Females were forbidden such freedom, because to engage in it would blur the lines of inheritance.

Property and the power that went with it were obviously the primary concern of aristocrats. That property was distributed according to the laws of primogeniture. Elder sons inherited the family's full estate(s); carried on the family name; and, if nobles, sat in the House of Lords. In order to preserve the family's interests, inheritors were prevented from alienating much of their land by legal devices, such as the strict settlement. Younger sons received a portion, that is, a financial stake to start them out in life; went

into the professions, becoming doctors, lawyers, clergymen, army and navy officers, government officials, and estate stewards; or went to court in hopes of winning royal favor and, possibly, the title or land that would return them to the ranks of the aristocracy.

Most aristocrats spent most of their lives in the countryside, managing their estates and building up a local interest. Gentry, in particular, intermarried with their neighbors, forming a county-based community of interest and family ties. Aristocrats based their lives in the country at country houses of increasing magnificence as one goes up the social scale. Castles had grown obsolete by 1603. They were drafty and uncomfortable. Their military importance declined with the rise of the cannon and the abolition of private armies. Instead, great aristocrats built great country houses, such as Hatfield, Longleat, or Theobolds. These houses were surrounded by extensive gardens and parks. They were divided into public rooms, including a great hall for entertaining, and private apartments containing bedchambers and withdrawing rooms. The two wings were connected by a gallery containing family portraits and other artwork designed to show the lineage and taste of the owner. Lesser aristocrats (medium and minor gentry) built less elaborate versions of these palaces.

The [London] season developed because the Tudors and Stuarts wanted to keep an eye on their most powerful subjects.

In these houses, aristocrats lived lives of leisure and political consequence, served by armies of servants. Such houses were gathering places at election time or during political crises, when the county elite decided on strategy, and at holidays, such as Christmas, when the landlord provided hospitality to his tenants. Otherwise, the male aristocrat supervised his estates, wrote, studied, and hunted. Female aristocrats ordered the household, played music, did needlepoint, and provided heirs. Yet these houses were increasingly abandoned for nearly half the year, when their proprietors went to London.

Great aristocrats had always been drawn to court. But soon after 1603, the London season developed, from late fall to late spring, drawing even middling gentry to the capital. The season developed because the Tudors and

Stuarts wanted to keep an eye on their most powerful subjects. In addition, new technology (safer, more comfortable carriages; better roads) made long-distance travel easier. Many aristocrats had to be in London to attend to government or household offices, Parliament, or lawsuits at Westminster. Others spent these months in London to attend court balls and entertainments, as well as plays at court or in the public theaters that grew up in the 1580s.

Aristocrats died as they lived—differently from their tenants and other social inferiors. Officially, they were required to mount elaborate heraldic funerals, run by the royal Office of Heralds in London. These involved the creation and display of an effigy of the deceased, numerous banners and crests indicative of the family's many honors, and a magnificent procession to the place of internment. The emphasis was not so much on the individual who had died as on the lineage, power, and influence of the family. But many aristocratic families did not wish to go to the trouble and expense of a heraldic burial. They interred their loved ones more privately. Still, Elizabethan and Jacobite families commissioned elaborate carved monuments to the deceased. Later in the century, great families opted for private nocturnal burials.

There are two points to make about the aristocratic way of life circa 1603. The rise of the London season and gentle pursuits in the countryside stand in stark contrast to the aristocratic violence of the Wars of the Roses. This is another sign that the Tudors had tamed the English nobility and gentry. The aristocratic lifestyle was very different from that of ordinary folk—and becoming more so. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, sec. 3.

Morrill, *Tudor and Stuart Britain*, chap. 9.

Stone, *Crisis of the Aristocracy*.

———, *Family, Sex and Marriage*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why was aristocratic courtship and marriage so mercenary? Why did men receive more freedom in the system than women? How do you suppose people coped with the expectations of aristocratic courtship and marriage?

2. Consider the fortunes of younger sons. What do you suppose were the overall social effects of their mobility down into the middling orders and, if successful, possibly back up into the elite?

Private Life—The Commoners

Lecture 22

This doesn't mean that ordinary English men and women lived in some sort of pre-industrial paradise. … Their lives were spare of material comfort, often marred by disease, and lacking in opportunity compared to ours. … Did those facts affect their attitudes toward life and death and each other? Were their attitudes different from ours? … Would they choose to live like us if they had the chance?

People tended to marry later at the lower ranks in society, and menopause for early-modern women came earlier than it does today. This, along with frequent migration as people looked for work, resulted in smaller, more nuclear families with fewer siblings. Most people wanted children: Nearly 80 percent of married couples had a child within the first two years of marriage. Childbirth was communal. Because most people could not afford a doctor, they relied on local midwives, with other women of the community pitching in. Childbearing itself was dangerous without painkillers or antibiotics (witness Jane Seymour), but not as dangerous as one might think: Less than 4 percent of births resulted in the death of the mother. Most couples stopped having children around age 35. In addition to early menopause, there is evidence of primitive contraception.

Nursing was performed by the mothers themselves. This may have facilitated bonding with children. It also meant longer intervals between pregnancies, which, in turn, meant fewer siblings. Yet infant mortality at all ranks was high. One in eight children died within the first year. One-quarter of all children died before age 10. Because of this, historians have long debated whether parents grew as attached to their offspring as we tend to do. Some, noting the high death rate among children and the reticence with which parents noted these deaths in surviving letters and diaries, have concluded that parent/child relations were cold by our standards. But other historians have found plenty of evidence of parental love, concern, and indulgence, such as the making of toys.

The level of education a child received depended on his or her social rank. Children of merchants and yeomen went to grammar schools until mid-adolescence. These schools charged high fees. Their curriculum centered on Latin and English. Children of husbandmen and cottagers went to petty schools until about seven or eight, when they would be needed on the farm. These schools were often endowed by the local wealthy. They were staffed by the local clergy. The curriculum consisted of reading (English), writing, and some arithmetic. By 1600, some 25 percent of males and 8 percent of females could write their names. Even more could read simple ballads and religious texts. Four-fifths of boys and half of girls at this level experienced service outside of the family. If their parents could afford it, young boys between the ages of 14 and 21 served apprenticeships to tradesmen. Young girls were "farmed out" to other families in the village.

Courtship for the lower orders involved more individual choice than it did for the aristocracy, but community and material circumstances still mattered. Most young people met while in service away from home, at church, during the harvest, and so on. Nearly all courtship was directed toward marriage. There was little "casual dating." Young people below the level of the elite were much more free to choose their own partners because there was no property to worry about. Thus, young people at this level married for love. Women looked for good providers. Men looked for effective managers of households.

Both genders married later than their betters (late twenties for males, mid-twenties for females), waiting until they could afford to set up a house. Parents might be consulted, but they had no absolute veto. The community might become involved to foil an unsuitable match, that is, one that would end with the couple being supported by the parish poor rate. A promise to marry was considered a virtual marriage in canon law. This led to the popular convention that physical relations could begin as soon as two young people had agreed on marriage. As a result, about 20 percent of all brides went to the altar pregnant. This was frowned on by the church, but it does not mean that such promises were exchanged lightly or to trick the other person into a sexual relationship: The illegitimacy rate in early modern England was only 2 to 3 percent.

Marriage at this level was also, on average, closer and more companionate than it was for aristocrats. In theory, marital relations were to follow the dictates of Saint Paul. Husbands were to love their wives but rule over them. Wives were to submit. Physical correction was thought to be a last resort; physical abuse was not tolerated. In practice, early-modern marriage at this level seems to have been warmer and even more egalitarian than for the aristocracy. Poor people had to work together to survive and preserve their children.

Marriage at this level was also, on average, closer and more companionate than it was for aristocrats.

Naturally, the range of marriages was very wide, from happy to miserable. Divorce was nearly impossible, because few could afford the legal fees. As a result, most unsuccessful marriages ended with informal separation, often abandonment. Given an average life expectancy of 35, most marriages did not last much longer than ours do, on average, today. Rapid remarriage was expected, especially for widows. Widows often had property, which this society expected to be vested in a man. Widows were assumed to have sexual experience that had to be channeled.

The performance of work was another condition separating ordinary people from the elite. The hours of work were still sunup to sundown and, thus, longer in summer and fall. Work for men and women was heavily physical but not highly structured, timed, or pressurized. Men plowed, planted, reaped, and repaired fences. Women milked, weeded, sewed, spun wool, and looked after children. During peak times (harvest, in particular), they would join their husbands in the fields. Children were assigned light tasks according to their ages, mostly helping with animals.

Life at home was marginally more comfortable than it had been in 1485. Houses had grown more elaborate. A yeoman might live in a multi-roomed timber-frame or brick house, with the following features: a hall with a hearth in the middle; a cross passage separating two wings, one wing containing storage rooms and the other, a parlor; an upstairs level with bedrooms. Husbandmen and cottagers lived in houses of two or more rooms. Ordinary people had more possessions. Yeomen's inventories reveal feather beds,

pewter, even silver, and books. Husbandmen and cottagers possessed sheets and pots and pans.

Diet had not changed in centuries. Yeomen had meat and fish (for the well off), wheaten bread, dairy products, and wine and beer. Husbandmen and cottagers had rye bread, milk and cheese, and beer.

Even in good times, no one could depend on a long and healthy life. Illness was frequent and mysterious. The connections among hygiene, diet, and disease were not understood. Simple infections could prove fatal. Accidents were common. For example, almost no one knew how to swim. Only the wealthy could afford doctors, and medicine was still based on humoral theory and classical precedent. Death for ordinary people, like birth, was experienced communally. Most people died at home. Relatives and local women dressed and prepared the body. The funeral was open to the whole community. Gifts were given to guests and to the poor. The funeral concluded with a feast designed to heal the community. This last raises the question of to what extent the common people formed a community, among themselves and with the ruling elite. The next few lectures will address this issue. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, sec. 4.

Morrill, *Tudor and Stuart Britain*, chaps. 5, 6, 10.

Wrightson, *English Society*, chaps. 3–4.

Questions to Consider

1. If parents did love their children, how can we account for their reticence about their loss? Why might early-modern people seem to be less forthcoming about their emotions than we are?

2. Note the difference between religious and social theory (on courtship, marriage, contraception, and so on) and how people actually lived their lives. Why, do you suppose, did they break the rules? Were they better off for having done so?

The Ties That Bound

Lecture 23

Life in early modern England was fragile and tenuous. It was lived very much on the margins of subsistence and in the shadow of unexpected sudden death from famine, disease, and accident. … Ordinary people couldn't go it alone. To make it through life, they depended on each other and on their community.

We have seen that English men and women were separated by region, by class, and by gender and that their relationships to each other could be broken easily by death and desertion. What institutions in English life bridged these gaps and made sense of these tragedies? What coping mechanisms and support systems were available to help people get through life?

Religion was intended to be the first bulwark imparting meaning, preserving order, and knitting together community. In a society without science and technology, a democratic civic consciousness, or a large police force, religion was the principle source of worldview, structure, and universal justice. Religion provided a theory of cosmic and social order (the Great Chain of Being) and warned against social strife. It explained misfortune and provided consolation. It provided a code of moral conduct and a system of rewards and punishments. Protestant religion, in particular, helped to define the English as a chosen nation engaged in an epic struggle against the popish anti-Christ.

English men and women learned all this, primarily, in church. Every English subject was required by law to attend Sunday services by the Acts of Uniformity (1549, 1552, 1559). The church itself was arranged hierarchically: The most preeminent families sat near the front; their ancestors were buried under the floor; and their achievements were memorialized on the walls. Thus, the social order was linked to the divine order. At church, all were required to pray for the monarch and members of the royal family. Loyalty was further encouraged in sermons celebrating the Great Chain of Being and warning of the consequences of breaking it. Church holidays and

festivals provided relief from the daily grind. Church ceremonies marked the important rites of passage in each life: baptism at birth, confirmation upon reaching adulthood, matrimony, churching and baptism at the birth of one's children, and Christian burial at one's death.

Ironically, as we have seen, religion divided and perplexed Englishmen and women as much as it united them. Puritan reformers objected to many Church practices, often dividing the parish. Diehard Catholic recusants stayed away entirely, becoming objects of suspected disloyalty. Successive Reformations and Counter-Reformations had reduced the active priesthood to some 8,000, not enough to cover the 9,000 parishes in England, most of which remained poor. This led to continued absenteeism, pluralism, and clerical poverty. Those who attended services often remained ignorant, oblivious, or even disruptive of what went on there. Above all, Protestant religion deemphasized the sacraments, exorcism, and the prayers to saints. Thus, it provided much less help or consolation in a world where death came early, suddenly, and with little recourse to science or medicine. As a result, many continued to believe in old Catholic practices or even pagan superstitions. This helps to explain continued popular belief in witches, faeries, and ghosts.

Kinship was in fact not very strong beyond the nuclear family. … Most people in the village relied on an informal network of neighbors.

England in 1603 was not a welfare state. When religion failed, there were no public social service agencies to turn to, apart from the Poor Law. Instead, the people of early modern England turned to each other. In theory, early-modern Englishmen and women could fall back on paternalism and deference. The ruling elite was taught that it owed paternal care and protection to those whom God had given them to rule. In return, the ruled were taught that they owed their rulers deference, loyalty, obedience, and respect. But some modern historians have suggested that upper-class paternalism was merely a screen for the greed of the elite 2 percent. After exploiting the masses to gain their wealth, the occasional Christmas feast was mere tokenism. The lower 98 percent may have feigned respect, but in reality, they resented the inequalities of their society and knew that they could depend only on family and friends.

Kinship was in fact not very strong beyond the nuclear family. That is, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins did not play an important role in each other's lives below the level of the elite. Why? With so short an average life expectancy, living extended family members were rare. Migration in search of work broke up big families. On the other hand, if a migrant had extended kin at his destination, he could reasonably expect lodging and some financial assistance until he got on his feet. Most people in the village relied on an informal network of neighbors. We have already seen how neighbors came together to assist each other in birth and death. In between, they could call on neighbors to lend money or tools.

Neighborhood peer pressure could stifle or curb objectionable behavior. A good neighbor was never (or rarely) loud, drunk, blasphemous, litigious, quarrelsome, abusive, violent, sexually incontinent, a gossip, or a scold. Neighbors who violated these norms might find themselves subject to ostracism, anonymous and obscene graffiti (*squibs*), "rough music" with pots and pans (*charivari*), or a "riding" out of town on a rail in effigy or literally (a *skimmington*). Only when public ridicule failed would one's neighbors turn to the courts—ecclesiastical, civil, or criminal. It was a major tenet of neighborliness that one did not resort to the law lightly or quickly. Good neighbors worked things out.

But what if things could not be worked out? What if religion failed to instill conventional morality and good behavior? What happened when ordinary people refused to show deference, respect kin, or get along with neighbors? In the next lecture, we shall examine what happened when the order of the community broke down. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, sec. 5–7.

Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, chap. 11.

Wrightson, *English Society*, chaps. 2, 7.

Questions to Consider

1. How did the Reformation change most people's experience of religion? Did it make religious ritual and dogma more or less relevant to their lives? Which institutions serve a similar function in our lives today?

2. Was paternalism merely a screen for upper-class greed or did it do some good in the early-modern world? Did the lower orders believe in it, or were they merely playing along with the game?

Order and Disorder

Lecture 24

Contemporary observers were convinced that disorder, poverty, and crime were on the rise. They were worried that religion, paternalism, deference, kinship, and neighborliness could not hold back the rising tide—that their center could not hold. Knowing as we do the profound demographic and economic changes that England was experiencing during this period gives credence to all these fears. England was more disordered. Life was more uncertain in many ways in 1603 than it was in 1485.

In 1603, English men and women still believed in the Great Chain of Being, but its links were subject to more strain than ever. The Chain began to experience ever greater political tensions. During the 1590s, the succession and even England's independent existence seemed insecure. Parliament was becoming more assertive, raising the question of its relationship to the king. As government grew in size and scope, increasing tensions arose between center and locality. The Chain also began to experience religious tensions. Catholics refused to accept the Church of England and, in some cases, Queen Elizabeth. Puritans demanded further reform, often refusing to conform to local practice. Finally, the Chain began to experience social and economic tensions. The political role of the nobility was changing. The gentry was growing in power and wealth. Merchants and professionals were also growing in wealth. Those below the level of yeomen were growing poorer. The poor were becoming more visible and, to some, more threatening.

The problem of poverty had grown during the early modern period. The economic fluctuations of the century after 1540 created numerous poor people and made them more visible. Increasing numbers of people experienced a decline in wealth thanks to rising prices and rents and stagnant wages. Many became migrants. They were thrown off the land by enclosure or an inability to pay their rents. They moved about searching for work. Overall, some 20,000–40,000 people were constantly on the move,

including the unemployed, demobilized soldiers, beggars, the sick and lame, and criminals.

Attitudes to the poor changed during the 16th century. Medieval Catholics looked with favor on the poor. It was widely believed that the poor were protected by God in this world and would be saved in the next. The poor gave Catholics an excuse to perform good works, which might lead to their own salvation. Early modern Protestants feared the poor. Their numbers were becoming unmanageable. They were thought to move about the country in lawless, masterless bands. They were widely perceived as potential or actual criminals.

In 1547, Parliament decreed that able-bodied poor were to be branded with a "V" for vagrant, enslaved for two years, and put to death on a third offense. This proved unenforceable and was soon repealed.

As we have seen, the Poor Law of 1536 divided the poor into the deserving and the undeserving. The deserving poor included women, children, the aged, the lame, the sick, and the halt. Tudor legislation sought to help these people: The 1536 Poor Law authorized local communities to raise taxes—the poor rates—to provide relief for the poor. Acts of 1563 and 1572 made these taxes compulsory. They were collected by churchwardens and distributed by overseers of the poor. They were administered and awarded by the local JP. The Acts of 1572, 1598, and 1601 also authorized the erection of workhouses where the poor could be made useful, the erection of public housing for the poor, and the provision of schooling and apprenticeships for poor children.

The undeserving poor, or "sturdy beggars," were able-bodied men who did not work. Because contemporaries did not understand the workings of economics, they assumed that these men refused to work. Tudor legislation sought to punish these people. As early as 1495, Parliament ordered beggars to be placed in the stocks for three days, whipped, and sent back to their home villages. In 1547, Parliament decreed that able-bodied poor were to be branded with a "V" for vagrant, enslaved for two years, and put to death on a third offense. This proved unenforceable and was soon repealed. A 1572 law

ordered boring through the ear on a first offence, condemnation as a felon for a second, and hanging for a third. This was spottily enforced; capital punishment for vagrancy was repealed only in 1593.

The Act of Settlement of 1662 made it easier to deny poor relief by requiring those seeking it to do so in the parish of their birth. The Poor Law was often cruel and always inefficient. In the end, everything was left up to the generosity of individual JPs and parishes. Some historians think that private charity did more good, especially in the endowment of schools and hospitals. But others point out that the poor rates got many people through hard winters, especially the working poor. The Poor Law deserves credit as the first attempt at large-scale government relief since Roman times. Its existence may help to explain why England weathered the famines of the 1590s and 1620s without major peasant revolts, as in France. To this degree, paternalism worked.

What happened when religion, paternalism, neighborliness, the Poor Law, and even order itself broke down entirely? As with poverty, many people in early modern England thought that crime was on the rise throughout the period. In fact, we can tell from criminal court records that felonies were on the rise through the 1620s, then fell sharply. Four types of crime particularly worried English magistrates:

- Violent crime (including murder, assault, rape, and infanticide) was rare in England, less than 5 percent of all indictments.

- Theft accounted for three-quarters of assize court prosecutions—perhaps a result of the state of the economy. Theft of goods above the value of one shilling (*very* roughly a day's wage for a working man) was punishable by death.

- Moral crimes, which particularly incensed Puritans, included blasphemy and breaking the Sabbath, keeping an unlicensed alehouse, scolding, fornication, adultery, and witchcraft. Accusations for this crime peaked early in the 17th century, probably as a result of poor economic conditions leading to increasing tensions in the village.

- Riots may be divided into four types: riots against some unpopular ethnic or religious group, calendar riots (around a particular holiday), food or enclosure riots, and political demonstrations. Generally, these were not punished severely. The ruling elite knew that it was outnumbered and that it had to allow people to let off steam.

The court system was complicated and allowed wide latitude to plaintiffs. There were numerous courts with overlapping jurisdictions, including King's Bench (for criminal cases in which the Crown was involved); Common Pleas (a civil court of the common law); Chancery (a court of equity); assizes (a circuit court to try major felonies); quarter sessions (presided over by JPs, held four times a year, generally for non-capital felonies); petty sessions (presided over by JPs, held every few weeks for lesser crimes); church courts (for moral offenses); borough courts (for minor offenses committed in town); and manorial courts (for minor offenses and disputes on the manor).

The steps taken when a felony had been committed were as follows:

- The victim raised "the hue and cry" and called the constable (a voluntary local official; there was no police force), who sought to apprehend the perpetrator and who reported to the JP.
- The JP then investigated, interrogated witnesses, and if appropriate, made out an arrest warrant.
- The constable formally arrested the accused (in theory).
- The victim (not the state) now decided whether or not to prosecute or drop the matter.
- If the victim prosecuted, the case was sent to a Grand Jury.
- If the Grand Jury agreed, the accused was indicted.
- At trial, a jury decided on guilt or innocence; the judge decided on punishment.

- If found guilty, the defendant might still be pardoned by the king.

As a result of the discretion allowed at each step, less than 10 percent of accused felons actually went to the scaffold.

The English legal system was seen by contemporaries as a bulwark against disorder. Some later historians have seen it as a tool by which the privileged elite kept the masses in line. In fact, both sides used the threat of violence more than actual violence to jockey for position. Perhaps one might say that early modern England was characterized by ordered disorder. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, secs. 8–9.

Manning, *Village Revolts*.

Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, chap. 10.

Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*.

Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement*.

Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*.

Wrightson, *English Society*, chap. 6.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did early-modern people divide the poor into the deserving and the undeserving? Does this distinction make sense in light of what we know about the workings of economics? Do we still make it today?

2. Given their profound fear of disorder, why did upper-class judges and JPs treat rioters so leniently? Is there a distinction between riot and rebellion?

Towns, Trade, and Colonization

Lecture 25

Towns had their own separate chains of command and social hierarchies. These were based not on land or birth, but on mercantile and professional wealth. Theoretically, this hierarchy was more open than its rural counterpart because fortunes fluctuated. In other words, towns were supposed to be places of opportunity where you could rise from relatively humble beginnings. At least that was the myth.

If one found village life too confining or insufficiently gainful, one could always go to town. By 1550, some 10 percent of the English and Welsh population lived in towns of more than 2,000 inhabitants. These towns may be divided into three types, in descending order of magnitude: London, with 60,000 people; provincial capitals, with perhaps, 7,000–10,000 people, such as York in the North, Norwich in East Anglia, and Bristol and Exeter in the West Country; and cathedral, market, and county towns, with about 1,000 people (but swelling when a fair or the assizes came to town), such as Worcester in Worcestershire, Rye in Sussex, and Salisbury in Hampshire. All these towns were closely linked with the countryside: Yeomen and husbandmen brought their grain to sell. Minor nobles and gentry came to muster the militia or to attend the assizes. Their sons came to attend school.

But towns had their own separate chains of command and social hierarchies, based not on birth or land but on mercantile and professional wealth. Theoretically, this hierarchy was more open than its rural counterpart as fortunes fluctuated, but in practice, the same families tended to maintain their control through intermarriage, nepotism, and other means. At the top of any town would be the mayor (in London, a lord mayor). Below him was a group of aldermen. Together with the mayor, they comprised the corporation and wielded most of the political power. They administered civic government, maintained order, and made local ordinances. Below them came citizens or freemen, that is, members of the local guild. The guild set prices, wages, and standards of quality for all merchants and tradesmen in the town. Its members could set up in a trade. They voted in municipal elections and, in some boroughs, for the MP. Below them came everybody else. As migrants

flooded into town during this period, it became harder for the guild to maintain control. This enabled non-members to practice their trades.

The period 1540–1640 was a difficult one for most towns. The dissolution of the monasteries hurt business. The increasing centralization of the wool industry and rise of London as England's main port took business from smaller towns. The stagnation of the international wool trade hurt both ports and cloth towns.

English trade at the end of the Tudor period may be divided into wool and everything else. Wool had long been England's most lucrative commodity, consisting of three-quarters of the nation's foreign trade in general. Increasingly, English merchants shipped finished wool cloth, not raw wool, to Europe. Shepherds and small farmers kept sheep in the countryside. Their wives sheered the sheep in spring, carded and spun the wool, and wove the cloth for extra money. The wool cloth was then purchased by a wool factor, who sold it to a great merchant. Such merchants sold the finished wool cloth abroad, usually through London to Antwerp.

By 1550, the monopoly of the wool trade had been wrested from the German merchants of the Hanseatic League by the London-based Merchant Adventurers. The Merchant Adventurers were fabulously wealthy international merchants. Most Elizabethan lords mayor and aldermen of London were Merchant Adventurers. As a result, they were very important to the government as potential creditors and as guarantors of order in the capital, hence, the granting of their monopoly. After 1568, however, Antwerp was frequently closed to English traders by disease and the Wars of Religion, culminating in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). This, combined with overproduction, led the wool trade to stagnate and, in some years, decline.

The English merchants reacted in three ways. They produced more wool, flooding the market. They developed new, lighter fabrics, called the "new draperies." Finally, they turned to other trades and industries: tin-mining in Cornwall, coal-mining around Newcastle and Nottinghamshire, and shipbuilding along the Thames. The English government sought to encourage the development of other markets. It chartered monopolistic trading companies to other areas: the Muscovy Company (for Russia) in 1555; the

Spanish Company in 1577; the Eastland Company (for the Baltic) in 1579; the Turkey (later Levant) Company in 1581; the Senegal Adventurers (later Royal Africa) Company in 1588; the East India Company in 1600; the Virginia Company in 1606; and the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629.

The early companies were intended to open up these markets to English wool, but they actually made their profits out of importing silks, tea, spices, and medicines from India and the Levant; timber and naval stores from the Baltic; and human beings shipped to the Americas from Africa. Later companies were founded for other purposes. The Virginia Company was intended to mine gold. The Massachusetts Bay Company was intended to provide an economic and religious alternative to life in England. Each of these monopolies did more for the individual merchants who were its members and the court favorites who secured their charters than for the economy overall.

England started out too late and was poorly placed, geographically, to find a new trade route to the East or to establish colonies in Central and South America.

An alternative was to find new routes to the wealth of the East or to found new trading colonies. The most lucrative trading system in the world was the Spanish-Portuguese Empire, which was closed to English traders. After Spain annexed Portugal in the 1580s, it controlled all the gold and silver mines of Central and South America. It also controlled nearly all the southern routes to the lucrative trade with the Far East. The rest were controlled by the Dutch. The English Crown responded by attempting to seek new routes to the East and establish new colonies of its own. But England started out too late and was poorly placed, geographically, to find a new trade route to the East or to establish colonies in Central and South America.

As we have seen, English attempts to break into the Spanish trade with Central and South America resulted in war and failure. This left only the bleak eastern coast of North America. The earliest English attempts at colonization, such as that on Roanoke Island in the 1580s, also failed. The first successful English colony was founded at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. The purpose of the venture was to mine gold. When no gold was found, the

earliest colonists proved incapable of growing crops or getting along with the Native American population. The colony only hit its economic stride in the 1620s when it discovered a marketable commodity (tobacco) and a cheap source of labor (African slaves). By 1635, Jamestown and its environs had a population of 35,000, but the colony was bankrupt. This led the Crown to step in and assume control of Virginia.

The colonization of Massachusetts began with the Plymouth settlement on Cape Cod in 1620 on the Virginia Company charter. In 1629, the much larger Massachusetts Bay Company was chartered. These settlements were founded, not so much as a source of easy wealth, but to provide an alternative to the Poor Law for indigent Englishmen and to provide a refuge for those Puritans who could not conform to the Church of England. Their relations with the native population were generally good, and they survived. The Massachusetts Bay Colony absorbed the Plymouth settlement in 1691. Puritan intolerance eventually drove Roger Williams to found Rhode Island as a haven for a wider variety of Protestants, as well as Jews. In 1632, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, founded Maryland. Later in the 17th century, it became a haven for Catholics.

The English colonies of the New World had limited commercial or military value. But, like English cities, they were an increasingly important safety valve for those who could neither abide nor prosper in Anglican village society. By 1642, some 60,000 people had crossed the Atlantic to found an English society in North America. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, secs. 10–11.

Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition*.

Loades, *England's Maritime Empire*.

MacFarlane, *The British in the Americas*.

Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, chaps. 7–9.

Questions to Consider

1. How was town life different from country life? How similar?

2. Why did the English join the exploration bandwagon so late?

London

Lecture 26

At the beginning of the Tudor period, London was already by far the most important city in the realm. By the end of the Stuarts—that is, the end of our course—it would be 10 times as large, the center of a worldwide empire, and arguably the source of the most vibrant culture in Europe.

By 1485, London was already England's capital, chief port, and largest and richest city. London's population rose from about 60,000 in 1520 to about 200,000 by 1600 and nearly 500,000 by 1700. This was much faster than the rest of the country and was widely perceived as another sign of breakdown of the Great Chain of Being. London's growth did not occur because it was reproducing itself. As a result of overcrowding, disease, fire, and crime, the death rate exceeded the birthrate. London grew because of migration, some 6,000–8,000 people a year.

According to historian E. A. Wrigley, this expansion had tremendous implications for the English economy and society. London had to be fed, which necessitated more efficient agriculture, more ships and better roads to supply London's food, and better and more flexible credit facilities. The size and economic vitality of London broke down traditional values. Newcomers encountered more people, with differing customs, accents, and beliefs, than in the countryside. They moved about the city, forming and breaking more social relationships more quickly than in their home parishes, forgetting their country customs. Their time and work was measured by clocks and watches, not the seasons and sun. Their work arrangements were rational and casual (that is, based on mutual interest, which could change) rather than lifelong commitments. All these changes might produce loneliness and alienation, but they would be welcomed by those who found village life too dull or constraining. In short, according to this theory, London was a great modernizing influence on English life.

Topographically, London was really two cities joined by the River Thames. The river was the reason for its existence and growth. London was founded

by the Romans circa 60 C.E. Its location on the Thames was crucial. The Romans picked this spot because it was the last point (most western) in the river still wide enough to harbor big ships and the first point (most eastern) in the river that was bridgeable. They built the first London bridge to connect the north and south. As a result, London became a vital crossroads for trade, a crucial military choke point (a wall was also built around the city), and the capital of Roman Britain.

In 1603, there were still only two ways to get across the river: by barge or by London Bridge. London Bridge was built in the 12th century. Because land in London was at such a premium, the bridge itself was covered with houses and shops. In fact, London mostly developed along the northern bank of the Thames. The southern bank, comprising the borough of Southwark, was outside the jurisdiction of the city government. This fact explains why the theaters (the Rose, the Globe), the bull and bear rings, and the taverns (the Tabard) were found here during our period. The north bank may divided into London proper (within the old Roman wall) to the east and the royal borough of Westminster to the west. The only land route between them, Fleet Street-Strand-King Street, was not fully paved in 1603. Most people went by water-taxi, that is, the London oarsmen and their barges.

The City and East End were the economic heart of London. Just east of London Bridge, on the north bank, lay the chief source of the city's wealth, the docks. Here the river was filled with ships, lorries, and other means of transportation. Goods had to pass through the royal Customs House, which provided the largest segment of government income. Spreading eastward was a complex of wharfs, shipwrights, sailors' houses, taverns, brothels, and so on that became known as the East End. This area was a "first stop" for immigrants and a "last stop" for the very poor. Still, this area had not yet earned the unsavory reputation it would have in the 19th century.

The wealth from trade flowed into a financial district within the old Roman wall known later as the City. Also within the wall might be found the Guildhall, where the Lord Mayor and 26 aldermen governed London; numerous smaller halls, one for each guild or livery company in London; the Royal Exchange, where merchants met to strike deals; Old St. Paul's Cathedral, one of the largest churches in Europe, but only the most notable

The monarchy and nobility enjoyed the complex of palaces upwind and upriver at Westminster.

of 96 parish churches in the walled city; and the Tower of London, built by William the Conqueror to safeguard his kingdom's most precious jewel. By 1603, it was less a royal palace than a royal prison.

London within the walls in 1603 was a maze of narrow, winding lanes and hastily thrown up, rickety houses made of wood and plaster all crowded together. No wonder early-modern London was subject to fires, disease, building collapses, and a consequent high death rate. It is not surprising that the monarchy and nobility abandoned the City for the complex of palaces upwind and upriver at Westminster. Before the Norman Conquest, Edward the Confessor established what would eventually be the nation's administrative and legislative heart. Westminster Abbey, built by Edward the Confessor and rebuilt by Henry III, was where the monarch was crowned and, before 1820, buried, along with other heroes of English politics, war, and culture. Westminster Hall**,** built by William II, housed the courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Chancery. This was also where great state trials took place. Westminster Palace had been a royal palace until partially destroyed

by fire in 1514. In 1529, Henry VIII gave it for the use of Parliament, which met there until it burned down in 1834. It was then replaced by the far more magnificent palace of Westminster, designed by Augustus Pugin to look more Gothic than the original structure.

Whitehall Palace, a vast, disorganized collection of buildings on the river, was confiscated from Cardinal Wolsey by Henry VIII in 1529. Here, in 1603, the monarch and the court lived, worked, and played. More specifically, here the monarch convened the Privy Council and decided on policy. Most divisions of the central government had their offices here as well. (The term "Whitehall" is still synonymous with government in England.) The court produced elaborate pageants, plays, and ceremonies here, and courtiers vied for royal favor, office, titles, pensions, and lands. (Most failed.)

Most divisions of the central government had their offices [at Whitehall] as well. (The term "Whitehall" is still synonymous with government in England.)

Many nobles built or rented great houses along the Strand or even further west in the West End. This area was convenient because it was near the court, and both the prevailing winds and the current of the river sent smoke and waste east. Many of the great bishops' palaces along the Strand had been confiscated at the Reformation. These were bought or awarded to nobles, who often rebuilt them to suit 17th-century tastes. In the 1630s, the Russells, Earls of Bedford, commissioned Inigo Jones to design the first London square, Covent Garden, to attract members of the gentry.

Londoners faced two massive disasters at mid-century. Plague had attacked London many times since 1348. The last and greatest outbreak took place in 1665 and killed perhaps 70,000 people. Just as London was recovering from the plague in the summer of 1666, the Great Fire began in the City near London Bridge and raged for nearly a week. It killed few but destroyed nearly the whole of the old walled city, including old St. Paul's.

London was rebuilt within a few years. Sir Christopher Wren designed many of the new churches, as well as new St. Paul's Cathedral, which remains a

symbol of London's indomitability. In fact, despite these short-term setbacks, as well as those of the Dutch Wars, London continued to grow, becoming the largest and wealthiest city in Europe by 1700. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, sec. 10.

Inwood, *History of London*, chaps. 5–14.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did defenders of the Great Chain of Being hate London? In what ways was it corrosive of the Chain?

2. Many preachers argued that the Great Plague and Great Fire were divine punishments for London's materialism and sinfulness. Why did Londoners reject this judgment and rebuild so quickly?

That is, never before had so many English men and women excelled at so many art forms. Why should this be so? … The "Zeitgeist Fallacy," doesn't really hold water when examined in the light of real human beings. … Economic and intellectual conditions can create an environment in which art may, but will not necessarily, flourish. … Still, we cannot explain why these opportunities were taken.

The achievement of English arts circa 1603 was far beyond anything yet seen. Never before had so many Englishmen and women excelled at so many art forms. Church, Crown, and court patronage were the three great sources of commissions and subjects before the 17th century. Church patronage declined after the Reformation: Many abbey churches were converted to lay uses, and much Church art was destroyed. Crucifixes, stained glass, and other religious images were banned. Church finances declined. The Crown took up some of the slack under Henry VIII and his successors, who commissioned new prayer books and other religious literature. But Elizabeth I was too poor and too frugal to foster much art directly. She promoted tournaments, pageants, and processions, especially on the anniversary of her accession. She also encouraged or inspired writers to praise her as part of the Gloriana myth.

James I (1603–1625) was no more wealthy but far less frugal. He commissioned new palace architecture from Inigo Jones, especially the Banqueting House, Whitehall, and the Queen's House, Greenwich, and elaborate theatrical productions called masques. These involved such writers as Ben Jonson, musicians, dancers, magnificent sets designed by Jones, and sumptuous costumes. Charles I (1625–1649) was a great connoisseur. He continued the production of masques. He patronized great artists and encouraged the musicians of the royal band and Chapel Royal.

Court and aristocratic patronage was always important, sometimes supplementing, sometimes surpassing that of the monarch. Such writers as Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and later, the Cavalier

poets might not receive direct commissions from the Crown, but they made important contacts and received inspiration by hanging around the court. The court was full of aristocrats who commissioned art. The Earl of Leicester under Elizabeth and the Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Arundel under Charles I were great collectors. They encouraged diplomats and friends to go on "the Grand Tour" and bring back European paintings, sculpture, furniture, gold, silver and metalwork, and tapestry hangings.

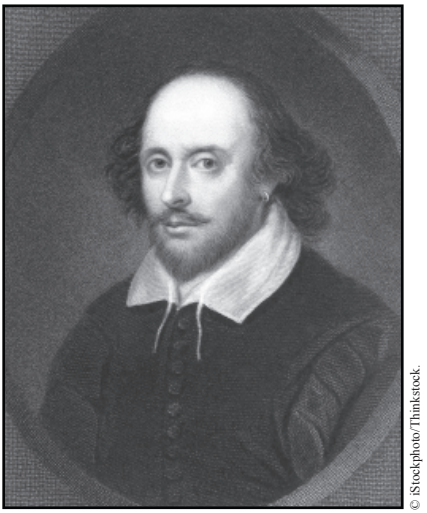
English men and women excelled at many forms of art, but not evenly. English architecture emerged from the High Gothic into a more classical, or Palladian, style. By 1485, most of the great churches in England had been built. Henry VIII built numerous palaces and houses, but his successors, we have noted, were less ambitious. Great aristocrats built magnificent houses, such as Hatfield and Theobalds. Some also speculated and built in London, including the Earl of Bedford at Covent Garden.

After Holbein, the Tudor era was not a great one for painting. Elizabeth may have set English painting back by strictly regulating her image, demanding that she always be portrayed as youthful. Nicholas Hilliard produced exquisite miniatures of her court. Later, Charles I and his court spurred a renaissance in English art by patronizing Rubens, especially his *Apotheosis of James I* at the Banqueting House, and Van Dyck, especially his series of paintings of the royal family. These paintings, along with court masques, conveyed a propaganda image of the king as godlike, serene, and commanding. Unfortunately, that message was rarely seen by any but his most aristocratic visitors to Whitehall.

In music, the court remained a prime center of artistic production. In the Chapel Royal, talented musicians, such as William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons, wrote magnificent choral anthems. The king's Band of Violins, the only real orchestra in the country, and other court musical groups, produced sophisticated secular music for performance at masques and in the theater. Individual musicians, including Byrd, Gibbons, and John Dowland, produced songs and keyboard works for quiet hours. Much of this music was printed and played beyond the court, in parish churches and private houses. Below the level of the elite, towns maintained minstrels and waits to perform

at ceremonial occasions. Ordinary people sang and played folksongs and ballads in taverns and carols and hymns in church.

Drama is the art form most associated with Elizabethan and Jacobean England. The first plays in English were religious mystery plays and mummers' plays, associated with Church festivals. During the 16th century, strolling bands of players put on short interludes in private houses. By the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, full five-act plays were being put on at the universities and the inns of court, especially during Christmas revels. Elizabeth enjoyed these occasions and began to patronize similar productions at court. She established the office of Master of the Revels in 1579. She began to sponsor a group of players (the Queen's Men), as did other court nobles, such as Leicester. This sponsorship was important, because the Poor Law of 1572 outlawed "common players in interludes and minstrels" lacking such protection.



Shakespeare was at court with an abundance of artists and writers like William Byrd, Nicholas Hilliard, Edmund Spenser, and Ben Jonson.

The earliest public theaters were established outside the jurisdiction of the London authorities: the Red Lion, north of the city, in 1567; the Theatre in Shoreditch in 1577; the Rose in Southwark in 1577; and the Globe in Southwark in 1598. Unlike the court productions, these theaters attracted a wide audience, from aristocrats who sat in upper boxes to the "groundlings" at stage level. Under the management of opportunistic impresarios, such as Richard Burbage, Christopher Marlowe wrote *Dr. Faustas*, *Tamburlaine*, and *Edward II*; Ben Jonson wrote *Sejanus*, *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, and *Bartholemew Fair*; and William Shakespeare wrote history plays, including *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and the *Henriads*;

comedies, including *Much Ado about Nothing* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; and tragedies, including *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *Romeo and Juliet*.

The most powerful and lasting cultural achievement of Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline England was the perfection of the English language. English became eloquent, expressive, and comprehensible in a wide variety of genres. This was demonstrated in philosophical, theological, and historical works by Francis Bacon (*Essays*, *The New Atlantis*), John Foxe (*Book of Martyrs*), Raphael Holinshed (*Chronicles*), Richard Hooker (*Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*), and Sir Walter Raleigh (*History of the World*); travel literature by Richard Hakluyt (*Principal Navigations of the English Nation*) and William Camden (*Britannia*); and poetry by Shakespeare (sonnets), Sir Philip Sidney (*Arcadia*, *Astrophel and Stella*), and Edmund Spenser (*The Faerie Queen*), as well as that of the metaphysical poets (John Donne and George Herbert) and Cavalier poets (Abraham Cowley and Sir John Suckling). The achievement is perhaps best summed up in the authorized (King James) version of the Bible of 1611. Though translated by a committee of bishops, it presented Scripture in prose that still resonates through our language.

The most powerful and lasting cultural achievement of Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline England was the perfection of the English language.

Even in the areas of language, art, and culture, English men and women in 1603 worried about disorder. Such an eloquent and powerful language could inspire—or inflame. Thus, the Crown and ruling elite tried to manipulate it for their own ends. All the monarchs of this period knew the importance of propaganda and encouraged artists, writers, builders, and others to portray them in the best possible light. Elizabeth I, in particular, carefully regulated her image to create the myth of Gloriana. James I and Charles I emphasized their divine right to rule in masques and portraits. But this propaganda tended to be seen only by courtiers. The early Stuarts neglected the wider audience of the English people—much to their eventual cost.

After flirting with a relatively free press under Edward VI, the government enacted strict censorship. Statutes of 1549 and 1554 forbade the publishing of heretical or seditious books. In the 1580s, with fears of Catholic plots, this became a capital offense. In 1586, the Star Chamber decreed that all non-university printing presses had to be based in London and licensed by the Stationer's Company, and all books had to be licensed by a bishop. Nevertheless, if the language of the King James Bible could be used by the king to justify his divine right to rule, it might just as easily be used to challenge that rule, in Parliament and without. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 6, sec. 12.

Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, chap. 12.

Smuts, *Culture and Power*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did English culture produce so much great and lasting art during this period? Can this explosion of activity be related to political, social, religious, or economic events?

2. Why did the authorities seek to restrict and censor writing, speech, even the royal image? Of what were they fearful?

Establishing the Stuart Dynasty—1603–25

Lecture 28

It could be argued that the great achievement of the Tudor state was not the defeat of the Spanish Armada. … Rather, the great triumph of the Tudor state—the final proof that the Wars of the Roses were really over—was the peaceful accession of the Stuarts in 1603. That is, despite war with Spain, division at home, and an ambiguous claim to the throne, James VI of Scotland was duly proclaimed King James I of England on 24 March 1603 without a murmur of dissent.

The central event of this course is, arguably, a series of civil wars experienced in the British Isles in the middle of the 17th century. The next five lectures will attempt to explain how and why they happened. Historians of the British Civil Wars have long argued about their causes. Older historians, labeled Whigs after the later political party that favored parliamentary rights, often saw every government policy, parliamentary debate, or local protest as part of a continuous struggle, culminating in civil war, between Stuart autocracy on the one hand and popular democracy on the other. This interpretation grew popular in the 19th century as liberal ideas and representative institutions seemed to triumph everywhere.

During the first half of the 20th century, Marxist historians saw the British Civil Wars as a crucial stage in the dialectic of history, part of a long-term struggle between the land-owning and merchant classes that dated back to the Middle Ages. At about the same time, historians influenced by Max Weber associated the wars with the rise of Puritanism. In their view, the Puritan emphasis on individual conscience, rationality, and property inevitably clashed with Stuart notions of divine right and unquestioning obedience. More recently, revisionist historians have argued against all these interpretations: The Civil Wars were never inevitable; nor were there any insoluble or "long-term" problems. No one foresaw or wanted civil war or consciously sought to increase the power of the monarchy or Parliament at the expense of the other. Rather, king and Parliament sought cooperation and consensus.

In any case, Parliament met rarely. Most political business was done under the king's eye at court. No one group in English society was homogeneous in its views. It is, therefore, ridiculous to see "the merchants" or "the Puritans" as having a political program. Generally, revisionists see the British Civil Wars as arising from the fact that the Stuarts ruled three kingdoms (England, Scotland, Ireland) with very different constitutional systems, religious settlements, and cultures. Still, the breakdown came suddenly, not as a result of long-term forces. In my view, the British Civil Wars did not happen overnight. Although king and Parliament, Anglican and Puritan, landowner and merchant did seek unity, not conflict or advantage, there were five long-term areas of tension left over from the Tudors over which they could not agree. That disagreement eventually overwhelmed the early Stuart polity. These areas of disagreement were

- The problem of sovereignty: Is the king above the law or subordinate to it? What should be the respective, proper roles of king and Parliament? When push comes to shove, who decides on policy?

- The problem of government finance: Does the king have a preemptive right to the property of his subjects? How should the government pay for itself? What role should it play in the national economy?

- The problem of war and foreign policy: What is England's proper role in Europe? Should the English taxpayer support a more active role?

- The problem of religion: What should the state religion of England be? Should other faith traditions be tolerated? Who makes religious policy: king, Parliament, the bishops, local communities, or a combination of all four? What should be the answers to these questions for Scotland and Ireland?

- The problem of local control: What is the proper relationship between the central government in London and the English localities? What should be the relationship between that government and those of Scotland and Ireland?

To this, we might add the problem of royal personality: Where the Tudors were skillful at papering over or postponing these issues, the early Stuarts often misunderstood the political and religious cultures of their three kingdoms, exacerbating these tensions. (Here, we concentrate on the first two areas of tension, along with that of royal personality.)

On the surface, there was no problem of sovereignty in early modern England. The sovereign was sovereign. He had the power to make peace or war, to grant titles and appoint government officials, and to direct how government monies should be spent. Under Henry VIII, he acquired additional powers as supreme head of the Church of England. But he had acquired the last through parliamentary legislation. After the Reformation, Parliament claimed some responsibility for religious matters. It retained the power to petition the king for redress of grievance and to approve or reject taxation. Given that English monarchs tended to have their own agendas in these areas, the potential for conflict was real.

Early in the Stuart period, these tensions manifested themselves around the king's relationship to the law. Was the king above the law? Could he break it with impunity? Whose interests did Parliament serve, king or people? Contemporaries liked to believe that these were identical, but what if they were not? Queen Elizabeth had dealt with these issues by using her power to veto legislation and prorogue, or dismiss, Parliaments; by using her powers of persuasion; or by ignoring Parliaments. James I (1603–1625) has had bad press, in part because he had an unconventional personality for a monarch. Unlike the Tudors, James I was not warlike; rather, he styled himself a *Rex Pacificus*. Like Elizabeth, he was a tolerant man who had no desire to harry Catholics or Puritans if they were loyal. Like the Tudors, he was intelligent and well educated, publishing on many subjects, including the divine right of kings. James told Parliament, "The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth … for Kings are … God's lieutenants on earth and sit upon God's throne." The Tudors certainly believed this, but they would never have actually said it.

Unlike the Tudors, James I did not look much like a surrogate for the Supreme Being: His appearance was ungainly and he spoke with a lisp, a stutter, and a thick Scots accent, which offended English prejudices.

Above all, James's behavior contrasted with the Tudors. He was informal and affable. This put people at ease but also reduced their fear. He hated crowds. He grew lazy, leaving government to his ministers while he hunted or spent time with favorites. His favorites tended to be handsome young men, on whom he lavished offices, titles, lands, and affection. Many of these traits, acceptable in our own day, offended his conservative contemporaries and made it more difficult for him to get along with Parliament. He clashed with the first Parliament of the reign in 1604 over who had the right to determine the legality of elections to the House of Commons.

[James I] was informal and affable. This put people at ease but also reduced their fear.

The king's difficulties with Parliament were exacerbated by his financial problems. Many of these problems were not James's fault. James's reign was bracketed by two periods of famine (the 1590s and 1620s) and subject to rapid inflation. He inherited a corrupt and inefficient administration and revenue system. Unlike Elizabeth, James had a wife and children who would need their own courts. James inherited an expectant and rapacious court, anxious for a more generous royal patron. James inherited a debt of £365,000, or one year's expenditure.

Having spent most of his life ruling a relatively poor country, James made up for lost time by spending English money on magnificent buildings, elaborate masques, and his favorites. The royal debts rose to £600,000 in 1608, then to £900,000 by 1618, on an annual revenue of perhaps £300,000. Parliament, aware of where the money was going, refused to raise taxes significantly in 1610, 1614, and 1621. James refused to cut his expenses, because favorites and courtiers fought hard against it, and it went against his profligate nature. By 1621, the king's debts stood at £1,000,000, and city loans were drying up. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 7, opening and secs. 1–2.

Coward, *The Stuart Age*, chaps. 1–4.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chaps. 1–3.

Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, chaps. 1–2, 4–5.

Questions to Consider

1. Why do you suppose the five areas of tension outlined above became more pressing under the Stuarts than they were under the Tudors?

2. How would the personality and policies of James I fare with the public today? Would he be a successful leader?

The Ascendancy of Buckingham—1614–28

Lecture 29

The titles were pleasant and the offices were lucrative, but the most important thing about them was that they gave Buckingham control of a vast field of government patronage. By the 1620s, Buckingham was as important a patron, and had as much of a stranglehold on patronage within the English government, as Wolsey had done.

Like Elizabeth, James I enjoyed the company of friends and favorites, though early in the reign, James did not allow his favorites to have much influence on policy. In 1603, James I was accompanied south by "the hungry Scots," a group of courtiers from the northern kingdom who profited from his generosity. The greatest of these, Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, fell as a result of the Overbury scandal, in which he and the countess, his wife, were accused of poisoning an opponent to their marriage.

George Villiers replaced Somerset in the king's favor by 1614. Villiers possessed all the attributes of the successful courtier. He was handsome, courtly, and an excellent dancer and horseman. James fell in love with these qualities, as fully as and far more publicly than Elizabeth had fallen for Leicester. Given contemporary attitudes to kingship and sexuality, this did nothing for his image with the English people. James showered Villiers with titles and offices, creating him Gentleman of the Bedchamber in 1615, Master of the Horse and Knight of the Garter in 1616, Earl of Buckingham in 1617, Marquess in 1618, Duke in 1623, and Admiral of England in 1619. These offices made Buckingham rich and gave him control of vast fields of patronage. By 1621, he ran the government as fully as Wolsey had done. All of this meant that he would not support efforts to cut royal expenditure. But Buckingham's greatest negative influence was in the area of foreign policy.

During the early years of the 17th century, English men and women were beginning to debate their role in Europe and the wider world. James I fancied himself a *Rex Pacificus*, bringing peace not only to the English and the Scots, but to all the peoples of Europe. Soon after his accession, he negotiated the Treaty of London, ending the war with Spain. Subsequently, he sought to

ease tensions between the Catholic and Protestant powers by engineering diplomatic marriages: His son, Prince Henry, would marry the *infanta* of Spain; his daughter, Elizabeth, would marry the Protestant Elector Palatine. Unfortunately, Henry died in 1612. The Palatine marriage took place, but in 1618, the Elector was driven from his lands by the imperial army in the Thirty Years' War.

The Thirty Years' War pitted the Habsburgs (Spain, the Holy Roman Empire) and their Catholic allies against the Bourbons (France) and their Protestant allies Denmark, Sweden, and some northern German states. It devastated central Europe, wrecked the economy of Spain and killed millions. James was wise to stay out of it, but committed Protestants in Parliament wanted England to get involved. They saw England as a chosen nation whose duty was to advance Protestantism. They found the court's pacifism, profligacy, and pursuit of pleasure disgraceful. But they had no realistic notion of how much Continental war would cost.

It was at this point that Buckingham intervened. James and Buckingham convened the 1621 Parliament hoping for money to raise an army to restore the Elector Palatine. But when Parliament called for a wider war, James said that they had no business debating matters of foreign policy. This led to a famous controversy about free speech. James and Buckingham's real purpose was to use the army as a threat to persuade Spain into a marriage with James's surviving son, Prince Charles. In 1622–1623 Buckingham and Charles made their way to Spain incognito. The result was a diplomatic embarrassment when it became clear that the Spanish wanted no part of such a marriage.

The Spanish fiasco had two important results. The first was that it gave Buckingham an opportunity to cultivate Prince Charles. This was important because, in 1625, James I died and was succeeded by his son. In many ways, Charles I (1625–1649) looked and acted much more like a divine-right monarch than his father had done. Though short in stature, he bore himself with regal dignity, as seen in several paintings by Van Dyck. He maintained a strict court etiquette, which contrasted with his father's informality. He was conventional in morality and kept a respectable court. He was highly cultured, arguably the greatest connoisseur who ever sat on the English

throne. Van Dyck's series of paintings of him and the royal family is one of the great achievements of Western art and kingly propaganda.

But, as with Henry VIII or Mary I, these seemingly positive attributes had their dark side. Charles's dignity often came across as aloofness. A shy and reticent man, he never had the common touch. His punctiliousness was the bugbear of a small mind. He was obsessed with etiquette, order, and obedience from all his subjects. His respectable court was narrow and unrepresentative of the variety of opinions in the country. He never took advice or understood the concept of a loyal opposition. Even his magnificent art collection had a down side. Only courtiers were allowed to enjoy it or be exposed to its propaganda message. But every English taxpayer had to pay for it, much to their resentment.

[Charles I] never took advice or understood the concept of a loyal opposition.

The second important result of the Spanish fiasco was that Buckingham and Charles now switched over to the war party. In 1624, over the reservations of the dying James I and Lord Treasurer Middlesex, Parliament voted money for war against Spain. However, it did not vote as much as the government asked for and it established a commission to monitor how the funds would be spent. This was an unprecedented statement of distrust in the Crown's financial management. Buckingham's administration proved corrupt and inefficient in several pointless Continental expeditions. Worse, late in 1626, Buckingham bungled into a second, simultaneous war with France, which proved equally unsuccessful. Increasingly, the people complained of high taxes, soldiers billeted on the populace, and military failure.

Beginning in 1626, the House of Commons called for Buckingham's impeachment. To shield the favorite, Charles prorogued Parliament before it could vote taxes. Without authorization for new taxes, the king resorted to a forced loan, which many gentry refused to pay. The Parliament of 1628 met in an angry mood. Still, Parliament offered the king five new taxes if he would agree to a document called the "Petition of Right." It had four major provisions:

- No man could be forced to pay a tax not voted by Parliament.
- No free man could be imprisoned without charge (the right of *habeus corpus*).
- No soldiers or sailors could be billeted on the population without their consent.
- No civilian could be subject to martial law.

Charles tried to wriggle out of the agreement, but in the end, he needed the money too desperately. Once he agreed, the Commons again demanded Buckingham's impeachment, leading to another dismissal.

That summer, while going down to the fleet, Buckingham was assassinated by an embittered army officer named John Felton. This had three effects.

- It served to further distance Charles I from his subjects, many of whom lit bonfires in celebration.
- It removed the principal advocate of war against Spain and France, thus making peace possible.
- It left the king without a principal advisor. Many assumed that he now turned to his wife, Queen Henrietta Maria. This was worrisome to many English men and women because Henrietta Maria was a Catholic.

Thus, the problem of foreign policy would now become entwined, as it had so often in the past, with that of religion. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 7, sec. 3.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 5.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 4.

Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, chaps. 6–7, 13.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did James I choose to govern through Buckingham? What role does the favorite play for a king? Why is it a role that is often resented by others?

2. To judge from what we have leaned so far, why did nations go to war in early-modern Europe? Do we do so today with greater care and justification?

Religion and Local Control—1628–37

Lecture 30

The religious situation of the three kingdoms in 1603 was nothing if not complicated. … Puritans within the Church demanded more reform and an aggressive Protestant foreign policy. Though they'd been persecuted by Archbishops Whitgift and Bancroft, most Puritans remained within the Church. Indeed, most historians now think that circa 1610, the majority of Church of England clergymen, including many bishops, embraced Puritan theology, if perhaps not quite practice. … The most zealous Puritans wanted more.

The religious situation of the three kingdoms in 1603 was nothing if not complicated. In England, the majority of the people were conforming members of the Church of England. Puritans within the Church demanded more reform and an aggressive Protestant foreign policy. Catholics outside of the Church of England struggled for survival and toleration. Their numbers had fallen to 40,000 through persecution and attrition. Nevertheless, with memories of the reign of Bloody Mary and the Armada very much alive, most English people still feared and hated international "popery."

In Scotland, the majority was Presbyterian, with a minority of Catholics in the Highlands. The Stuarts had no love for the Presbyterian Kirk, which tended to resist their claims of divine-right monarchy. James I attempted to impose control by Anglican-style bishops. In Ireland, the majority was Catholics, but increasingly, the ruling class was "New English"—Protestants who were either Presbyterians or members of an Anglican-style Church of Ireland.

In England, James I sought religious peace more than religious unity. James had been reared a Presbyterian in Scotland but found the Church of England, with its emphasis on hierarchy and authority, much more congenial to his divine-right views of kingship. He tended to see Puritans as English Presbyterians: self-righteous, dubiously loyal, and naturally independent, if not outright rebellious. However, he was careful to try to win over moderates.

He gave them some reforms (including the "authorized version" of the Bible). He appointed moderate Puritans as bishops.

Similarly, James sought to win over moderate Catholics and avoid persecution if they would pledge loyalty to the Crown. Most did so, grateful for the easing of Elizabethan penal legislation. But some Catholics wanted full-blown toleration. When they failed to get it, a group of Catholic gentry hatched a scheme to blow up the king and both Houses of Parliament at the state opening on 5 November 1605. The Gunpowder Plot was discovered, the plotters were hanged, and laws against Catholics were tightened. Even so, even here, James let sleeping dogs lie, easing the persecution of Catholics over time.

This easygoing religious policy changed under Charles I. He favored a group of High Church clergy called the Arminians, after the theologian Jacob Arminius. Arminius and his followers argued for free will and the possibility of earning salvation, the efficacy of good works, the importance of religious ritual, and the sanctity of the priesthood and the authority of the religious hierarchy. Charles appointed a noted Arminian, William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. They stepped up episcopal inspections (visitations) of local churches. They enforced more elaborate ritual in those churches. They persecuted Puritans who opposed these changes in the Court of High Commission.

To Puritans, the return to ritual and hierarchy looked like a return to Rome, while the revival of persecution reminded them of Bloody Mary. It did not help that Charles I was married to a Roman Catholic French princess, Henrietta Maria, who was entitled to be served by Catholic clergy and lay servants. Many worried that she advised the king, that she would convert him to Rome, and that she would raise their numerous children Catholic. They further noted that Charles I tended not to enforce the laws against Catholics while he was persecuting Puritans. In fact, if Charles was soft on Catholics it was not because he was one; he simply saw them, correctly, as a far smaller and less dangerous minority than Puritans.

These concerns came to a head in the Parliament of 1629. Once again, Parliament met in the middle of a financial depression, this time in the

textile trade. Once again, the king needed money to fight the war. Once again, Parliament refused to vote money until its grievances over illegal taxation (the Impositions) and religion were addressed. Once again, Charles I sent Parliament home before addressing the issues. But before Parliament adjourned, several members literally held the speaker in his chair so that they could pass resolutions that anyone paying the Impositions, anyone counseling their collection, and anyone intending innovation in religion was "a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth." Obviously, this meant Charles.

Anyone intending innovation in religion was "a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth." Obviously, this meant Charles.

It should not be surprising that after this experience, Charles I attempted to rule without Parliament—what historians later called "the personal rule." In his view, Parliament had violated, fundamentally, the English Constitution by seeking to interfere in the prerogative of the Crown. On the surface, the chief difficulty in ruling without Parliament would be money. Charles I had only two choices: cut expenditure or raise revenue. He did both. He cut expenditure: He sued for peace with both Spain and France, thus allowing him to disband most of his forces. He curtailed the performance of masques and the purchase of artwork. He launched a reform of the administration under Lord Treasurer Weston, which came to be called "thorough." Useless offices were abolished; sliding fees were commuted to established salaries; and commissions were established for Ireland, the militia, and trade. He raised revenue: He raised customs rates—again more impositions; he sold more monopolies and farmed out more government services; he collected more fines for recusancy; he searched old medieval statute books for any right, fee, or tax he could legally collect. This led to the revival of old forest laws and fines; distraint of (that is, charging for) knighthood; and the extension of ship money, a tax to supply the Royal Navy, from port communities to the whole country.

On a purely fiscal level, these policies worked: By 1638, revenue rose to almost £1 million a year, and the royal debt fell to manageable levels. But many of these initiatives were wildly unpopular. Former members of Parliament argued that the king was violating, fundamentally, the English

Constitution by collecting unparliamentary taxes and infringing on the property rights of his subjects. Low-level resistance began in 1635. In 1636, John Hampden refused to pay ship money on the grounds that it was legal only in a state of emergency. He lost his case, but just barely: The panel of royal judges voted only seven to five for the king. In the wake of this moral victory, others began to refuse to pay ship money. By 1638, the gentry who assessed and collected the king's taxes were beginning to refuse to do that as well. They resented the king's refusal to call a Parliament (the problem of sovereignty); the unparliamentary taxes (the problem of finance); the king's incompetent diplomacy (the problem of foreign policy); and the constant interference of Arminian clergy in local religious life (the problem of religion). Now their obedience to the king's government in London (the problem of local control) began to break down.

By the late 1630s, Charles I was walking a dangerous tightrope. While he had raised his revenue and cut his expenses, the growing tax strike meant that any crisis could send him into debt, bankruptcy, and the need to recall an angry Parliament. That crisis came in 1637 in Charles's northern kingdom because of the old problem of religion. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 7, secs. 4–5.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 5.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 5.

Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, chaps. 8–12, 14.

Questions to Consider

1. Why were the early Stuarts so antagonistic to Presbyterianism and Puritanism? What about Anglican Arminianism would have appealed to them?

2. Consider Charles I's arguments for refusing to call Parliament after 1629 and those of the local aristocracy who refused to collect his taxes.

Who was in greater violation of the English Constitution in the period 1625–1640: the king, Parliament, or the local elites?

Crisis of the Three Kingdoms—1637–42

Lecture 31

The Long Parliament would seek to solve England's constitutional problems in a parliamentary direction, but its more radical legislation would actually drive many moderates to the king's side. By the fall of 1642, there would be a complete breakdown of understanding between king and Parliament, the result of which would be the declaration of civil war in England.

When the Stuarts ascended the English throne in 1603, they retained the separate Crown of Scotland. James I had hoped for a legal union between the two countries. But the English Parliament, full of prejudice against the Scots, refused. Instead, James ruled Scotland from London through a separate Privy Council and Parliament in Edinburgh. The Scots felt like second-class citizens.

Charles continued this arrangement, seeking unity through religion. He wanted to bring the structure and usage of the Presbyterian Kirk closer to those of the Church of England. In 1637, he decreed that the Scots should use a special version of the English Book of Common Prayer, to be enforced by the Scottish bishops. This produced rioting in Edinburgh at the first service following the new Prayer Book. Subsequently, representatives of nearly every important group in Scottish society signed the National Covenant, which stated that only the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church could make religious policy for Scotland.

Later that year, the Covenanters abolished the Scottish bishops. Charles could only view this as rebellion. In the winter of 1638–1639, he called on English lords lieutenants to raise the militia in order to teach the Scots a lesson in the First Bishop's War. But these forces were hastily assembled, were poorly trained and funded, and had little will to attack fellow Protestants for an unpopular king. They began to drift away before reaching the border.

In the meantime, the Scots Covenanters raised an army of their own, which remained in following the inconclusive Treaty of Berwick of 1639. By April

1640, the king, desperate for funds for another army, called a Parliament. But Parliament would not vote him funds until he heard the members' grievances. He dismissed them, giving rise to the historical nickname "the Short Parliament."

That summer, order broke down in England. Few paid their taxes. The City of London refused to lend the king more money. Isolated rioting broke out. The Covenanter army marched into England, precipitating the Second Bishop's War. In August, they defeated a thrown-together English force at Newburn, Northumberland. This left the Scots occupying the counties of Northumberland and Durham. It left Charles with no choice but to agree to the Treaty of Ripon, by which the king promised to pay the Covenanter army £850 a day! This forced him to call a Parliament and let it sit.

The Long Parliament would sit, in one form or another, to 1653 and would not be finally dissolved until 1660. During the summer of 1641, elections were contested, often for the first time, all over England. That is, for the first time, voters had a real choice. One set of candidates may not have been happy with the king's policies during the personal rule, but they would follow him loyally. They intended to vote him the money for an army and hope that he would then listen to their grievances. The other side intended legislation to safeguard the position of Parliament, the members' property, and the Church of England as a Protestant establishment. The second set of men won in a landslide. John Pym, member for Tavistock, soon emerged as the leader of this parliamentary opposition. He planned to use the threat of the Scottish army and the power of the purse to force the king to agree to legislation outlawing the policies of the personal rule.

Parliament addressed the issue of sovereignty by passing a Triennial Act, requiring the king to call it into session at least once every three years; abolishing the prerogative courts, that is, the Star Chamber, High Commission, Requests, and Councils of Wales and the North; and impeaching the king's ministers, Archbishop Laud and Thomas, Earl of Strafford. Parliament addressed the financial problem by outlawing the Impositions, monopolies, ship money, distraint of knighthood, and the revival of the forest laws. Parliament addressed the problem of religion by abolishing the ecclesiastical courts and censorship by the bishops. The king, desperate for money and an

army, gave his consent reluctantly and, he hoped, temporarily. He and the court bided their time, waiting for the country to come to its senses.

In fact, as Pym's measures grew more radical, many peers and MPs did lose sympathy for Pym and gain it for the king. This transformation occurred by the summer 1641 when Pym presented three radical proposals:

- The Root and Branch Bill, which sought to eliminate the bishops "root and branch";
- The Ten Propositions, which called for a purge of Catholics from the court and limitations on the king's right of appointment to offices;
- The Grand Remonstrance, which called for reform of the Church of England in a Puritan direction.

Many members felt that these measures went too far: When the Grand Remonstrance came to a vote in November 1641, the Commons split 159 for/148 against. But just as it looked as if the tide might turn against Pym, his position was saved by a rebellion in the third kingdom.

The English government's treatment of the Catholic Irish population (both Gaelic and Old English) after the O'Neill Rebellion laid the seeds for the Rebellion of 1641. After the Flight of the Earls in 1607, the Crown imposed "plantation" on Ulster. Catholic Irish landlords and some tenant farmers were uprooted and transported to the barren western lands of Connaught. They were replaced by Scots Presbyterians, the "New English." The remaining Catholic Irish tenants became virtual serfs.

The New English Protestants dominated the Irish Parliament. The Crown played them off against the Old English and Gaelic populations, both of which sought an easing of penal laws against Catholics and an end to plantations. In 1641, the Gaelic clans of Ulster, taking advantage of England's current disunity, rebelled. The rebellion turned bloody, with some 12,000 New English settlers slaughtered outright by resentful Catholic tenants or allowed to die of exposure and starvation. The Old English were repulsed by the bloodshed, but believing that the rebels were truly on the Royalist side

(because they opposed the Presbyterians who were aligned with Pym and the Covenanters), they joined with them in the Confederation of Kilkenny.

By the time news reached England, the number of dead had been inflated to 200,000. The result was widespread panic and fear that the king would use the Catholic Irish rebel troops to impose absolutism and Catholicism on the country. Obviously, an army was needed to pacify Ireland, but Parliament would not trust the king with its command. This issue cost Charles control of London.

Catholic Irish landlords and some tenant farmers were uprooted and transported to the barren western lands of Connaught. They were replaced by Scots Presbyterians, the "New English." The remaining Catholic Irish tenants became virtual serfs.

In December 1641, Parliament passed a Militia Bill entrusting command of the army to a lord general whom it would name. This stripped the king of his most fundamental responsibility: that of defending the country. At the same time, a group of Puritan merchants seized control of the London city government, depriving the Crown of city funding and the London militia, known as the "trained bands." On 4 January 1642, the king entered the House of Commons with a guard to arrest Pym and four other parliamentary leaders. Having received advance intelligence, they had fled, much to the king's embarrassment. Armed conflict was now probably inevitable.

In the spring of 1642, both sides called out the militia against the other. Charles put his queen and younger children on a boat for the Continent, then fled the capital for the north. On 22 August 1642, Charles I raised the royal standard at Nottingham—in effect, declaring war against his own Parliament. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 7, secs. 6–8.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 6.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 6.

Lockyer, *Early Stuarts*, chaps. 15–17.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Charles I want to impose an Anglican liturgy on the Scottish people? Why did he think that he could get away with it?

2. Why was the Irish Rebellion so frightening to English Protestants? Why did they suspect that Charles I might have been behind it? Why did they think that he might have been a Catholic?

The Civil Wars—1642–49

Lecture 32

Just before 10:00 a.m. on the crisp morning of 30 January 1649, a very odd procession could be seen making its way from St. James Palace across St. James Park to Whitehall. … At the center of this parade [was] a short but rather dignified bearded man, dressed all in black but for the brilliant blue sash and diamond-encrusted star of the Order of the Garter. … That man, who was walking to his death, was Charles I

In 1642, both sides went to war reluctantly. Most people remained neutral, but we can identify certain tendencies among those who did take up arms. Royalists sided with the king, not because they thought his policies were right—many did not—but because they would not oppose God's chosen son, and they saw his authority as the only bulwark against disorder. Parliamentarians opposed the king not because they wanted to abolish monarchy (at least not at first), but because they feared that Charles I was subverting the English Constitution in Church and State to introduce absolutist government and Roman Catholicism.

Who were the Royalists? Regionally, they came from the north and west. But this area was relatively poor; its chief industry was sheep-farming Socially, the Royalists attracted most nobles, courtiers, and about half the gentry. In religion, the Royalists were drawn from High Anglicans and (the few) Catholics. Royalists came to be known as Cavaliers, from the Spanish *caballero* for horseman or knight.

Who were the Parliamentarians? Regionally, they came from the south and east, including London. Socially, they included many merchants and professionals (especially lawyers), about half the gentry, and (eventually) more ordinary people than the Royalists. In religion, the Parliamentarians attracted "Low Church" Anglicans and Puritans. They came to be known as Roundheads because the common people who fought in Parliament's armies tended to wear their hair short, as most working people did then.

Clearly, Parliament had all the material advantages: the wealth of the southeast, London, and the merchants; the administrative expertise of the professional classes; and the potential to tap vast numbers of ordinary civilians. Later, it would become clear that Parliament had a secret weapon, the greatest cavalry commander of the age, Oliver Cromwell.

The king's forces did have one advantage: experienced commanders who had served as aristocratic volunteers in the Thirty Years' War. Could the king's forces use that experience to strike a knockout blow before Parliament marshaled its material wealth? The experience of the Royalist forces was the crucial factor early on. They won the first great battle, at Edgehill, Oxfordshire, on 23 October 1642. This opened the way to London, but Charles I was unable to take advantage. Still, by the fall of 1643, Parliament's situation was desperate. Pym negotiated the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots. The Scots would supply their battle-hardened army. England would supply £30,000 per month to pay that army and promise to embrace Presbyterianism.

On 2 July 1644, a combined Scottish and Parliamentary force defeated a Royalist army at Marston Moor, Yorkshire. This cost the king control of the north. Still, this was not a permanent solution to Parliament's problems. The English did not really want Presbyterianism and the Scottish army was very expensive; remember, Parliament was fighting to keep taxes low. In the spring of 1645, Parliament authorized the New Model Army. It was to be a national army, not based on local militia (therefore, it could march anywhere without reluctance); a professional army staffed by officers chosen on merit, not birth or wealth, and soldiers paid regularly (in theory); and a godly army, that is, dominated by committed Puritans. Its commander was Sir Thomas Fairfax; its cavalry commander, Oliver Cromwell.

In June 1645, the New Model Army defeated the last major Royalist army in England at Naseby, Northamptonshire, effectively ending the first English Civil War. It was one thing to beat the king in battle; quite another to know what to do with him. Parliament had fought the war not to depose him or establish a new form of government, but to force him into limitations on his power. No one wanted to confront the deeper questions. What if the king would not accept limitations? Should England have a king at all? Knowing

King Charles I was held as a prisoner during the English Civil War. He was executed at Whitehall in January of 1649.

this, Charles entered into a series of meaningless negotiations designed to split his enemies and buy time to raise another army, possibly in Ireland or even Europe. Parliament was already split between moderates (that is, Presbyterians) who wanted to restore a strong king and independents (that is, radical Puritans) who were willing to entertain less monarchy and more democracy. Other groups involved in negotiations included the Scots, who wanted Presbyterianism imposed on the whole British Isles, and the New Model Army, who wanted their pay, religious reform leading to toleration, and political reform, possibly leading to democracy.

The king negotiated with each group in turn in 1646–1648 but never in good faith. He believed that to give up one iota of his prerogative would be a grave sin, because in his view, that prerogative had been granted by God. In June 1647, King Charles escaped and contracted with the Scots for an army; in return, he agreed to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years.

This force was easily defeated by Cromwell and the New Model Army. This episode convinced Cromwell that there would be no peace in England while the king lived. But many in Parliament wanted to continue to negotiate with him.

On 6 December 1648, the Council of the Army ordered Col. Thomas Pride to expel the most moderate members of the House of Commons. Pride's Purge left about 110 of the most radical members, called the Rump. The Rump immediately convened a High Court of Justice to try the king in Westminster Hall. The charge was high treason. But treason was a crime against the king. How could Charles be guilty of treason against himself? Parliament's solution was to charge the king with committing treason against the English Constitution and the English people. This was a revolutionary idea: that a ruler's chief responsibility is not to God or himself but to the people over whom he rules.

But if the law was the king's law, then the courts were the king's courts. How could any court not summoned by the king be a real court? Charles responded to the charge by demanding to know by what authority the court sat. Parliament responded that it sat "in the name and in behalf of the people of England." In fact, the Rump was really more representative of the army and its narrow point of view than of the people.

This was a revolutionary idea: that a ruler's chief responsibility is not to God or himself but to the people over whom he rules.

Charles never recognized the legality of the court or pled to the charge. Given his refusal to plead, a guilty verdict and a death sentence were foregone conclusions. Charles I was executed at Whitehall Palace on 30 January 1649. For the first time in English history, the English people had judicially and publicly murdered their king. This action went against the Great Chain of Being and a thousand years of sermons, ceremonies, traditions, and other propaganda. Within weeks, the Rump Parliament abolished the monarchy and the House of Lords. England was now, for the first and only time in its history, a republic.

Many questions remained unanswered. Would England now settle down? Would the English people accept rule by the Rump and the army as they had once accepted rule by the Stuarts? Or would they demand that the revolution go farther and embrace such radical notions as democracy and religious toleration? On a deeper level, what did these events mean? Had the English people and their representatives committed a heinous act, murdering not only a king, but law and order and justice? Or had they taken the first step toward freedom from despotic rule? ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 8, secs. 1–2.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 6.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chaps. 6–7.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did the sides divide up as they did in the English Civil Wars? What did victory have to offer each side?

2. Was the execution of King Charles I justified?

The Search for a Settlement—1649–53

Lecture 33

Since a republic was a new form of government in Europe, since the landed aristocracy had never ruled before without a king, and since the common people had never played so large a role in a successful revolution before, there followed a brief period of experimentation and relative political, social, and religious freedom. … Most of these movements were rejected by the landed aristocracy who still ran the country, but their ideas would not be forgotten.

In January 1649, the ruling elite lopped off the highest link of the Great Chain of Being, leaving themselves on top. But they wanted the other links to stay intact. Within weeks of the king's execution, the Rump passed legislation establishing a Commonwealth (that is, a republic). Its executive was a Council of State, to be nominated by the legislature. Its legislature was the Rump Parliament.

But in order to achieve their revolution, the parliamentary gentry had turned to the common people, more specifically, the army. Would these people continue to be loyal to their social superiors now that they knew how to resist authority? Or would they want a piece of the pie, especially now that times were so bad? The war had killed about 180,000 people (3.6 percent of the population) and wrecked many local economies. The harvests of 1649–1651 were as bad as those of the 1590s. Plague and disease were rampant, inadvertently spread by the army itself. Moreover, as part of the revolution, the Rump swept away many of the instruments of social control, such as the Church courts and censorship. As a result, more than 20,000 pamphlets were published between 1642 and 1660. The writers of these pamphlets aired many radical ideas, most of which were hostile to the Great Chain of Being.

Discontent was especially strong in the army. As early as 1647, with the First Civil War won, Parliament sought to disband the army without pay. In response, the soldiers organized. Each regiment elected agitators to sit on the newly formed Council of the Army. This Council negotiated with the king for a new constitution, the Heads of the Proposals. The Council itself divided

into two groups. The Grandees, representing most of the officers, wanted the army to be paid but also wanted to maintain gentry control. The Levellers, led by Col. John Lillburn, who represented the men, wanted more from the revolution. The Leveller program embraced universal manhood suffrage, reform of the legal system, a welfare state for widows and orphans of the war—in general, what Lilburne called "the Sovereignty of the People." In October 1647, the Grandees and the Levellers debated a constitution, to be submitted to the king, based on these proposals. But when the king raised troops for the Second Civil War, "the Leveller moment" came to an end. In the spring of 1649, the Rump suppressed the Levellers, executing many of their leaders.

The virtual abolition of the Church of England, the widespread printing of the Bible, and the end of the ecclesiastical courts and censorship of the press allowed radical new religious ideas to spread. Because neither diehard Anglicans nor Catholics sat in the Rump, there were two main approaches to religious policy in the Commonwealth. Presbyterians wanted a State Church run along the lines of the Scottish Kirk, with individual congregations subordinate to a national General Assembly. This conservative, hierarchical option was favored by most parliamentary landed gentry. Independents wanted a looser national church in which individual congregations could decide matters of worship, choose their clergyman, and so on. In effect, they wanted a toleration of all Protestant belief. This radical and democratic option led to a series of interesting—to the ruling class, alarming—religious sects:

- Baptists believed that baptism, and the choice of faith it implied, should be delayed until adulthood. This belief was controversial because it implied freedom of choice in religion and lots of unbaptized young people.

- The Seekers went from congregation to congregation seeking a permanent home.

- The Diggers believed that the Bible did not sanction private property. They established early communes in which all property

was held in common. This idea was not popular with the landed gentry.

- The Ranters believed that to the pure, all things were pure, that nothing was a sin unless one conceived it to be a sin. This was thought to give them the excuse to party, party, party. Everyone else condemned the Ranters.

- The Quakers believed that all people contained God's inner light in equal measure. This meant that women were as good as men; a commoner, as good as a lord. Quakers refused to swear oaths, tip their caps, give the wall, or otherwise demonstrate deference to their social superiors. Possessed by their inner light, they quaked, ranted, and preached in ways that most English people found disturbing. In short, the Quakers rejected totally the Great Chain of Being.

- The Fifth Monarchy Men believed that the Bible had foretold five great monarchies on earth. Given that four had already fallen (Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome) and the fifth was to be that of King Jesus, they believed that the Commonwealth was only an interim arrangement, that Christ's Second Coming was imminent, and that the best way to prepare for it would be to impose Mosaic Law on the country.

Members of the English aristocracy were so horrified by the Levellers and the sects that they began to think better of their little experiment with freedom of speech and religious toleration.

The Rump ruled England from 1649 to 1653. In the end, it was too radical for conservative country gentlemen and too conservative for radical Independents and Levellers. Above all, it never solved the problem of the army. On the one hand, the army was the Rump's only major source of support. On the other, the army was a force the Rump feared because it could not be controlled. Moreover, the army was expensive to pay, necessitating high taxes, which made the Rump unpopular. The Rump's temporary solution to the problem was to send the army to Ireland.

Cromwell arrived in Ireland thirsting for revenge against the rebels of 1641. His orders were to stop the Old English and Gaelic Confederates from mounting an expedition to restore the Stuarts in England. He took the island back town by town, putting the inhabitants of Drogheda and Wexford to the sword when they refused to surrender. (It is worth emphasizing that the defenders of Drogheda and Wexford were Old English, whereas the perpetrators of the atrocities of 1641 were Gaelic. Cromwell did not make this distinction.) He then launched a scorched-earth campaign, burning the crops, which led to the deaths of perhaps 600,000 people in a total population of 1,400,000! After three more years of fighting, an additional 40,000 Catholic landowners were evicted from their homes and forced to move to Connaught. In 1641, Catholics owned 60 percent of the land in Ireland. By 1660, they owned 20 percent.

Cromwell arrived in Ireland thirsting for revenge against the rebels of 1641.

In 1650, the Scots acknowledged Prince Charles, eldest son of the late king, as King Charles II. In return, Charles pledged to establish Presbyterianism in England. Cromwell defeated the Covenanters at Dunbar in September 1650 and again, a year later, at Worcester. On the later occasion, the prince was forced to hide in a tree (the Royal Oak) and make his way to the Continent in disguise.

The Commonwealth had some domestic successes as well. In 1650–1651, the Rump passed the Navigation Acts, forbidding foreign powers from trading with England's American colonies and requiring such trade to be carried in English ships. This became the basis for a financial empire. It pursued reforms in the central administration, the law, and the Poor Law, but these ended by offending government officials and lawyers. In 1653, the army finally lost patience with the Rump because it seemed to be dragging its feet on reform. Cromwell marched to the House of Commons and dissolved the Rump angrily. In the end, the ruling class of England was not ready for reform, let alone democracy and religious toleration. Over the next few years, these men would seek stability instead. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 8, secs. 3–4

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 7.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 8.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did the members of the Rump Parliament want to disband the army that had won them the war? Why did the English aristocracy come to view standing armies as dangerous?

2. How can we explain the variety of unorthodox ideas about government and religion that appeared in the 1640s? Do you suppose that these ideas were already latent in the general population or that they were a product of the times?

Cromwellian England—1653–60

Lecture 34

Oliver Cromwell would be offered the Crown of England in 1658. He'd reject it. He was, in any case, more powerful than any previous King of England, because he had a professional standing army to enforce his will. Is it any wonder that his former friends—the Radicals and Independents—now felt that Cromwell betrayed them?

The dissolution of the Rump in 1653 gave religious Independents (that is, extreme Puritans) one last chance to set up "the new Jerusalem." They proposed a "Parliament of Saints" elected by local congregations. This body came to be known as the "Barebones Parliament" after "Praise-God" Barebone, a London leather-seller and preacher who was also a member. As this name implies, the Barebones Parliament had a high proportion of religious radicals, many of whom had ambitious plans but little experience in politics.

Partially as a result, the Barebones Parliament achieved little. Some of its proposed legislation was impractical: for example, replacing English Common Law with Mosaic Law. Much of its legislation was enlightened, such as new procedures for births, marriages, probate of wills, relief of debtors, and the treatment of lunatics. Some of this enlightened legislation offended key interest groups. The attempt to abolish the Court of Chancery offended lawyers. The attempt to end lay patronage of church livings and appropriation of tithes offended landowners who did the appointing and appropriating. The attempt to end the collection of the excise and monthly assessments offended the army, which was paid out of them. Cromwell and the army dissolved the Barebones Parliament out of disgust within the year.

On 12 December 1653, a delegation of the army presented to General Cromwell the "Instrument of Government." The Instrument of Government was the first (and so far only) written constitution in English history. It named Oliver Cromwell executive, giving him the title "Lord Protector." The Protector was to be advised by a Council of State, filled by generals and his nominees. The Council would share control of the state's finances

and armed forces. Legislation was to be made by a Parliament elected every three years by those with estates worth over £200 a year. This was a far stiffer qualification than under the old constitution. In many respects, the Instrument of Government represents a return to the old, stable, hierarchical system of monarchy, with a king in all but name. In fact, Cromwell would be offered the crown in 1658, only to refuse it. He was, in any case, more powerful than any previous King of England, because he had a professional standing army to enforce his will.

Oliver Cromwell had dominated English politics for a decade. He was born in 1599, an obscure gentleman from Huntingdonshire. He was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, a hotbed of Puritanism. During the war, he had proved a brilliant military tactician and born leader of men. Like Charles I, he was utterly convinced that God's purposes worked through him.

Cromwell's domestic policy was rational and successful. The Protectorate provided efficient government with a minimum of corruption. It pursued legal reform and sought to make education more widely available. It enforced religious toleration: Individual Puritan congregations were allowed to worship as they saw fit. Anglicans and Catholics were mostly left alone. In 1655, Jews were allowed back into England for the first time since 1290. Cromwell's foreign policy was aggressive and was also successful. The Navigation Acts provoked trade wars with the Dutch and the Spanish, but England won the first and drew the second. This led to the acquisition of more colonies, including sugar-rich Jamaica. The navy also protected trade in the Mediterranean from the Barbary pirates.

Unfortunately, such successes came at a price in freedom and money. In 1655, after an unsuccessful Royalist revolt, Cromwell divided the country into 12 military districts, each run by a major-general. The major-generals were to keep an eye on Royalists and Presbyterians and suppress rebellion and riot, blasphemy and swearing, drunkenness and gambling, fornication and adultery, indecent fashions, and even Christmas celebrations. In the end, the major-generals did much to confirm the Puritan reputation as kill-joys and the association of armies with tyranny. All of this good government cost far more money than had the smaller, less efficient administration of the

A statue of Oliver Cromwell stands outside the House of Parliament in London. Cromwell dominated English politics for a decade.

Stuarts: The cost of maintaining a standing army and effective navy raised total government expenditures to over £2 million a year. This necessitated continuance of the excise, high monthly assessments, and the sequestration and sale of Royalist lands.

Thus, by the time Oliver Cromwell died at the end of 1658, many English men and women began to yearn for the good old days of "Merrie Olde England" under the Stuarts. In particular, the old ruling elite resented the tax burden and their replacement by Puritan non-entities in positions of national and local power. Still, the restoration of the Stuarts was not inevitable. A man of Cromwell's strength and conviction might have made the Protectorate work. At his death, the nation sought those qualities in his son, Richard.

Richard Cromwell was an intelligent, amiable man who lacked his father's military reputation, charisma, and determination. He inherited a regime that was financially exhausted and increasingly unpopular. Above all, he failed to either win over or subdue the army. The army deposed him in favor of a

restored Rump in the spring of 1659. Having been ousted from, then returned to, power by the army, the Rump naturally sought to assert its control over that force. In response, the army again sent it packing on 13 October 1659. By now, order was breaking down all over England.

At about this time, General George Monck, leading the last fully paid army in the British Isles, began to march south from Scotland. No one knew what he would do. All sides (Independents, Presbyterians, Royalists) hoped that he would favor their position. Monck reached London in February 1660. After some vacillation, he ordered the Rump to call back all the members of the Long Parliament so that they could dissolve themselves and make way for new elections. Londoners celebrated by roasting rump steaks in the streets. These actions made the return of the king inevitable.

[Monck] ordered the Rump to call back all the members of the Long Parliament so that they could dissolve themselves and make way for new elections. … These actions made the return of the king inevitable.

That spring, a new Parliament was elected. The Convention Parliament (so called because it convened itself) was dominated by Royalists and Presbyterians (the most moderate and conservative of Parliamentarians) who wanted the restoration of the monarchy. In the meantime, Prince Charles issued the Declaration of Breda, promising amnesty to all participants in the Civil Wars, except those to be omitted by Parliament; religious toleration; and recognition of all land sales since 1642. In short, Charles sought to placate any fears that he wanted revenge or to turn the clock back to his father's reign.

Later that spring, the Convention Parliament issued an invitation and dispatched a fleet to convey Charles II back to his ancestral kingdom. He landed, to wild rejoicing, on his birthday, 29 May 1660. To judge from this reception, many English men—and perhaps even more women—were in love with their new sovereign. Both he and they bent over backwards to prove that all was forgiven, that the British Civil Wars had never happened. But they had happened. Could the English people go home again? Could the

Great Chain of Being be put back together? If so, what was the meaning of the Civil Wars? Had they solved the long-term tensions left over from the Tudors? If not, what then? The next few years would reveal the answers to these questions. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 8, secs. 4–5.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 7.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 8.

Questions to Consider

1. Given the Protectorate's many successes, why did it collapse so soon after Cromwell's death?

2. Who, in the end, won the British Civil Wars? What could each side claim? Did the wars settle the long-term problems that had produced them?

The Restoration Settlement—1660–70

Lecture 35

The English people—having killed their king, and having tried a republic and then a monarchy in all but name under Oliver Cromwell—decided to try to turn back the clock and restore the very Stuart line that they tossed out of the country a little more than a decade before. How do you do that? How do you restore a system that had been haphazardly dismantled over the course of a decade? Did Restoration mean that the Civil Wars had settled nothing? What, if anything, had been settled?

The British Civil Wars settled none of the long-term tensions that produced them, but the English ruling elite did learn three lessons from the wars: England needed both a king and a Parliament. This did not, however, settle which should be sovereign. Old Royalists favored the king as the bulwark of order. Old Roundheads favored Parliament as the guardian of liberty. Puritans were political and religious radicals, to be watched as closely as Catholics. Finally, the common people were a dangerous ally. Never again would the English ruling elite enlist them to effect political or religious change.

The Restoration settlement of the state was a compromise. Charles II resumed many of the powers wielded by his father. He could make peace and war. He could call, prorogue, and dissolve Parliament. He could name government officials. He alone could call out the militia. He could dispense with the law in individual cases and suspend it in times of emergency. He received a financial settlement intended to yield £1,200,000 a year to run his government. However, the Convention Parliament contained many Presbyterians who had fought against Charles I and had no wish to make his son absolute. Thus, each of these powers was qualified. The king had no standing army; Parliament would not vote him the funds for one. (The New Model Army was paid off.) The Triennial Act still required the king to call Parliament at least once every three years. Parliament could still impeach the king's officials and many of the prerogative courts by which he imposed his will (the Star Chamber, High Commission, and others were never restored). Local nobles and gentry still raised the militia for the king—or not, as they

saw fit. The suspending and dispensing power did not have the force of statute law.

Though intended to yield £1,200,000, the taxes voted in 1660 initially failed to do so. In any case, Charles II regularly spent more than this amount. The new religious settlement also disappointed the king. Charles II favored religious toleration. But a new Parliament elected in 1661, known as the Cavalier Parliament, was dominated by Anglican Royalists. They still viewed Catholics as traitors. They now viewed Puritans—both Independents and Presbyterians—as king-killing religious and political radicals. They commemorated Charles I on 30 January as "the Royal Martyr." They restored the bishops, Church courts, the Book of Common Prayer, vestments, and the right of advowson.

They then passed a series of laws, the Clarendon Code (after Charles II's Lord Chancellor), designed to marginalize Puritans. The Corporation Act of 1661 required municipal officeholders to renounce Presbyterianism and take Anglican communion. The Quaker Act of 1662 made it illegal to refuse to plead in court or to worship in groups of five or more outside of a parish church. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 required all ministers and teachers to assent to the Book of Common Prayer. The Conventicle Act of 1664 ordered huge fines (and exile for a third offense) for attending Puritan meetings. The Five Mile Act of 1665 made it illegal for a non-Anglican preacher to come within five miles of a town or his former parish without swearing an oath against rebellion. These laws drove Puritans out of the Church and underground. Because they no longer had any hope of "purifying" the Church of England, the word "Puritan" ceased to apply. From henceforward, they were "Dissenters" or "Non-conformists" and subject to persecution, just as Catholics were. Clearly, the Restoration settlement left a great deal of power in the hands of the Anglican aristocracy, both in Parliament and in the countryside.

Unfortunately, Charles II and his court soon lost the good impression they had created in 1660. Charles II's personality contrasted favorably with his father's stiffness and formality. He was highly intelligent, witty, affable, and approachable. He was vigorous—on the tennis court and in the bedroom. He was tolerant, flexible, and merciful—even toward former enemies. Few

were tried and executed for his father's execution, though Cromwell's body was exhumed and mutilated. Living Roundheads were often reappointed to the offices they had held under the Commonwealth and Protectorate. But old Royalists accused the king of forgetting his friends. Charles II was often disloyal, unreliable, and self-serving. He was also lazy and indecisive. Above all, he was a cynic who trusted no one. Who could blame him, given his own history and that of his family?

This goes far to explain the king's obsession with diversion and the extravagance and amorality of his court. The Restoration court was the greatest center of cultural patronage of its day. It gave rise to many new fashions: the comedy of intrigue; the first stage actresses; the three-piece suit for men; and in England, champagne, tea, and ice cream. It promoted the careers of, among others: Dryden, Etherege, Rochester, and Wycherley in poetry and drama; Purcell and Blow in music; Lely and Kneller in painting; Gibbons in carving; and Wren in architecture. The court was a great center of political intrigue, in which politicians, courtiers, and royal mistresses vied for power. Among the latter were Barbara Palmer, Countess of Castlemaine; Louisse de Kerouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth; the actress Nell Gwyn; and many others, who produced 14 acknowledged royal bastards.

Clearly, Charles II was ill-fitted to solve the problems that had led to the Civil Wars.

The time and money spent by the king on diversion drained the royal Treasury, and wounded the dignity of the Crown, but made the court tremendously attractive for anyone on the make. Unfortunately, the king's own wife, a Portuguese princess named Catherine of Braganza, was incapable of having children. Her infertility and Catholicism made her unpopular. They also increased the importance, as heir apparent, of the king's younger brother, James, Duke of York. Thus, to England's other problems can be added a succession crisis.

Clearly, Charles II was ill-fitted to solve the problems that had led to the Civil Wars. On sovereignty, he was an absolutist at heart. He admired his cousin, Louis XIV, who ruled France absolutely. On finance, Charles could not rule without Parliament, or raise an army to intimidate it, such as Louis

had at his disposal, because he spent money on other things. On religion, the king's Anglican subjects worried about his apparent tolerance for Catholics and Dissenters. In fact, although Charles II was impressed by Catholicism's emphasis on hierarchy and obedience, he was careful to remain a public Anglican. But by the early 1670s, just as it became obvious that the king and his Catholic queen would have no legitimate heir, the Duke of York, next in line for the throne, began to worship openly as a Catholic.

On foreign policy, early in the reign, England's principal enemy was the Dutch Republic. The Dutch were aggressive traders seeking to break the Navigation Acts and, thus, into England's overseas empire. The result was the Second Anglo-Dutch War of 1664–1668. The war began well with the capture of New Amsterdam, renamed New York, in 1664. It ended disastrously when Charles II laid up the fleet to save money, allowing the Dutch to sail up the Medway, burning English shipping. The war brought down Lord Chancellor Clarendon and disgraced the new Restoration regime. Beginning around 1670, Charles II and his new ministry would try to solve his constitutional, fiscal, religious, and foreign policy problems with a series of bold strokes. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 9, secs. 1–3.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 8.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 9.

Questions to Consider

1. Consider the personality of Charles II. How would he fare in today's political world?

2. Why did Charles II and the Anglican Royalists who had supported his father so loyally not see eye to eye? Why was he so out of sympathy with the wishes and prejudices of the English people?

The Failure of the Restoration—1670–78

Lecture 36

The English people were torn. … They didn't much like the Dutch, but the French were an ancestral enemy and they were Catholic. … Old Parliamentarians, in particular, concluded that it was Catholic and absolutist France that was the greatest danger to Protestantism in England, so they were very surprised and not a little alarmed when, in 1670, Charles II and the CABAL signed the Treaty of Dover with Louis XIV.

Charles II may have hankered after absolutism and, perhaps, Catholicism, but he could not become an English Sun King as long as he depended on Parliament for money. Without money, he lacked an army to enforce his will in the countryside. Because the members of Parliament feared that this was precisely why he wanted more money (that is, to impose absolutism and Catholicism), they refused to vote it to him. In 1670, Charles II and his new ministry, known as the CABAL (for the initials of their last names: Lords Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale), attempted to solve his constitutional, fiscal, religious, and local government problems with a bold stroke in foreign policy.

Charles and the CABAL believed that the way out of the impasse was to ally with France and its ruler, Louis XIV. Louis XIV was the wealthiest and most powerful ruler in Europe. Thus, he might be able to assist Charles in ruling without Parliament and in wreaking vengeance on the Dutch. Moreover, circa 1670, Louis was looking for allies for his scheme to absorb the Spanish Empire: Since 1665, Spain had been ruled by the sickly and mentally incompetent Carlos II. Because Carlos was incapable of producing an heir, the Spanish Empire would be up for grabs when he died. Louis was married to a Spanish princess, giving his heirs some claim to the Spanish throne. His goal was to combine French military power with the wealth of Spain's overseas possessions.

The only obstacle to Louis's plans was the Dutch Republic. The only major republican and Protestant state west of the Rhine, the Dutch sought to

maintain a balance of power against Louis XIV. Their leading statesman, William of Orange, sought to create a Grand Alliance against Louis and Bourbon-Catholic domination of Europe. This led to a series of wars in which Louis XIV conquered numerous small states along the Rhine and Dutch border and came close to wiping the Dutch off the map. The English were torn over these issues, given that France was an ancestral enemy and the Dutch, a recent one. But old Parliamentarians, in particular, concluded that Catholic and absolutist France represented the greater danger to English liberties. Thus, Charles II alarmed many when he signed the Treaty of Dover in 1670. Its terms were as follows:

- Charles's British kingdoms (England, Scotland, Ireland) would ally with Louis's France against the Dutch Republic.
- Louis would supply Charles with a subsidy of about £225,000.
- According to a secret provision of the treaty, Charles would convert publicly to Catholicism and reconcile his kingdoms to Rome. In return, Louis would supply an additional £150,000 and troops if England rebelled.

Thus, each side got what it wanted. Louis acquired the Royal Navy in his struggle against the Dutch. Charles would solve his constitutional, fiscal, religious, foreign policy, and local government problems at one stroke.

In 1672, the king acted. He issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending penalties against both Dissenters and Catholics. He hoped that former Puritans would be so pleased to be tolerated again that they would not notice or mind that Catholics were being tolerated as well. In fact, most Dissenters felt that Catholic emancipation was too high a price to pay for their own freedom of worship. Both they and the Anglicans believed that this was the first step toward a second Counter-Reformation reminiscent of Bloody Mary.

To provide additional quick cash for the war, the king temporarily suspended payments on his debt. The Stop of the Exchequer ruined many merchants and financiers who had loaned money to the government. It also ruined royal

credit for years. The Third Anglo-Dutch War went badly and proved far more expensive than Charles II had anticipated. As a result, the king was forced to call a Parliament in February 1673.

Before even considering supply, it forced Charles II to rescind the Declaration of Indulgence and agree to the Test Act, requiring all officeholders to receive Anglican communion once a year. Dissenters could swallow their scruples and do so, a practice called "occasional conformity," but Catholics would be committing mortal sin. The result was an exodus of Roman Catholics from government service, including Lord Treasurer Clifford and Lord High Admiral James, Duke of York. As a result, everyone now knew that the king's brother and heir was a papist. Parliament forced the king to make peace with the Dutch in 1674. Charles II's attempt to solve his problems with an absolutist domestic policy and a Catholic-French foreign policy was at an end.

The Third Anglo-Dutch War went badly and proved far more expensive than Charles II had anticipated.

Following the disasters of 1670–1672, Charles II sought to repair his reputation with the ruling elite by turning toward an Anglican constitutionalism. The architect of this policy was Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby. Danby, knowing that the vast majority of the king's subjects were Anglicans, sought to give the regime a more Anglican face. He appointed Anglican and Royalist gentlemen to central and local offices. He enforced the Clarendon Code against both Dissenters and Catholics. He insisted that the Duke of York's two daughters, Mary and Anne, be raised as Anglicans and marry Protestants. (Anne married Prince George of Denmark; Mary married William of Orange.) The Dutch marriage, in particular became the linchpin of a Protestant, pro-Dutch foreign policy. It also reassured people that if the Catholic James succeeded to the throne, he would be succeeded in turn, by Protestants.

Danby sought to restore the financial credit of the regime. His attempt to hold the king to a budget ultimately failed. He was more successful at raising revenue. He continued the CABAL's successful reforms of the Customs, Excise and Hearth Tax. Customs revenues shot up because France and the Netherlands remained at war, thus allowing English merchants to move in

on their trade. Danby also sought to make Parliament more compliant by pursuing Royalist-Anglican policies with which they agreed and by building up a "party" of reliable members by offering court offices, pensions, and favors to peers and MPs who voted with the king.

These strategies alarmed a group of peers and MPs, many with Dissenting sympathies and Roundhead pasts, led by Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury. They formed a "country" bloc, that is, one claiming to represent the real wishes of the country, against Danby's "court" bloc. They attacked Danby's corruption of Parliament by bribes of office and other acts, which they believed tended toward absolutism. They attacked the extravagance of the court. They were virulently anti-Catholic but wanted to ease persecution of Dissenters. They feared the power of France and favored Danby's pro-Dutch foreign policy, but they trusted neither him nor the king to maintain it. They sought to maintain local autonomy in the countryside against what they saw as Danby's centralizing tendencies. Thus, on all five major areas of tension besetting the Stuart state, they opposed the king.

Despite the events of the early 1670s, Shaftsbury's country bloc remained a minority, within Parliament and without. They needed a more specific issue with which to convince the country that there really was an absolutist-Catholic conspiracy against the English constitution and the liberties of the subject. In the fall of 1678, they got their issue. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 9, secs. 4–5.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 9.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 10.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did Charles II seek to please Dissenters and Catholics at the expense of Anglicans, who had been his father's staunchest supporters during the Civil Wars? Was his calculation purely political?

2. Shaftsbury and his country bloc argued that Danby's policies were corrupting the nation. Were they, or were they just good politics? Might they be both?

The Popish Plot and Exclusion—1678–85

Lecture 37

Rumors flew. Catholics were said to be arming themselves. There were bombs in Protestant churches. There were "nightriders"—that is, Catholic spies—roving the countryside. Every time somebody heard a horse flying by at night, they assumed it must have been Catholic plotters. There were rumors of French and Spanish troops landing on the coasts. In fact, Oates's story was a tissue of lies. There was no Popish Plot.

In the late summer of 1678, a defrocked preacher named Titus Oates approached the Privy Council with word of a Jesuit plot to assassinate Charles II, place his brother James on the throne, raise English and Irish Catholics, and bring over a French army to restore Roman Catholicism as the national Church. To their credit, neither king nor Council believed a word—at first.

Oates was not a credible witness. Starting out life as a Dissenter, he had also tried the Church of England and the Jesuits. He had been expelled from the Merchant Tailors' School and two Cambridge colleges, two Anglican livings, the Royal Navy, and two Jesuit colleges. His offenses ranged from lying to drunkenness to sodomy. His accusations were taken seriously only after the discovery of three terrible coincidences by the end of 1678:

- James's former secretary, Edward Coleman, was found to have corresponded with the court of France about reestablishing Catholicism.

- Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, the JP who had taken down Oates's story, was found dead in a ditch. The murder, if it was murder, has never been solved. But contemporaries had no trouble attributing it to Catholics.

- Lord Treasurer Danby was found to have been negotiating with Louis XIV for more subsidies so that Charles II would not have to face a Parliament.

The result was an explosion of national hysteria, fear, and hostility toward Catholics. Rumors flew of Catholic plots and French and Spanish troops landing on the coasts. In fact, there was no Popish Plot.

English Catholics represented less than 1 percent of the population and had sought peace and quiet for years. But English Protestants still feared a Catholic heir (James), Catholics at court (Catherine of Braganza and her circle), and Catholic France on the move in Europe. This played off ancient memories of Bloody Mary, the Spanish Armada of 1588, the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the Irish Rebellion of 1641, the Great Fire of London of 1666 (which the government had blamed, cynically, on Catholics), and the Treaty of Dover of 1670. Prominent Catholics were arrested and charged with treason in kangaroo trials. About two dozen were executed.

At the end of 1678, Charles II tried to save Danby from impeachment and avoid a parliamentary inquiry into the secret provisions of the Treaty of Dover, by dissolving Parliament. This was a mistake, because it gave Shaftsbury and his country bloc the opportunity to go to the country with a real issue (Catholics in government) and a platform: the exclusion of James, Duke of York, from succession. Over the next two years, Shaftsbury's country followers evolved into the first real political party in English history. Because many came from old Roundhead families, they were dubbed "Whigs" (a cant term for Scottish Presbyterian rebels) by their enemies. Whigs ran on a platform of excluding James from the throne, by statute, as a Roman Catholic, and Parliament naming as the king's successor his eldest illegitimate son, James, Duke of Monmouth. As this implies, they favored the rights of Parliament over those of the king; they attacked the extravagance of the court; they favored emancipation for Dissenters but harsh persecution of Catholics; and they favored a pro-Dutch, anti-French foreign policy. Though popular with the mercantile community, they claimed to represent "country" values. In short, Whigs feared an international conspiracy to render England an absolutist, Catholic state.

During the three exclusion elections (1679–1681), the Whigs pioneered many techniques of modern political parties. They founded political dining societies, where party strategy was planned. They capitalized on the temporary expiration of the Licensing Act by commissioning pamphlets, poems, and other propaganda. They organized mass rallies and pope-burning processions on Protestant anniversaries, such as Gunpowder Treason Day (5 November) and Queen Elizabeth's Accession Day (17 November).

The Whigs won all three exclusion elections in landslides. This presented Charles II with a dilemma. He could give in to the Whigs, abandon his brother—and much of the royal prerogative—and live a quiet life. Or he could stick by James at the risk of uncooperative Parliaments and even another civil war. Charles decided to bide his time, waiting for a reaction in favor of the royal family.

The Whig appeal to the rights of Parliament, the press, and the people did produce a reaction among conservatives. Old Royalists and courtiers came together to support the king and the Duke of York. Their political party was dubbed "Tory" (slang for Irish-Catholic bandits) by their detractors. Tories ran on a platform of safeguarding the hereditary succession in the person of James, Duke of York, whatever his religion. As this implies, they favored the rights of the king over those of Parliament; they would not deny the king funds; they favored the monopoly of the Anglican Church as the only legal religion in England. Though they had little love for Catholics, they saw the real danger to English life coming from radical Dissenters. The Tories had no quarrel with Louis XIV and, thus, favored a pro-French, anti-Dutch foreign policy. Their values were those of the court. Tories also learned to organize, copying and extending Whig techniques. Eventually, the country came around to their point of view.

The Exclusion Parliaments were the products of Whig landslides. The first Exclusion Parliament met in the spring of 1679. When the Whigs proposed a bill excluding James from the throne, the king dissolved it. The elections to the second Exclusion Parliament took place in the late summer of 1679, but the king, hoping to buy time for a Tory reaction, postponed its first meeting until October 1680. The second Exclusion Bill failed when it was defeated in the Lords. The third Exclusion Parliament was convened in Oxford in March

1681. When the king dissolved it at the end of the month, he was sure that the country had come round to his side.

By 1681, it was pretty clear that there never had been a plot to kill the king. Thanks to effective Tory propaganda, it was the Whigs who now seemed the chief danger to Church and State. From this point, Charles II pursued what came to be called the Tory Revenge. Like his father, Charles II had chosen to rule without Parliament. But unlike his father, he realized that that condition might not be permanent. To ensure Tory success in the next election, the king used the Corporation Act to revoke city charters, purge their corporations of Whigs and Dissenters, and replace them with loyal Tories. These men launched a sweeping persecution of Dissenters.

Thanks to effective Tory propaganda, it was the Whigs who now seemed the chief danger to Church and State.

These initiatives ensured quiet in the countryside now and a Tory landslide in any future election. Charles II began to live within his means, cutting his expenditure and benefiting from a trade boom that increased his revenue to £1.4 million a year. Finally realizing that most of the ruling elite were Anglican-Royalist Tories, he publicly embraced Anglicanism and appointed safe Anglican politicians and clergymen to positions of authority. The Anglican clergy responded by preaching loyalty from the pulpits. These policies left the Whigs frustrated and bereft of their most effective forum: Parliament. Shaftsbury fled to the Netherlands in 1682 and died the following year. In 1683, radical Whig plans were discovered to kill Charles and James. The ensuing prosecutions broke the party.

Charles II succumbed to a stroke on 6 February 1685 after a deathbed conversion to Roman Catholicism. Despite this unpopular move, he left his successor a prosperous country, a full Treasury, a loyal national Church, an opposition Whig party in disarray, and a local government firmly in the hands of dedicated Tories. Unfortunately, he left all these things to his brother James. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 9, sec. 6–7.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chaps. 10–11.

Kenyon, *Popish Plot*.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 10.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did most people believe so readily in a Popish Plot? Why did Charles II not believe it?

2. Why did the Whigs think that Charles II would eventually embrace exclusion? Why did he choose not to do so?

A Catholic Restoration? 1685–88

Lecture 38

The fact that James encouraged the Bloody Assizes—thought they were a good thing—and the fact that he kept his army in being after the rebellion was crushed should have given everybody pause. Everyone should have realized, "There's something about this man that we need to know."

Thanks to his brother's policies, James II ascended the English, Scottish, and Irish thrones on a wave of enthusiasm and good will. James began well by attempting to perpetuate that good will: He proclaimed in Council that he would respect the constitution, the Church of England, and the property of his subjects. Then, he called a Parliament. Charles II's gerrymandering and the current popularity of the monarchy resulted in an overwhelmingly Tory—and, therefore, loyal—Parliament. The Commons immediately voted the king the same revenue settlement as Charles II had been granted. They failed to realize that because of the trade boom, these taxes would yield about £1,500,000 a year, some 20–25 percent more than Charles II had received. They voted an additional £400,000 a year for five years so that the king could raise an army. Their excuse for this generosity was that James was already facing a rebellion.

In the summer of 1685, the Duke of Monmouth returned from European exile, landed on the west coast, and raised a rebellion against his uncle. Few aristocrats joined the Duke. His army consisted of a ragtag band of farmers and tradesmen, many of them Dissenters. James used his parliamentary funds to raise a large, well-trained, and well-equipped force. Using the state of emergency as an excuse, James staffed the army with many Catholic officers. This army, nominally led by the Catholic Earl of Feversham but really by the king's talented favorite, John, Lord Churchill, handily defeated the rebels at the battle of Sedgmoor in July. Monmouth and about 300 rebels were condemned to death, the latter in kangaroo trials presided over by George, Lord "Hanging Judge," Jeffreys. Their bodies remained hanging throughout the West Country as a warning against further rebellions. A further 800 were transported to the American colonies. This, and the fact that James kept his

army in being after the rebellion was crushed, should have given his subjects pause. But for now, he remained popular. How did he lose his popularity in three years?

James II was neither so clever nor so subtle as his brother. From the beginning of his reign, he worshiped openly and devoutly as a Roman Catholic. As this implies, James was less of a libertine than his brother, launching a reform of the household and banning the men and women of pleasure from it. This did much to restore the dignity and restrain the finances of the court. But it also made the court less interesting, less attractive, and less useful as a field of political patronage. In short, James II was a great administrator but a lousy politician.

King James II wanted to repeal laws against Catholics.

James was a military man who had distinguished himself as Lord High Admiral during the Second Dutch War. He preferred order, hierarchy, and obedience. As this implies, James was a lifelong absolutist who saw disagreement as disloyalty. He felt that his father's only mistake was in making concessions. Above all, he was a committed Catholic who saw it as his duty to bring his people back into the fold—kicking and screaming if necessary. James did not want to force conversion. Rather, he believed that if Catholicism were tolerated, granted an equal footing with the Church of England, it would naturally win the hearts and minds of his subjects. In other words, and not a little ironically, James II, authoritarian, championed religious toleration for all.

James embarked on Catholic emancipation within six months of his accession. He began by informing Parliament that he intended to retain the Catholic officers in his army and use the dispensing power to appoint more.

When Parliament lodged a protest, he prorogued it. He then started to pack the judiciary with judges who would support the dispensing and suspending powers. The judges did support him in the test case *Goddin v. Hales*. James used the dispensing power to fill the army with Catholics. In April 1687, he suspended the Clarendon Code through another Declaration of Indulgence. Once again, Dissenters largely rejected toleration at the price of Catholic emancipation.

In any case, what James really wanted was parliamentary repeal of the Clarendon Code and the penal laws against Catholics. In 1686, he began to purge the lieutenancy and county bench (the JPs) and remodel and gerrymander city corporations once again, this time, to install those friendly to Catholics and Dissenters, all with a view toward the next election. In other words, he began to displace Anglican-Tories—natural supporters of monarchy—with obscure Catholics, former enemies (Whigs, republicans, cooperative Dissenters), and people of marginal local importance. In the process, he was dispossessing the natural rulers of England, people who viewed their local offices as a form of property. Furthermore, he demanded that the clergy of the Anglican Church cooperate in its own demise by reading the Declaration of Indulgence from the pulpit in the spring of 1688. Seven bishops, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Sancroft, responded by publicly questioning the dispensing power in a printed petition. James, taken by surprise, threw them into prison, thus turning them into martyrs.

The prospect of a Catholic succession, followed by a long reign, was intensely frightening to Anglicans and Dissenters alike.

These measures were wildly unpopular. Why did James's subjects, especially the ruling elite, put up with them? Most English men and women were willing to put up with James's policies because they anticipated a short reign (he was 52 at his accession), and they knew that he would be succeeded by the Protestants Mary and Anne. That all changed at the end of 1687 when James's young second wife, Mary Beatrice of Modena, announced that she was pregnant. A female child would have almost no significance for the succession, because she would come after Mary and Anne. But a male child would take precedence over them, and there was

no doubt that, without Charles and Danby to thwart him, James would raise this child a good Catholic. The prospect of a Catholic succession, followed by a long reign, was intensely frightening to Anglicans and Dissenters alike.

Catholics at court were convinced that God would give Mary Beatrice a boy. Protestants wondered how the Catholics could be so sure. They began to whisper that the pregnancy was a fake. On 10 June 1688, Mary Beatrice did, indeed, give birth to a little boy, dubbed James Francis Edward. Court Catholics were overjoyed. Court Protestants charged that the birth was faked and that the child had been smuggled up the backstairs in a warming pan. The king was reduced to the indignity of declaring in Privy Council that the child was his.

Just three days before, a group of seven noblemen gathered in secret to invite William of Orange, Stadholder of the Netherlands, the foremost Protestant in Europe and the husband of Princess Mary, to invade England. His acceptance changed the course of English—indeed, Western—history. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 9, sec. 8.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 11.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 11.

Questions to Consider

1. Given England's history, why did James II think that his plan for Catholic emancipation would succeed? What beliefs, habits, and institutions was he depending on? Of which did he fail to take account?

2. Why did the Church of England so resist toleration for Dissenters, as well as Catholics? Why did Dissenters reject their own toleration if Catholics were tolerated, too? Why not live and let live?

The Glorious Revolution—1688–89

Lecture 39

James II push[ed] the loyalty of the ruling Anglican class and the links of the Great Chain of Being to their limit with his attempt to secure a toleration for Dissenters and Catholics against the wishes of his ruling elite and, apparently, the vast majority of his subjects. In the summer of 1688, both the Chain and their loyalty were broken.

After extensive preparations, William, Prince of Orange, invaded England in November 1688. He took this step for three reasons: to protect his wife's claim to the English throne, to prevent England from turning Catholic and allying with Louis XIV, and to bring the power and wealth of the British kingdoms into the balance against Louis XIV. William spent most of the summer of 1688 raising money and troops. In the end, he assembled a force consisting of 20,000 foot and 500 horse, along with 200 transports and 149 warships.

James actually had more troops, some 25,000, but they were relatively untried compared to William's veterans, who had been battle-hardened against the French army. In other respects, James was ill prepared. Disbelieving that he would be attacked by his own son-in-law, he refused French naval and military help. Louis XIV, trusting James's reassurances, launched a campaign against Rhine-Palatine, thus tying up troops that might have been used against a defenseless Dutch Republic. James's only serious preparation was to backpedal on his purges of local government and promise to call an election. These moves were dismissed as insincere by Protestants. They discouraged Catholics and their sympathizers.

As in 1588, even the weather cooperated with the Protestant side, the prevailing winds blowing William's fleet to England and keeping James's in port. William of Orange landed at Torbay, on the southwest coast, on 5 November 1688, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot. James's superior forces should have been able to throw William into the sea. But the king hesitated, taking several weeks to march out against the invader.

William III led a siege on the shores of Torbay. His force of 20,000 had 500 horses, 200 transports, and 149 warships.

The country also hesitated at first. Gradually, important noblemen began to gravitate to William's camp. Perhaps more important, they often brought the militia, which they had been ordered to raise, with them. (Thus, the Stuarts' problems with local control proved fatal once again.) The trickle became a flood between November 23–25, when the king found that he had been deserted by Prince George of Denmark, his other son-in-law; John, Lord Churchill, his principal favorite and military commander; the Duke of Ormond, leader of the most staunchly Royalist family in England; and his other daughter, Princess Ann.

At this point, James II realized that the jig was up. The king returned to London and put Queen Mary Beatrice and the little prince on a boat for France. On 11 December 1688, he, too, attempted to flee, in disguise. He was recognized and apprehended by a group of fishermen on the east coast and returned to London. William was as anxious to have his father-in-law out of the country as James was anxious to be so. The Prince of Orange placed the king under loose house arrest at Rochester, on the English Channel. From

here, James was able to make his escape easily on 23 December 1688. The Restoration Settlement was at an end.

The ruling elite moved quickly to maintain order. On 24 December 1688, an assembly of 60 peers petitioned William to administer the realm until a settlement could be worked out. On 26 December, 300 former MPs and civic leaders concurred. This group agreed to elections for another Convention Parliament, which met on 22 January 1689. It soon divided along party lines. Tories, dedicated to divine right and the hereditary succession, tried desperately to forge a settlement that preserved those principles. Some argued that James II was still king, and William could be his regent, but no one believed that James would agree. Others suggested that Mary, as the rightful heir (if one believed that the prince's birth was faked), be named queen. Whigs, on the other hand, believed in parliamentary sovereignty and the contractual basis of government. (John Locke would publish his *Second Treatise*, arguing for this principle, within a year.) Whigs, therefore, saw no problem with simply naming William as king. In short, the Tory position was romantic and emotional; the Whig position, rational, practical, and untraditional. William settled matters by making clear that if denied the Crown, he would take his troops and go home.

On 13 February 1689, William and Mary were offered the Crown by Parliament, with administrative power to rest with William. At the same time, they were presented with a Declaration of Rights, which stated that no king of England could tax without parliamentary permission, use the suspending power or abuse the dispensing power, manipulate the judiciary, or continue a standing army without parliamentary permission. Historians have debated ever since whether this constituted a contract.

What did this all mean? Why was it dubbed the Glorious Revolution? The Revolution of 1688–1689 was thought of as "glorious" by the Protestant ruling elite, at least. No blood was shed. It seemed inevitable, easy, and God-ordained. Unlike the period 1642–1660, the ruling elite was able to engineer a political revolution without a social one. This time, the lower orders did what they were told. This might cause us, from the viewpoint of the 21st century, to ask what was so glorious about a revolution that did nothing for the great mass of the people and was perpetrated to preserve religious

intolerance. The Revolution of 1688–1689 can still be regarded as glorious because it offered progressive answers to most of the questions that had beset the Stuarts for nearly a century.

On the question of sovereignty, clearly, Parliament was sovereign. When William and Mary and Anne and George proved unable to have living children, Parliament would once again draw the succession to its liking in the Act of Settlement of 1701. The English king remained powerful, with most of his executive powers intact. But his financial and diplomatic situation would dictate that he could no longer rule without Parliament. That meant, in turn, that he had to choose ministers with which Parliament could work. Thus, in 1688, England was well on its way to constitutional monarchy.

The ensuing Nine Years' War would be the first of seven colossal conflicts pitting Britain against France between 1688 and 1815.

On the issue of foreign policy, William's accession would bring the British kingdoms into the fight against France. In fact, the ensuing Nine Years' War would be the first of seven colossal conflicts pitting Britain against France between 1688 and 1815. Britain would win or draw six of those wars and emerge the most powerful military state, with the greatest overseas empire, and therefore, the richest country, on earth.

On the issue of finance, these wars would force Crown and Parliament to finally solve the former's money problems by tapping the growing wealth of the English economy.

On the issue of religion, clearly, England would not be Catholic. However, Parliament recognized that Dissenters had stayed loyal to Protestantism even when James offered them toleration. As a reward, they were granted the Act of Toleration, which enabled them to worship openly, in peace. (They were still subject to the Test Act.) In the end, with the pressure off for a Counter-Reformation, de facto tolerance would gradually be extended to Catholics, as well.

On the issue of local versus central control, it should be obvious that the landed aristocracy was as powerful as ever.

In the end, the Glorious Revolution marks England's first successful break from the Great Chain of Being. English men and women, not God, had chosen a king. They were masters of their own property. They could choose their religion (as long as it was Protestant). They could take on the might of France. They could run their localities as they saw fit. Having broken their chains, they would now begin to flex their muscles. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 9, sec. 9.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 11.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chap. 2.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 11.

Speck, *Reluctant Revolutionaries*.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did James II hesitate, then give up so easily? Could he have won?

2. To what extent was the Glorious Revolution a precedent and a model for the American Revolution 90 years later? To what extent were they different?

King William's War—1689–92

Lecture 40

When the "immortal seven" invited William of Orange to invade England, they did so primarily to safeguard the rights of Parliament in the constitution and the Protestant ascendancy in religion. They probably failed to realize that in doing so, they were committing British arms and resources to full-scale war with France.

The major problem facing William and Mary at the beginning of the reign was to convince the English people that the Nine Years' War was their war, that Louis's embrace of the Jacobite cause represented a danger, not just to the peace of Europe, but to the English way of life. This was a hard sell because there was no love lost for the Dutch, England's great ally in the war, the English had such a poor record in Continental wars, and the war would be fabulously expensive. Worse, William and Mary were viewed by many as usurpers. Jacobites (mostly Tories) worked actively for their overthrow. Non-jurors (mostly Tory clergymen) would not be active against them but refused to serve under them.

Most people were ambivalent, caring neither for William nor James. Mary was the "acceptable face" of the regime to many. She was a Stuart, James's daughter, and, thus, the true heir (if one ignored Prince James). Many Tories felt loyalty to her that they could not feel for William. Some urged her to be more assertive, but she remained subordinate to William. She was English-born, pious, pretty, and charitable. This endeared her to the English people. She was vivacious, fun-loving, a promoter of the arts, and a frequent host of "drawing rooms" at court. This revived court life and brought the aristocracy back to Whitehall. When Mary died suddenly of smallpox in December 1694, the country was plunged into grief comparable to that for Princess Diana in 1997.

William alone was never popular. One way to understand this is to contrast him with his uncle, Charles II. Both men were highly intelligent, but William was taciturn, expending his brainpower on strategy and tactics, not witty repartee. Unlike Charles II, William was hard-working and driven by

his obsession with stopping Louis XIV. Unlike Charles II, William hated crowds, court social occasions, and similar events. He was more at home in army camps than in drawing rooms. He was more comfortable with his Dutch officers and favorites than with English politicians.

As a result, William III never quite understood the English party system. One might assume that he would be drawn to the Whigs as natural supporters of the Revolution and war against Catholic France. But William saw the Whigs as republican radicals who might just as easily turf him out as they had his father-in-law. He gravitated to the Tories, whom he saw as defenders of monarchy and the natural, experienced party of government. Unfortunately, although many Tories did support the Revolution, many others were Jacobites. It took years for William to figure this out.

James had no intention of liberating Ireland from English control. What he wanted was to use it as a base from which to regain England.

The war began when King James, supported by a handful of French ships and soldiers, invaded Ireland in the spring of 1689. James was welcomed in Catholic Ireland because he promised to stop centuries of English misrule. He immediately convened an Irish Parliament to revoke the Restoration land settlement and to emancipate Catholics. But James had no intention of liberating Ireland from English control. What he wanted was to use it as a base from which to regain England. Nevertheless, poor Catholic Irish farmers joined his army in droves.

That spring, James's forces took the Protestant ruling class by surprise, conquering all but the enclaves of Londonderry and Enniskillen in the north (Ulster). Protestants held out there until a Williamite relief force arrived in July 1689. The following summer, William III arrived at the head of an Anglo-Dutch army and defeated King James's forces at the Battle of the Boyne on 1 July 1690.

Following the final Irish surrender at Limerick in 1691, William supported leniency for the Catholic Irish, but he needed the Protestant ruling class in Ireland to fight his war, and they wanted revenge. Over the next 40 years,

English monarchs would allow the Protestant-dominated Irish Parliament to pass a series of harsh laws called the Penal Code. The Catholic Irish were forbidden from voting, holding office, sitting in Parliament, attending university, practicing law, purchasing land, bearing arms or wearing swords (a mark of gentility), and owning a horse worth over £5. They were forced to divide bequests among all their heirs, thus leading to the gradual elimination of large land holdings. As a result, by 1727, the Catholic Irish amounted to four-fifths of the population but owned one-seventh of the land. No wonder that William's victory at the Boyne continues to rankle Catholic Irish even as it is celebrated by their Protestant countrymen.

Despite William's victory in Ireland, the overall situation in 1690–1692 remained grim. Louis XIV's armies were victorious on the Continent. In June 1690, Louis's navy beat an Anglo-Dutch fleet at Beachy Head, thus opening England to invasion. Parliament launched a series of divisive inquiries into the course of the war and how the money allotted for it was being spent. These inquiries and the conduct of the war pointed out a fundamental shift in the respective roles of the parties after the Revolution.

The Tories were living a number of contradictions after 1688–1689: They were the party of divine-right monarchy, yet they were serving a usurper. They were the party of Anglicanism, yet they were ruled by a Dutch Calvinist king who had brought with him a toleration for Dissenters. They were the party of peaceful isolationism and friendship with France, yet they were fighting a war against that country. They were the party of the landed aristocracy, yet to pay for the war, they had been forced to approve a land tax of four shillings in the pound. Worse, in 1692, a number of Tory peers, including John Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, were discovered to have corresponded with James II, promising their support if he should return.

Whigs, on the other hand, were perfectly content with the state of the post-revolutionary political world. The party of parliamentary sovereignty had no problem with William's legitimacy. The party of the Dissenters embraced the toleration. The party that hated and feared Catholic France saw every reason to fight the war. The party of merchants and financiers—many of whom did well off war contracts—had no difficulty with a land tax. William began to appoint Whigs to government office. The Whigs, born in opposition, became

the party of the court and government. The Tories, the natural party of the court and government, became an opposition party. This shift would change the nature of the English monarchy and constitution. The Tories had been the party of the court because they believed passionately, even irrationally, in the Great Chain of Being, divine right, and their Stuart sovereigns. For the Whigs, William was more of a CEO than God's lieutenant. They supported him because it suited their purposes, not because they loved him or saw him as the father of the country. They would fight and win King William's war. But they would demand an extension of Parliament's power and role in the constitution. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 10, secs. 1–3.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 12.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chap. 4, secs. 1–2; chap. 5, secs. 1–4.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 12.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did the English have such trouble seeing King William's war as their fight?

2. Why did the Whigs fail to revere William as the Tories did the Stuarts?

King William's War—1692–1702

Lecture 41

The Whigs gave William a formidable war ministry, in particular one that was able to tap England's growing commercial wealth. The result would be a successful conclusion to the war with the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697. That put a stop—temporarily—to Louis XIV's territorial ambitions. Ironically, the country would react to this good news by turning back towards the Tories.

The Whig leaders proved to be competent war ministers. They worked so well together that they became known as the "Junto" (from the Spanish *junta*). Its members included the five men described below. Thomas Wharton, from 1696, Lord Wharton, Comptroller of the Household, was a brilliant parliamentary orator, a great landowner who controlled the votes of numerous tenants and, therefore, several MPs, and A famous rake, possibly the greatest swordsman/duelist of his age. Sir John Somers, from 1693, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, from 1697, Lord Somers and Lord Chancellor of England, was a brilliant lawyer who drafted key legislation, such as the Declaration of Rights and also something of a rake and literary patron. Charles Spencer, later Earl of Sunderland, was (eventually) an expert on foreign policy and connected to the Earl of Marlborough through his marriage to Anne Churchill. Admiral Edward Russell, from 1694, First Lord of the Admiralty and, from 1697, Earl of Orford. Russell dDefeated the French fleet at La Hogue in 1692. This eliminated the threat of invasion and allowed William to take the war to Louis on the Continent. As first lord, he reformed the Royal Navy, building new ships and updating the dockyards. But the most important member of the Junto was Charles Montagu, First Lord of the Treasury from 1692, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1694, and Lord Halifax from 1697. He launched the "Financial Revolution" that enabled England to win the war.

The Nine Years' War was the most expensive in English history to date, trebling total government expenditure to about £5 million a year. Louis raised funds easily, because he had no Parliament with which to deal. Rather, he simply taxed the French peasantry at will. William did have to deal with

a Parliament, which only reluctantly voted him a land tax of four shillings in the pound in 1693. This source was estimated to yield £2 million a year, at most. Because it was assessed and collected by the landowners themselves, it never actually reached the estimated yield. Montagu's idea was to tap England's growing commercial wealth. He established a fund out of the land tax to service loans made to the government, thus initiating England's funded national debt. He offered government annuities at 14 percent interest in return for loans of quick cash. (The principal would be paid back only in peacetime.) He established government-sponsored lotteries. He established the Bank of England, which acted as an investment opportunity for subscribers, a source of loans for the government, and a sort of federal reserve to regulate the money supply.

The resultant Financial Revolution had far-reaching effects. To secure Parliamentary approval for these initiatives, William had to make concessions: In 1691, he agreed to a parliamentary Commission of Accounts to examine his expenditure. In 1694, he agreed to another, stricter Triennial Act. In 1701, he agreed to limitations on royal power in the Act of Settlement (see below). Thus, the Financial Revolution helped advance the work of the Glorious Revolution in making England a constitutional monarchy.

The Financial Revolution enriched its investors, creating a new class of "moneyed men" who made money from credit. They embraced the Whigs and their very profitable war. Tories saw them as parasites, not least because the security for their speculative endeavors was the land tax. Thus, the Financial Revolution was yet one more force in English society destroying the Great Chain of Being.

William's government raised fabulous sums of money. This enabled him to field and supply Continental armies and far-flung fleets. In the long run, this wealth would make the English Crown (as opposed to the English monarch himself) fabulously wealthy and make England the greatest military power on earth. The British army grew to 76,000 men. The central administration increased from about 4,000 offices to over 12,000 between 1688 and 1725. Faced with fighting global wars (in Europe, in North America, and on the high seas), this administration grew more efficient and professional.

Unfortunately, the Junto lacked a general, and William was more brave than brilliant at strategy. But his unrelenting determination, combined with British superiority in men and materiel, finally ground Louis down. In 1697, he agreed to the Treaty of Ryswick. Louis recognized William III, not James II, as the King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Louis restored nearly all the European territory he had conquered since 1678. Louis agreed to work out with William a partition of the Spanish Empire to take effect when Carlos II died.

After the peace, the Whig government broke up because of internal jealousies and a reaction in the country toward peace, low taxes, and the Tories. A Country-Tory ministry and Parliament led by Robert Harley repudiated the policies of the Junto. They demobilized William's army and sent home his Dutch Guards. They confiscated lands William had given to Dutch and English favorites. They impeached Whig ministers. But their most notable achievement was the passage of the Act of Settlement in 1701.

In 1700, Princess Anne's last surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, died. In determining the succession after the childless William and Anne, Parliament skipped over scores of Catholic Stuarts to pick the nearest Protestant heir: Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her son, George. Thus, Parliament once again opted for Protestantism and practicality over divine right and hereditary succession. The act also stipulated that, after Anne, no King of England was to leave the country without permission (as William had done), fight a war on behalf of some other territory that he ruled (such as William's Dutch Republic), or employ members of Parliament as government officials (as Danby and the Junto had done to ensure loyalty). Thus, the Act of Settlement was yet another stage on the road to constitutional monarchy.

In 1700–1702, the peace broke down. In October 1700, Carlos II of Spain finally died. His will ignored William's and Louis XIV's Partition Treaties, leaving the whole Spanish Crown and empire to Louis's grandson, Phillipe, Duke of Anjou. Louis now faced a dilemma: This was everything he had always wanted, but acceptance of the will might lead to war with William (that is, both the British and the Dutch). Louis took the gamble, proclaiming his grandson "Felipe V" of Spain. William began to prepare for war.

In November 1701, James II finally died. On his deathbed, he begged Louis XIV to recognize his son, Prince James, as the next King of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Once again, Louis faced a dilemma: Here was the deathbed request of an old friend, fellow monarch, and Catholic, but acceptance would surely lead to war with William, whom he would have to repudiate. Once again, Louis took the gamble, proclaiming the young prince "King James III" of England and Ireland and "James VIII" of Scotland. Parliament now voted William the funds for war. But the War of the Spanish Succession would not be another "King William's war."

While hunting near Hampton Court in February 1702, William was thrown from his horse and cracked his collar bone. The wound became infected and William, always frail and sickly, died on 8 February 1702. Thus, the War of the Spanish Succession would be Queen Anne's war. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 10, secs. 4–6.

Coward, *Stuart Age*, chap. 12.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chap. 4, secs. 3–5; chap. 5, secs. 6–8.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 12.

Questions to Consider

1. Were the Tories correct in arguing that the Financial Revolution robbed the landed interest to support the moneyed interest? Did this policy pose long-term problems for England?

2. Why did Louis XIV take the gamble of allowing his grandson to ascend the Spanish throne? What does this say about the military reputation of Britain and the Netherlands?

Queen Anne and the Rage of Party—1702

Lecture 42

On the one hand, according to the authors, Anne was clearly unfit by her constitution, her intelligence (or lack thereof), her temperament, her education, her experience, and apparently even her appearance to rule. Yet, this ordinary woman helped shape the fate of her people, and I might add of Europe in general, by two actions that "brought England unparalleled military victories" and "peace to her kingdom." If you've been paying attention to this course, you should know that no other Tudor or Stuart could make that claim.

Queen Anne has not had a good press. Historians have often underestimated Anne because she was quiet and plain. In fact, her strong common sense and identification with the hopes and fears of her people would make her the most successful of the Stuarts. Anne, the youngest daughter of James II was 37 years old at her accession. Eighteen pregnancies had left her prematurely aged, overweight, and lame from gout but still childless after the death of Gloucester in 1700. She was quiet, shy, and of average intelligence. Lacking the star quality of Queen Elizabeth, historians used to portray her as a nonentity.

But Anne had many positive qualities missing from her Stuart—and even Tudor—forebears. She had common sense. She was dedicated to the job of being queen. She respected the post-revolutionary constitution, making no claim to divine right. She was pious and moral. In particular, she was passionately loyal to the Church of England. She had an instinctive love for, and understanding of, her people.

Historians have come to realize that Anne, although no political genius, was nevertheless the most successful Stuart. Her reign would see the culmination of the Commercial and Financial Revolutions and widespread prosperity, an Act of Union with Scotland, victory in war and a peace that would leave England the most powerful state in Europe, and a great flowering of English culture. For years, historians attributed these achievements to Anne's principal ministers and the advice of friends and favorites. In her early years,

Anne was dominated by Sarah Churchill, later Duchess of Marlborough. But by the time she became queen, Anne was very much her own woman, as Sarah found out.

Anne was served by able ministers, for which she deserves some credit. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, Anne's captain-general, was the greatest military commander of the age. Sidney, Lord (from 1706, Earl) Godolphin, her lord treasurer, was a financial genius equal to Montagu. Robert Harley, from 1704, a secretary of state, was the period's greatest pure politician and a born leader of the House of Commons. Anne needed these men to act as managers—on the battlefield and in Parliament—with a view to keeping her from having to give herself over entirely to the Whigs or the Tories. She wanted to preserve her freedom of action by employing the most moderate men of both parties, whose loyalty was, ultimately, to her. But the Whigs and Tories were bent on forcing the queen to employ *only* members of their respective parties in government.

Queen Anne of Great Britain receives the Duke of Marlborough.

In Parliament, each party sought a majority. This would force the queen to employ ministers and officials from that party. If she failed to do so, the majority party might refuse to vote the funding necessary to run the government—unthinkable with a war on. The key to securing majorities in the House of Commons (which might lead to office and creations in the House of Lords) was to win elections. Thanks to the Triennial Act of 1694, there were 12 general elections between 1689 and 1715. This increased party tensions, focused party organization, and brought more people into the political process. Some 330,000 males—5.8 percent of the population—had the vote by 1722, by far the largest electorate in Europe. Many of these people could be bribed or intimidated by their landlords or employers, because there was no secret ballot. But the electorate was too

large to be controlled completely. Therefore, both parties had to spend heavy sums on propaganda.

Both political parties were very sophisticated organizations by 1702. Nearly every member of the ruling elite aligned with one party or the other, and party solidarity in Parliament was almost total. The Whig/Tory split permeated almost every aspect of elite culture. There were Whig and Tory writers, newspapers, and periodicals; Whig and Tory clubs and coffee houses; and even different ways in which female party sympathizers wore their makeup! In the country at large, Whig and Tory peers competed to be lords lieutenants, which gave them control of the militia. Whig and Tory gentlemen competed to be JPs, which gave them control of justice, the price of grain, and other concerns. In towns, Whig and Tory professionals and merchants competed for places on the corporation, the court of aldermen, and so on. This gave them control of local government and poor relief.

The great issues that divided Whig from Tory during the reign of Queen Anne were the succession (which had deep implications for sovereignty), religion, and the war (which, of course, embraced both foreign policy and finance). The Act of Settlement had decreed in 1701 that Anne would be succeeded at her death by the Hanoverian family of Germany. Whigs were happy with Parliament making this choice and with a Lutheran monarch. Tories, on the other hand, were divided between Hanoverians and Jacobites, who secretly hoped and worked for the succession of "James III"—sometimes in cahoots with Louis XIV. Anne was officially a Hanoverian, but like Elizabeth before her, she disliked the subject of her own demise. This silence led many Jacobites to assume that she was secretly one of them. In the end, the succession would be determined by the outcome of the war: If the British and Dutch won, the "winner" would probably be the Hanoverians. If the French won, the monarch would be James, whom Whigs dubbed the "Pretender." The religious question, too, would be partly determined by the war.

There remained a small minority of Catholics who wanted to be left in peace. But a British defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession would mean the succession of a Catholic king and, probably, some sort of Catholic restoration. Given that the war went well, the religious debate centered mostly on the fate of the Dissenters. Queen Anne, the Tories, and the Anglican majority wanted

Dissenters to remain second-class citizens. Some wanted to roll back the toleration or pass a bill against occasional conformity. This would hurt the Whigs, because so many of them were Dissenters. Whigs wanted to extend the toleration by repealing the Test Act. The war would be determined by what strategy the allies pursued and how much money England, in particular, could throw at it.

Whigs were all out for the war. They saw Louis XIV's France as the chief danger to the peace of Europe, the Protestant faith tradition, and the English way of life. They feared that a Bourbon on the throne of Spain would lead to the subjugation of Europe. They feared that a Catholic Stuart on the throne of England would undo the Reformation and the Revolution Settlement. Whig financiers and merchants also benefited from fat war contracts. Thus, Whig ministers and politicians favored taking the conflict to Louis by fighting an aggressive—and expensive—land war on the Continent and supported the high taxation and financial expedients necessary to fight the war.

The war would be determined by what strategy the allies pursued and how much money England, in particular, could throw at it.

Tory politicians and landowners supported the war reluctantly. They had less fear of Louis XIV and believed that Dissenters, not Catholics, were the chief danger to the Protestant tradition. Their Jacobite wing wanted "James III" restored to the British thrones. Tory landowners were sick of the land tax and suspicious of a costly military that seemed to achieve so little. Tory ministers and politicians preferred, therefore, a "blue-water" naval strategy, which involved attacking French colonial possessions, to an expensive land war.

Because Anne's first Parliament and government were dominated by Tories, the war would start slowly for England. Eventually, the queen would face the same choice as her predecessor: Temperamentally a Tory, she would have to turn to the Whigs to fight her war. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 10, sec. 7.

Gregg, *Queen Anne*, chap. 5.

Holmes, *British Politics*.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chap. 9, secs. 1–2.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 13.

Questions to Consider

1. Queen Anne was, like Elizabeth and Mary II before her and Victoria and Elizabeth II after her, very popular with her subjects. Do female rulers tend to be more popular than males? If so, why?

2. Despite her successful reign, Anne has received a much worse press from historians than Elizabeth, whose success might be said to be more limited. Why? What does this tell us about Anne? Elizabeth? The historians? Ourselves?

Queen Anne's War—1702–10

Lecture 43

Blenheim, as the British insisted on calling it, was indeed a glorious victory—one of the decisive battles of history. First, it saved Vienna and thus preserved the Grand Alliance. It knocked Bavaria out of the war, thus depriving Louis of his principal ally. … More importantly, the battle destroyed the myth of Louis XIV's invincibility.

The War of the Spanish Succession, sometimes known in America as "Queen Anne's war," would decide the thrones of Spain and Britain and settle the balance of power in Europe and in North America for a generation. The principal combatants were, on the French side, France, Castillian Spain (loyal to the Bourbon candidate, "Felipe V"), and (from 1703) Bavaria versus, on the British (or Grand Alliance) side, England, Scotland, and Ireland; the Dutch Republic; Catalonian Spain (loyal to an Austrian Habsburg candidate, "Carlos III"); and most of the Holy Roman Empire, including Austria, Prussia, Hanover, (from 1703) Portugal, and Savoy.

At first, the Grand Alliance moved cautiously. They were still intimidated by the reputation of Louis XIV. The queen's ministry had to please a Tory Parliament by pursuing a cheaper "blue-water" strategy. This stalemate was broken in 1704. Late in 1703, the French and Bavarians invaded Austria, threatening to wreck the Grand Alliance. In the summer of 1704, the Duke of Marlborough responded by marching south from Flanders, meeting up with Prince Eugene of Savoy's allied army marching north, and blocking the way to Vienna. The result was one of the great military marches in history: some 40,000 troops covering 250 miles in six weeks.

Marlborough and Eugene cornered a superior French and Bavarian army on 2 August 1704 near the village of Blindheim on the Danube. For the first time in recent memory, the French army broke and ran. The allies killed or captured 30,000 troops. A total of 28 regiments and 18 generals surrendered. Blenheim, as the British called it, was one of the decisive battles of history. It saved Vienna, thus preserving the Grand Alliance. It knocked Bavaria out of

the war, thus depriving Louis XIV of his principal ally. It destroyed the myth of Louis XIV's invincibility. It inspired the allies and the British taxpayer to support Marlborough's land war. That support would make possible of a series of crushing victories over the French won by Marlborough and others: Ramillies in 1706, Oudenarde in 1708, Malplaquet in 1709, and Bouchain in 1710. In 1706, Prince Eugene threw the French out of Italy. These victories destroyed the flower of the French army and preserved the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire.

Louis did better in the Spanish theater of war. The British and Catalonians won early victories at Vigo and Gibraltar in 1704. But the Castillian Spanish and French smashed allied armies at Almanza in 1707 and Brihuega in 1710. This meant that although the Dutch Republic, Revolution Settlement, and Hanoverian succession were safe, Spain might very well be lost to the Bourbons.

The final significance of Marlborough's victories was that, in convincing the queen and British voters that the Whigs were right about the war, they boosted Whig fortunes in government and Parliament. The queen began to employ more Whigs in office, and they began to win elections. The Tories, in their frustration, grew desperate in pursuit of their agenda. In 1704, they offended the queen and nation by attempting to "tack" a bill banning occasional conformity onto the land tax bill. This attempt to hold funding for the war hostage to religious intolerance failed miserably. In 1705, they insulted the queen by moving in Parliament that the Church was in danger under her administration and that a member of the Hanoverian family ought to be invited to Britain in case she should grow senile. These moves convinced Anne that the Tories were irresponsible party ideologues, leading her to appoint even more Whigs under the ostensibly moderate Marlborough and Godolphin.

The country followed the queen's lead, returning Whig majorities in the elections of 1705 and 1708. Led by Marlborough and Godolphin, who began to work closely with the Junto, these Whig Parliaments achieved some notable legislation. They avidly funded the war, thus making possible Marlborough's victories. In response to the Tory suggestion of a Hanoverian visit, the Whigs passed the Regency Act of 1706. This act decreed that

Parliament would remain in session after the death of the queen, and a Regency Council, composed of Hanoverian supporters from both parties, would govern the nation until the arrival of the Elector. It also repealed much of the anti-monarchical legislation of the Act of Settlement: The Whigs expected to be in power under a Hanoverian and they did not want to weaken the executive.

To ensure a Hanoverian succession in both kingdoms, they secured an Act of Union with Scotland in 1707. The Scots, angry at their second-class treatment from London, in particular, their exclusion from the trading system established by the Navigation Acts, threatened in 1703 to name the Pretender as their next sovereign. When union was proposed, they were reluctant to give up their national sovereignty, but trading privileges and bribes made the deal palatable. The result was a new state: Great Britain.

The Act of Union was the high water mark of Whig fortunes under Queen Anne. As the decade drew to a close, the overconfident Whig ministry began to offend both the queen and the electorate. First, Anne and her subjects began to wonder why Marlborough's recurring victories did not lead to a peace. The harvests of 1708–1709 were so bad that the French peasantry could no longer pay taxes and, in March 1709, Louis sued for peace. He was willing to concede nearly all the allied demands: Spain, Italy, the West Indies, fortress towns on the Dutch border, and the Hanoverian succession. But when the Whig diplomats demanded further that Louis use his own troops to dislodge "Felipe V" from Spain, he decided that he would rather continue fighting the British. The queen and her people began to believe Tory charges that the Whigs were prolonging the war to enrich the Duke of Marlborough and government contractors and maintain a standing army.

The queen and her people began to believe Tory charges that the Whigs were prolonging the war to enrich the Duke of Marlborough.

The Whigs further offended the country when, in 1709–1710, they prosecuted an Anglican clergyman, Rev. Henry Sacheverell, on a charge of seditious libel for an intemperate sermon attacking the Dissenters, the existing government,

and the Revolution. Godolphin and the Whigs believed that a show trial was necessary to defend themselves and the Revolution. The Tories and most ordinary people could see only that the Whigs were attacking an Anglican priest. When his indictment was announced in March 1710, many ordinary Londoners rioted, attacking Dissenting meeting houses.

Anne was further offended by the Junto's tendency to ignore her wishes and attempt to foist a completely Whig ministry on her. By 1708–1709, even such moderate Tories as Robert Harley had left the ministry. Anne's friendship with the Churchills fell apart as they insisted on the Whig point of view.

Following the death of Prince George in the fall of 1708, Queen Anne felt alone. In the spring and summer of 1710, Anne, following the advice of Robert Harley, engineered a ministerial coup. She began to work behind the scenes against her own ministry, urging members of Parliament to vote against Whig measures and to be lenient with Sacheverell. In April 1710, she began to remove Whigs one by one. Had Godolphin and the Whigs resigned *en masse*, the government would have been paralyzed and Anne would have had to capitulate. Instead, individual Whigs sought to cling to power, enabling Anne and Harley to pick them off one by one. In August 1710, Anne removed Lord Treasurer Godolphin in favor of a commission to run the Treasury, dominated by Robert Harley. Anne may have been a constitutional monarch, but her powers remained great. The queen had her revenge. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 10, sec. 8–9.

Gregg, *Queen Anne*, chaps. 6–12.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chap. 4, secs. 7–8; chap. 9, secs. 3–5.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 13.

Questions to Consider

1. Why were the allies and the Tories so reluctant to fight an aggressive war against Louis XIV?

2. Who was more constitutionally correct: Anne, in attempting to maintain royal freedom of maneuver, or the Whigs, in attempting to force her to bow to parliamentary realities? Who represented the future? Who, the past?

Queen Anne's Peace—1710–14

Lecture 44

Treaty of Utrecht was, in fact, a masterstroke of diplomacy. It confirmed and completed the work of the Revolution of 1688–1689, and it ensured British superiority in Europe for a generation and beyond.

In the late summer of 1710, Queen Anne and her new first minister, Robert Harley, called a general election. The election was fought over the issues that had long divided Whigs and Tories—the succession, religion, and above all, war and peace. The landslide Tory victory gave the queen and her minister a mandate to end the war. Nevertheless, the peace negotiations took two and a half years. The negotiations were opposed by the Whigs, who continued to fear Louis XIV and demand, in the face of military reality and the wishes of the majority of the Spanish people, that the Bourbons be denied the Spanish throne. They were also opposed by most of the allies, who feared that Harley would secure an advantageous peace for Britain at their expense.

To secure their ends, both sides engaged in some shady dealing. In 1711, the Whigs attempted to buy Tory votes on the peace by promising to support a bill against occasional conformity—thus abandoning their Dissenting constituency. When this threatened to wreck the peace in the House of Lords, Anne suddenly created 12 new Tory peers to vote for the treaty. The allies did their best to wreck the negotiations. In return, Harley (named Earl of Oxford in 1711) conducted secret negotiations, preliminary to the "real" peace conference at the Hague, without their knowledge. Finally, to sweeten the deal for Louis XIV, Anne dismissed the Duke of Marlborough in December 1711. Unbeknownst to her allies, she issued secret restraining orders to his replacement, the Duke of Ormond.

The Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, and the later Treaty of Rastadt negotiated by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1714, appeared to both the Whigs and the allies to be a sellout. Felipe V remained on the throne of Spain, albeit with a promise that the crowns of Spain and France would never be worn by the same person. The allies received territory, but not so much as Marlborough's

victories had led them to expect. The Dutch received barrier forts on their southern border. The Holy Roman Emperor received territory in Italy and the Spanish Netherlands (roughly, modern-day Belgium). Savoy claimed Sicily. Britain received territory and other concessions: Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean; Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay in Canada; St. Kitts in the Caribbean; the asiento, that is, the exclusive right to sell slaves to the Spanish New World; and recognition of the Hanoverian succession by Louis XIV.

The Whigs believed that these paltry acquisitions after the expenditure of so much blood and treasure would impeach Oxford in the next reign. But, in fact, the Treaty of Utrecht was a masterstroke of diplomacy, ensuring British superiority in Europe and beyond for a generation. It did not matter that a Bourbon sat on the throne of Spain, because both Spain and France were exhausted, financially and militarily, after so many years of warfare. Louis XIV would never again challenge for European supremacy or pose a threat to the Hanoverian succession.

Britain's territorial acquisitions sealed her status as the wealthiest trading nation on earth: Gibraltar ensured strategic control of the Mediterranean and its trade. The Canadian territories provided furs and Grand Banks fish to clothe and feed Europe. Britain's Caribbean possessions and dominance of the slave trade ensured control of the notorious "triangular trade" in slaves, tobacco, and sugar from the New World. As a result, the British would be the wealthiest and most powerful nation in Europe: British trade produced money, which produced military superiority, which produced victory, which produced colonies, which produced more trade. In other words, the Commercial Revolution begat the Financial Revolution, which begat Blenheim, which begat the Treaty of Utrecht, which begat an empire, which begat more commerce. Eventually, the profits from this process would be invested in the first Industrial Revolution, thus further extending the British lead. The French never figured this out, which explains why they lost or drew six of seven wars against Britain between 1688 and 1815. It should never be forgotten that these policies also begat the misery of the Irish people and the atrocity of the slave trade.

Anne had appointed Robert Harley her first minister in 1710 and named him Earl of Oxford and Lord Treasurer in 1711, not only to secure a peace but also to save her from the "five tyrannizing lords" of the Whig Junto. She expected him to maintain a coalition ministry employing moderate men from both parties. Unfortunately, this was impossible for two reasons. The peace apart, the political nation was still torn over religion and the succession. Moreover, the parliamentary elections of 1710 and 1713 were Tory landslides. This made it difficult to prevent that party, led by Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, from simply hijacking the ministry on these issues. Thus, while the Tories pressured Oxford to appoint them and follow their party line on these issues, Oxford had to please the queen by trying to hang onto Whigs.

The Tories … still hoped that, on her deathbed, Anne would restore her half-brother, James.

In the area of religion, the Tories sought to roll back the toleration, drive Dissenters (including many Whigs) out of public life, and restore the monopoly of the Church of England. Both Anne and Oxford saw this as needlessly divisive. In 1711, Anne and Oxford agreed to bills to build 50 London churches and to ban occasional conformity. Far more seriously, in 1714, they agreed to the Schism Act, forbidding Dissenters from teaching or keeping schools. Not surprisingly, nearly every Whig had resigned office by 1714. Oxford was failing the queen in his attempt to maintain a moderate ministry. But it was the succession that brought Oxford down. That issue began to grow more pressing after 1710 as the queen's health began to fail.

The Whigs supported the Hanoverian accession unequivocally. They were in close contact with the Electress Sophia and, after her death in May 1714, with her son and successor, the Elector Georg Ludwig. The Tories remained split between a Hanoverian and a Jacobite wing. The latter still hoped that, on her deathbed, Anne would restore her half-brother, James. Because the Tories were by far the largest group in the Commons, Oxford tried to convince both Hanoverians and Jacobites that he was one of them. He wrote to both James and Georg Ludwig, promising his support. He made conflicting promises to supporters of both men. Finally, in the summer of 1714, the queen discovered

his ruse. After an emotional meeting on 27 July, Anne demanded Oxford's resignation as Lord Treasurer.

Now Anne had no choice: She would have to give in either to Bolingbroke's Tories or Marlborough's Whigs. In fact, she never had to make the choice. On the morning of 30 July, she became desperately ill and began to sink into a coma. That afternoon, the queen's privy councilors met and advised her to name as Lord Treasurer the Duke of Shrewsbury. Shrewsbury was a consensus candidate, a Whig who had served in Oxford's increasingly Tory ministry. He was one of the "immortal seven" who had invited William of Orange to invade in 1688; therefore, he was a staunch defender of the Revolution of 1688–1689 and the Hanoverian succession. Anne accepted their recommendation, handing the staff of office to Shrewsbury. She died, the last monarch of the Stuart line, at 7:45 A.M. on 1 August 1714. Georg Ludwig, Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed that afternoon as King George of England, Scotland, and Ireland. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, chap. 10, secs. 10–11.

Gregg, *Queen Anne*, chaps. 12–14.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chap. 4, secs. 8–10; chap. 9, secs. 6–8.

Kishlansky, *Monarchy Transformed*, chap. 13.

Questions to Consider

1. Were Queen Anne and Oxford right to abandon the allies?

2. Why did the Jacobites fail to act as Queen Anne lay dying?

Hanoverian Epilogue—1714–30

Lecture 45

The accession of the House of Hanover solved once and for all most of the problems that had wracked England under the Tudors and Stuarts. George I was content to govern through one party—the Whigs—and through one prime minister—Sir Robert Walpole. … Walpolean stability provided political peace at home … [making] Great Britain the richest and most powerful country in Europe during the 18th century.

The peaceful accession of the House of Hanover, combined with Britain's victory in the War of the Spanish Succession, confirmed the Revolution of 1688–1689 and, thus, solved or pacified most of the tensions that had wracked England under the Stuarts. Clearly, Great Britain was a constitutional monarchy in which Parliament was sovereign, because it had chosen the new king. The Crown (as opposed to the king personally) was very wealthy and controlled a vast administration, but it could tax only for purposes approved by Parliament. England was Anglican, with a toleration for Dissenting Protestants. Scotland remained Presbyterian, and Catholic Ireland was ruled by a Protestant minority. Great Britain was a world power with a role to play in Europe and an empire in North America. Ultimate power remained firmly in the hands of the landed elite in the countryside, though they acquired junior partners among urban professionals and merchants. A key element in confirming these solutions was the personality and political philosophy of George I (1714–1727).

Georg Ludwig was over 54 years old at his accession. He believed that only the Whigs could be trusted to defend the Hanoverian succession. At his accession, he abandoned Queen Anne's attempt to employ moderates of both parties in favor of a Whig ministry. The Tory party would be out of office for two generations. Many Tories, including Bolingbroke and Ormond, fled to the Pretender on the Continent. Scottish Tories attempted to mount a rebellion on his behalf in 1715, but, without help from a prostrate France, it was easily suppressed. This only confirmed George's view of the Tories.

Even before "the Fifteen" (as the rebellion was called), the Whigs won the first general election of the reign, guaranteeing supremacy in the House of Commons. George obligingly gave them a majority in the Lords by creating new Whig peers. The Whig majority rushed through the Septennial Act in 1716. This superceded the Triennial Act by decreeing that elections were to be held only every seven years. This gave the Whigs time to cement their hold on government and develop their organization in the countryside. It also meant that elections, now rarer, would be more expensive to contest, because the term of service was longer. This froze out minor—read Tory—gentry in favor of bigger landowners and moneyed men—read Whigs. England became, if not a one-party state, one that was dominated by one party.

All of this begs the question of which Whigs the king would entrust with government. The Junto's generation of Whig leaders was dead or dying by 1714–1716. At first, the youngest member of the Junto, Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, formed a government with younger Whigs, such as James Stanhope, Robert Walpole, and Charles, Viscount Townshend. But the ambitious Walpole and Townshend split from their colleagues in 1717.

The Stanhope-Sunderland ministry fell in 1720 as a result of a financial scandal known as the South Sea Bubble. The South Sea Company had agreed to take over three-fifths of the government debt in return for the right to sell unlimited amounts of stock. Company stock skyrocketed in the late summer of 1720, until it became obvious that the company had done no actual south seas trading. The resultant collapse ruined many. The government fell because many of its officials had taken bribes to approve the plan.

The king turned to Walpole to clean up the mess, naming him Paymaster of the Forces in 1720, then First Lord of the Treasury in 1721. Robert Walpole (knighted in 1725) was a Norfolk country gentleman who had served as secretary at war under Queen Anne. Because George I spoke little English and took little active part in government, Walpole would be the first real prime minister in British history, retaining that position for more than 20 years, still a record. How did he do it?

Opponents charged that Walpole maintained his power through patronage and bribery. The king put at his disposal the vast resources of the British

government, comprising some 12,000 positions at the center, plus posts in the army and navy, Church livings, and pensions and other favors from the Treasury. Walpole offered these to members of Parliament, their constituents in the countryside, friends, and relatives. Tory writers (such as Jonathan Swift) and some "country" Whigs accused him of corrupting the political nation. But, in fact, Walpole was never able to "bribe" more than about half of the House of Lords or one-third of the House of Commons with offices and pensions. Admittedly, this group was so loyal that they became known as the "Old Corps."

Walpole was never able to "bribe" more than about half of the House of Lords or one-third of the House of Commons with offices and pensions.

To maintain parliamentary majorities, the prime minister had to persuade most members that he was right on the issues. He did this by embracing the majority position on those issues. On the succession, most of the political nation was happy with the Hanoverians. In fact, the Jacobite movement was incompetent and impotent without the power of France. Nevertheless, Walpole's spy system routinely uncovered new Jacobite "plots." By playing on fears that the Jacobites remained a serious threat, Walpole reinforced the positions that the Tories could not be trusted and that only Walpole could save the Hanoverian succession and English constitution. On religion, most people in England were Anglicans. Dissenters amounted to about 6 percent of the population; Catholics, Jews, and others were less than 1 percent. Walpole, though a Whig, backed away from attempts to expand the toleration by repealing the Test Act. Instead, he promoted the Church of England at every opportunity, winning the support of the bishops and the parish clergy. The Dissenters remained Whigs, because they were a captive constituency, offered no hope by the Tories. On the issues of foreign policy and finance, Walpole opted for peace and low taxes. As secretary at war under Queen Anne, he had seen the destructive nature of war. As a result, he became a lifelong pacifist. Knowing that France was exhausted after the wars of Louis XIV, he maintained cordial relations with Britain's great rival. This allowed him to lower the land tax, thus cementing his popularity with the landed elite. On most of these issues (religion, foreign policy, finance), Walpole had embraced the Tory position.

This removed those issues from the Tory arsenal and rendered Walpole impregnable in Parliament and in the country for two decades.

Finally, Walpole was a masterful politician. Knowing that the Commons was now the more important of the two houses, he was careful to refuse a peerage until after his retirement from politics. Before sessions, he organized meetings of the Old Corps to plan strategy. His government sought to enhance its control and limit popular participation by using the courts to *reduce* the size of the electorate. If all else failed, he was a masterful debater with a flair for the cutting remark and the theatrical gesture.

Walpole's system was anything but democratic, but it was so efficient that when George I was succeeded by George II in 1727, he continued Walpole as prime minister in spite of his personal animosity. In short, Great Britain was now truly a constitutional monarchy: The king had to choose the minister who could work with Parliament, regardless of his personal feelings. Walpole and the Whigs maintained political stability in England for most of two generations. Signs of instability began to be apparent as early as the 1730s, but that is a matter for another course. In the meantime, relative political peace at home combined with military and naval dominance abroad and the commercial boom fostered after Utrecht to make England prosperous as never before. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, Conclusion, sec. 1.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty*? chap. 12.

Plumb, *Growth of Political Stability*.

Questions to Consider

1. How real was the Jacobite menace? In rejecting the entire Tory party, did the first two Georges harm their own interests?

2. What is political stability? Does it mean that everyone is happy? Does it imply or require social stability?

The Land and Its People in 1714—I

Lecture 46

In a way, their problem is one faced by all historians: Is history the story of how things were—the actual or even the vestigial—or is it the story of what was new and coming—the incipient or the potential?

Historians argue about the nature of the period 1660–1730. Some stress the degree to which English society remained an *ancien régime*, unaffected by the first stirrings of the Enlightenment. England was still a monarchy, with a hierarchical social structure based more on birth than wealth. It retained a state church. Its economy was still heavily agricultural; its society, rural. Others argue that England was well on the way to Enlightenment, democracy, and the Industrial Revolution. After 1688–1689, the monarchy was a constitutional one, ultimately subordinate to Parliament. The social structure of England was the most fluid in Europe, with wealth and achievement beginning to dislodge birth as criteria for admission into its highest ranks. Other religious traditions were increasingly tolerated, both in fact and in law. More and more people were moving to the cities and getting their bread by trade and industry.

The key to many of these changes was that population growth slowed down, even reversed itself. After 1660, the population of England and Wales fell from 5.5 million in 1661 to 5.2 million in 1686, then rose slowly, to 5.4 million in 1701, then to 5.7 million in 1721. This did not happen because of famine: By 1710, England was a net exporter of grain, although famine remained a real threat in Scotland and Ireland. Rather, between 1660 and 1730, epidemic disease continued to attack the population. As a result, average life expectancy dipped to 30 by 1680. People married later, on average around 27 or 28, thus producing fewer children. Perhaps half a million people emigrated to the American colonies. This demographic slowdown affected the economy. As the number of agricultural workers fell, rents fell, prices fell, and wages rose. This situation affected different groups differently. Husbandmen, cottagers, even the poor prospered, relatively speaking. Big landowners were sufficiently diversified to survive and even prosper. They did well out of office-holding. They invested in government funds, trading

companies, and turnpikes. They exploited their mineral rights. But middling and smaller landowners—minor gentry and yeomen—got clobbered. They were forced to pay higher wages to their workers and to make do with lower rents from their tenants. They were already paying high land taxes for the wars. Many lost their lands and fell into the ranks of husbandmen or cottagers. They embraced Tory charges that Whig governments and moneyed men were draining the land to fund wars.

Trade boomed during the period 1660–1730, expanding in total gross value from £7.9 million in 1663–1669 to £14.5 million in 1721–1724. Wool exports mattered less and less. English trade was led by the import to English territories and re-export to Europe of Caribbean sugar, followed by American tobacco and Indian silks, dyes, and spices. Underpinning it all was the slave trade and the murderous exploitation of Africans in the New World. Thanks to the Navigation Acts, the possessions and trading rights added at Utrecht, and the enforcement capabilities of the royal navy, British merchants monopolized these trades. British ports, especially London, grew rich off their profits; American colonial economies also prospered.

English industry benefited from the investment of trading profits, but it was still small scale. The largest industries were shipbuilding on the coasts; coal mining in Durham and the Midlands, along with tin mining in Cornwall; and metal work in the Midlands and North.

Finally, this economy benefited from an increasingly sophisticated network of transportation, communication, and credit. Rivers were dredged and turnpikes were established. Banks, offering cheap loans at less than 6 percent, proliferated in London and, later, in the countryside. Stock "jobbers" operated informal stock exchanges at London coffee houses, such as Jonathan's. Merchants obtained shipping news at Lloyd's. Regular stage services and newspapers linked London with the countryside.

As we have seen, the benefits of this economy were not shared evenly. Despite the reduced profitability of land, this was a golden age for the landed nobility and the substantial gentry. These ranks still made up about 2 percent of the population, yet they owned more than half of the land in England. Still, their wealth varied. The greatest peers made perhaps £20,000–40,000

a year; middling peers and greater gentry, several thousands; and the lesser gentry, as little as £200 a year. The wealthiest aristocrats poured their fortunes into the building of great country houses, situated amid vast deer parks and formal gardens, filled with magnificent furniture and paintings. Their proprietors nevertheless spent half the year in London, attending to government and sampling the pleasures of "the season." Finally, they might spend a month at a spa, such as Bath, Epsom, or Tunbridge Wells, or go to race meetings at Epsom or Newmarket.

Lesser gentry lived in smaller but still comfortable houses, served as JPs, and stayed closer to their estates. After 1660, they might venture to county towns, which began to imitate London by providing assemblies, dances, even plays. They were joined by the prosperous middling orders, merchants and professionals. This group spurred many of the changes in later Stuart England. Though they might respect and ape their "betters," they had a growing sense that they were every bit as "gentle" and important to the nation.

The greatest overseas merchants rivaled the nobility in wealth. Their families might rise to or marry into it. Professionals (lawyers, doctors, clergymen, government officials, and military and naval officers) also prospered generally, though their wealth varied from several thousand pounds a year for a successful attorney to just a few pounds a year for a poor parish priest. These groups saw increasing professionalism, with stricter educational requirements, licensing organizations, and so on. Many chose not to buy landed estates but to live in town. This helps to explain why, by 1714, some 20–25 percent of the population was urban. Craftsmen and smaller tradesmen continued to live modest lives above their shops or on the roads peddling their wares. The decline of guilds gave them more freedom but less security.

Yeomen might make as much as £250 a year, but they were being squeezed by high taxes, high labor costs, and low rents and food prices.

Ordinary people, some 90 percent of the population, did relatively well during this period. Yeomen might make as much as £250 a year, but they were being squeezed by high taxes, high labor costs, and low rents and food prices.

Many fell into the lower ranks. These conditions benefited husbandmen and cottagers, but they still made only £6–40 a year. The vast majority of their income was spent on food. A few bad years, or even the seasonal unemployment associated with subsistence agriculture, might drive members of this group down into the ranks of the poor, vagrants, and criminals.

Lacking a large standing army or police force, the elite sought to control the lower orders by other means. Religious leaders of all persuasions launched a campaign for "the reformation of manners." But church attendance declined in the 18th century, in part because the Toleration Act eliminated penalties for non-attendance and in part because religious "enthusiasm" got a bad name after the sectarian strife of the previous century.

The Poor Law still supplemented the incomes of about 4–5 percent of the general population. In response to a perceived rise in crime, the criminal code became harsher, the number of capital crimes rising from 50 in 1688 to more than 200 by 1820. Only a small proportion of accused offenders were ever hanged. Some were transported to the American colonies. The legal system worked mostly by threat and intimidation, not by actual cruelty, but the lower orders threatened right back through crime and through controlled riot, which appealed for justice to the upper classes yet also threatened them with physical violence if justice was denied. In short, this increasingly affluent society was still gripped by wild disparities in wealth and the ever-present threat that the have-nots would rise up against the haves. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, conclusion.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chaps. 3, 8, 10–11, 14.

Questions to Consider

1. In your view, was England still an *ancien régime* in 1714, or was it the first modern country?

2. Did England achieve social stability in the 18th century? How does the political stability described in the last lecture relate to this question?

The Land and Its People in 1714—II

Lecture 47

After the reign of Charles II … monarchs spent their attention and their money on the wars with France, while the "rage of party" drove away anyone who was in opposition. Once the parties took over, if you were a Whig and the Tories were in power, you weren't welcome at court. That of course reduced the court's clientele. … This decline of court culture was part of the gradual erosion of royal power after 1688.

Before 1660, the epicenter of English high culture had been the church and the royal court. As these two institutions grew weaker, that gradually ceased to be the case. The Reformation and civil wars weakened church patronage of the arts. Protestantism in general put less emphasis on images and ceremonies, though Arminian Anglicanism fostered eloquent ritual, ornate church decor, and elaborate church music. The great age of church building was over, with the exception of London. After the Great Fire of 1666, Sir Christopher Wren designed a new St. Paul's Cathedral and numerous parish churches. The Act for Building Fifty London Churches led to commissions for later architects.

The court maintained its cultural importance under Charles II, but became, subsequently, a cultural backwater. The Restoration court fostered an ornate Baroque style that complemented the divine-right aspirations of the Stuarts. Because Charles II had both taste and a willingness to spend money he did not have, he encouraged choral anthems and celebratory odes by Locke, Blow, and Purcell; heroic drama, comedies of manners, and satirical poetry by Dryden, Etherege, Wycherley, and John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester; portraits by Lely and Kneller and allegorical ceiling painting by Verrio; and palace renovations by Wren, filled with wood-carving by Gibbons. But subsequent monarchs lavished their attention and money on wars. Moreover, James II commissioned an elaborate Catholic Chapel Royal from Wren, but his Catholicizing policies drove away many good Protestants. William III and Mary II commissioned beautiful formal gardens, magnificent alterations to Hampton Court and Kensington, and the birthday odes of Purcell, but court life grew moribund after Mary's death in 1694. Anne revived public

St. Paul's Cathedral is the religious heart of London. It is 585 feet long, making it the biggest building in London and the second longest church in Christendom.

thanksgivings for military victory but spent little money on art and was too ill to host an exciting court life. George I wanted to be left alone. This decline of court culture was intimately bound up with the gradual erosion of royal power.

Aristocrats took up much of the slack. In the countryside, they commissioned great country houses from the likes of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, surrounding them with formal gardens and filling them with choice artwork. In town, they built luxurious townhouses. They also patronized the theater and concert hall; balls, pleasure gardens, and spas; and coffee houses and clubs. Individual aristocrats became great patrons, often in exchange for favorable political propaganda: Lord Somers gave early support to the essayists Addison, Steele, and Swift. Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, supported Swift and Defoe. The Duke of Chandos supported Handel.

The new wealth flooding into England and the rising fortunes of middling merchants and professionals made possible wider public support for the arts.

The theater was already "public" in 1660. As the court declined, enterprising theater managers gave the members of that public what they wanted Italian opera, revivals of Shakespeare, and masked balls. Concert life moved out of the church and court with the founding of the first public concert series, by a poorly paid royal musician named John Banister, in 1672. By 1714, there were a number of regular London concert halls, and secular music was also available at London's pleasure gardens. The next half century would be dominated by the German immigrant George Frederic Handel, who wrote instrumental music but specialized in religious oratorios mounted before a paying public.

Painters increasingly worked for middle-class patrons. Hogarth was able to support himself by selling prints satirizing English life. The literary world also freed itself from subordination to the tastes of the Church and court. The great entrepreneur was Jacob Tonson, who managed the careers of Addison, Congreve, Dryden, Prior, Swift, and Wycherley. The poet Alexander Pope is credited with being the first writer to support himself without royal or aristocratic patronage with such poems as his translations of Homer, *The Rape of the Lock* (1712; 1714), and *The Dunciad* (1742–1743). Daniel Defoe did equally well out of his travel books and novels, most notably *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *Moll Flanders* (1722), and *Journal of the Plague Year* (1722). For the first time, English women writers, such as Aphra Behn and Mary Astell, achieved success. Many writers supported themselves with journalism. After the Licensing Act expired in 1695, regular non-governmental newspapers appeared. The first daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant*, appeared in 1702. Defoe's *The Review* (1704–1713) and Swift's *The Examiner* (1710–1711), as well as assorted "Grub Street" pamphlets, contained political commentary. Addison and Steele wrote elegant, cultural commentary in *The Tatler* (1709–1710) and *The Spectator* (1711–1712; 1714). All these writers shared basic concerns, characteristics, and themes.

If the culture of the later Stuart court was Baroque, that of the early Hanoverian aristocracy was Neoclassical, especially Roman. British aristocrats, building a great empire, saw themselves as latter-day Roman patricians, living in a new Augustan age. Like the Romans, they presided over a society held together by patronage, paternalism, and deference. They imitated Roman culture: They had themselves painted in togas as Roman

senators. After 1714, they designed their houses and public buildings in the Palladian style to look like Roman temples.

Closely related to Neoclassicism was a growing belief in the reliability and power of human reason and its offspring, science. Early in the 17th century, Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, had argued for the pursuit of knowledge about the physical world without regard to religious or *a priori* assumptions. Instead, he advocated the scientific method, that is, repeated observation of the world, coordinated with mathematics, to produce a theory that could be tested with experimentation. These ideas were applied to the natural world in the 17th century by many Europeans, including Englishmen, such as the chemist Robert Boyle, the physicist Robert Hooke, the astronomer Sir Edmund Halley, and above all, the mathematician and physicist Sir Isaac Newton, who postulated the force of gravity and his three laws of motion, invented the calculus, and published his findings in the *Principia Mathematica* of 1687. The *Principia* explained, to the satisfaction of both scientists and lay people, how the universe worked. Newton and his colleagues discovered a physical world that was rational, mathematical, and predictable, that is, governed by unvarying natural laws and discoverable by humans. This implied that humans could not only understand the universe but harness its power and change its course for the good of humankind.

John Locke argued that reason and the habits of the scientific method could be applied to human problems, not just natural ones.

In his *Essay on Human Understanding* (1690), John Locke argued that reason and the habits of the scientific method could be applied to human problems, not just natural ones. Applying reason to the problem of government, he justified the Glorious Revolution in *The Two Treatises of Government* (1689–1690). Applying it to religion, he argued in *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) that nothing in that belief system contradicted reason. These ideas had revolutionary implications for religion. Few became atheists as a result of the new science, but many sought a Christianity that was less dependent on the zeal and irrationality that had given Puritans a bad name in the 17th century. Deists came to believe that God was a sort of celestial watchmaker, setting the universe in motion, then

withdrawing from its day-to-day management. Latitudinarian Anglicans, usually Whigs, sought to accommodate the new scientific skepticism with more traditional belief and emphasized toleration in general. Traditional "High Church" Anglican Tories were scandalized at the idea that religious belief should be subject to reason or conceded to be a matter of opinion.

The idea that the world ran according to unvarying laws that could be mastered was applied to societies and economies by the first political economists. The earliest demographers and statisticians, such as Sir William Petty, John Graunt, and Gregory King, sought to base government policy on an understanding of the population and physical resources of England. The earliest political economists, including Defoe, Charles Davenant, and Bernard de Mandeville, sought to explain and predict how economies worked. Their pioneering—and primitive—work was satirized by traditionalists, such as Swift in Book III of *Gulliver's Travels*. But this confidence in reason, science, and human capabilities identifies English culture in 1714 as being on the brink of modernity. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, conclusion, sec. 4.

Hoppit, *Land of Liberty?* chaps. 6–7, 13.

Questions to Consider

1. Why did English monarchs fail to realize the usefulness of court cultural patronage after 1685?

2. Why were science and reason seen as challenges to traditional religion?

The Meaning of English History—1485–1714

Lecture 48

In 1733, [Voltaire] published … *The Letters on England*. In this book, he tried to explain to his countrymen religious toleration, the English Constitution, the political theories of John Locke, the scientific theories of Sir Isaac Newton, and the inoculation for the smallpox. This book is now largely forgotten today, but it's often credited with starting the European Enlightenment and so planting the seeds that would flower in the French Revolution. Of course, this all started in England.

The society described in the preceding lectures had many problems. Even at the end of the period, as the Walpolean political stability reigned, clearly, that stability was built on great religious, social, and economic inequalities. This was a society in which the haves were far outnumbered by the have-nots, the wealthy minority lived in constant fear that the poor majority would rise up and take away their material wealth and status, and that majority was perfectly happy to exploit that fear to secure concessions from the minority. All of this should raise a question: If these people could not engineer a just and equitable society, why study them?

The first reason to study England and its people under the Tudors and Stuarts will, I hope, have been obvious by now: This is a great story. It is the story of how part of a small island, in 1485, poorer than contemporary Belgium, rose over 250 years to be the wealthiest and most powerful nation on earth and to produce a great culture, giving the world More's *Utopia*, Shakespeare's plays, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Purcell's odes and anthems, Wren's buildings, Newton's science, and the King James Bible. It is the story of how a resourceful people survived repeated epidemics and famines; one failed invasion and two successful ones; two civil wars; a series of violent reformations and counter-reformations in religion; one social and two political revolutions; and face-offs with the two most powerful monarchs on earth, Philip II of Spain and Louis XIV of France. It is the story of how the English people stumbled into a constitutional monarchy and religious toleration that would evolve into the freest, most participatory state in Europe, if not yet a democracy.

It is a story filled with remarkable personalities—examples abound. Admittedly, most of those personalities were rich white men and a few rich white women. It should never be forgotten that the victories and advances noted above were built on the backs of Africans who were abducted from their homes, sold, enslaved, and worked to an early grave; Native Americans who were displaced and, sometimes, slaughtered in their own country; Catholic Irish who were displaced, marginalized, and reduced to penury in their own country; English Dissenters made second-class citizens and English Catholics made third-class citizens in *their* own country, even in the "tolerant" 18th century; and vast numbers of ordinary people who worked for little so that the upper 2 percent of the population might have leisure, including women, one-half of the population, whose voices were left unheard.

Although England under the Tudors and Stuarts can hardly be called a just or equitable society, it was a society that gave us many of the ideals, models, and tools with which to achieve one.

In many respects, Britain and its former colonies in North America are still dealing with the legacy of these injustices. But this course has tried to be give equal attention to the English fight and the English fighters against those injustices. Although England under the Tudors and Stuarts can hardly be called a just or equitable society, it was a society that gave us many of the ideals, models, and tools with which to achieve one. Early modern English men and women taught their world that absolute monarchy was not the only viable form of government. They argued (for the first time since the Greeks) that rulers should be answerable to representative institutions and, ultimately, to the people. They asserted that subjects could not be imprisoned without charge (the right of *habeus corpus*), tried without access to a jury, or taxed without permission of their representatives. It was the people of England who, first in the early-modern world, won or extended widely the right to vote, the right to express political opinions in speech or print, and the right to sack a ruler who failed to govern them justly or effectively. These rights would eventually turn subjects of the Crown into English citizens.

It was the people of England who demonstrated to the early modern world that women could rule just as effectively as men. Admittedly, they came later to the idea of religious toleration than the Dutch and the Poles. But far more than any other contemporary European society, English men and women under the Tudors and Stuarts proved that social class was not immutable, that intelligence, ambition, and ability could lead to a career, a fortune, or a monument in Westminster Abbey. If it should never be forgotten that English men and women perpetrated great crimes against humanity, then it should equally be remembered that many of them died or suffered fighting for and over the ideals with which to right them.

When Americans took up arms against George III in 1775, they did so in defense of these English ideals. Admittedly, these ideals were only partially or barely realized in 1714, or 1775, or even today. But that does not reduce their nobility or the urgency of our task to make them real. Twice in the past century, Americans have gone to war to defend those ideals—the real inheritance of England under the Tudors and Stuarts. ■

Suggested Reading

Bucholz and Key, *Early Modern England*, conclusion: epilogue.

Questions to Consider

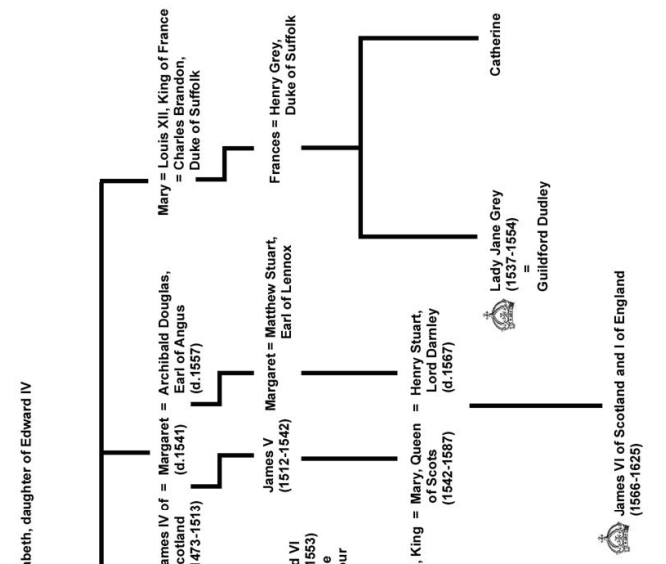
1. Why is it important to remember the failings and injustices of English history? To what extent should that memory play a role in discussions of current problems around the world?

2. In your view, should Americans study English history? Does it have any greater claim on our attention than other European or world histories?

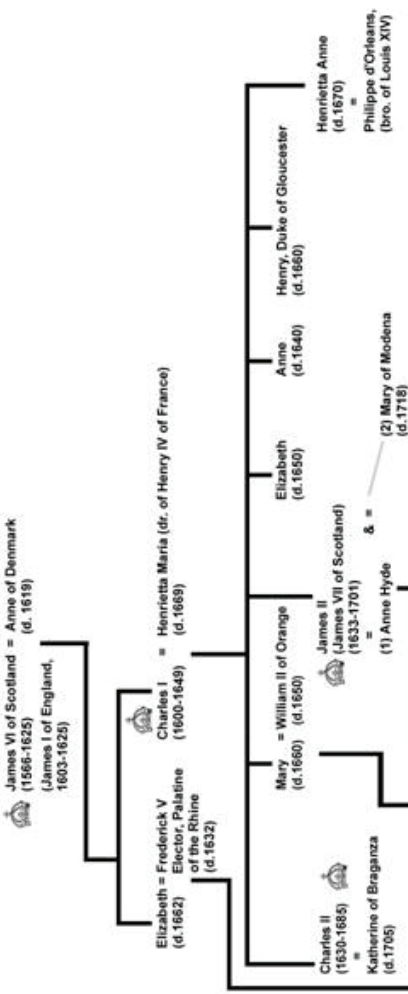
Map


Edinburgh
Londonderry
Tyne
Tees
Lancaster
Pennines
York
Trent
Enniskillen
Dublin
Leicester
Great Ouse
Norwich
Gloucester
Bath
Thames
London
Bristol
Avon
Exeter

The Tudors: 1485–1603



The Stuarts: 1603–1714



Timeline

Note: Rulers are listed in bold before the events that take place during their reigns. Events taking place in the same year are listed on separate lines unless they are related in some way. The outcomes of wars and battles are indicated as wins (W) or losses (L) from the point of view of the ruler of England at the time.

Ruling House: Plantagenets (1154–1399)

1326–1377..... Edward III

1337–1453..... Hundred Years' War (with France) (L).

1377–1399..... Richard II

1397..... Richard II arrests Lords Appellants.

1399..... Richard II deposed.

Ruling House: Lancastrians (1399–1461)

1399–1413..... Henry IV

1403..... Battle of Shrewsbury (W).

1413–1422..... Henry V

1415..... Battle of Agincourt (W).

1420..... Treaty of Troyes.

1422–1461..... Henry VI.

1450..... Cade's Rebellion.

1453..... Hundred Years' War ends (L).

1455–1485..... Wars of the Roses: Battle of St. Albans (L) (1455); Battles of Blore Heath (L) and Ludford Bridge (W) (1459); Battles of Northampton (L) and Wakefield (W) (1460); Battle of Towton Moor (L) (1461).

1461..... Henry VI deposed.

Ruling House: Yorkists (1461–1485)

1461–1483..... Edward IV

1470..... Henry VI temporarily restored.

1470..... Battles of Barnet (W), Tewkesbury (W).

1483–1485..... Richard III

1485..... Richard III deposed at Battle of Bosworth Field (L).

Ruling House: Tudors (1485–1603)

1485–1509..... Henry VII

1487..... Simnel's wRevolt; Battle of East Stoke (W).

1487, 1504..... Statute against Liveries.

1489..... Treaty of Medina del Campo.

1494..... Poyning's Law.

1495–1497..... Warbeck Revolts (W).

1502..... Prince Arthur dies.

1509–1547..... Henry VIII

1512–1514..... War with France (W).

1516..... More's *Utopia.*

1521–1525..... War with France (L).

1526–1543..... Holbein's major portraits.

1527..... Wolsey initiates divorce.

1529..... Papacy recalls divorce case to Rome; Wolsey falls.

1532..... Submission of the clergy.

1533..... Act in Restraint of Appeals; Cranmer finds for Henry in divorce case; Henry marries Anne Boleyn; Queen Anne gives birth to daughter, Elizabeth; Act of Succession.

1534..... Act of Supremacy; Treason Act.

1535..... Executions of More and Fisher.

1536–1537..... Pilgrimage of Grace.

1536..... Act of Union with Wales.

1536–1539..... Dissolution of the monasteries.

1536..... First Poor Law.

1540..... Cromwell falls.

1541..... Henry VIII assumes crown of Ireland.

1542–1547..... War with Scotland and France.

1547–1553..... Edward VI.

1547–1550..... Somerset named Lord Protector.

1549..... Act of Uniformity; Western Rebellion (W).

1549–1551..... Bad harvests.

1549..... Kett's Rebellion.

1550–1553..... Northumberland's ascendancy.

1552..... Act of Uniformity.

1553..... Edward wills the Crown to Lady Jane Grey.

1553–1558..... Mary I

1553–1555..... Catholicism reimposed.

1553–1554..... Wyatt's Rebellion.

1554..... Mary weds Philip, King of Naples.

1555–1558..... Burnings of Protestants.

1557–1559..... War with France (L); loss of Calais.

1557–1558..... Influenza epidemic.

1558–1603..... Elizabeth I

1558–1603..... Ascendancy of the Cecils.

1559..... Treaty of Cateaux-Cambrésis with France, Spain.

1560..... Scottish Rebellion.

1559–1563..... Establishment of the Church of England: Act of Supremacy; Act of Uniformity (1559); Treason Act; Thirty-Nine Articles (1563).

1564..... Vestarian controversy.

1568..... Hawkins raid; seizure of Spanish gold.

1569..... Northern Revolt.

1570..... Episcopal controversy.

1571..... Ridolfi plot.

1575–1611..... Byrd's major works.

1577–1580..... Drake circumnavigates the globe.

1581..... Act against Recusancy (expanded 1585).

1585..... Elizabeth sends troops to the Netherlands.

1587..... Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.

1588..... Spanish Armada (W).

1589..... Elizabeth sends troops to France.

1589–1613..... Shakespeare's major plays.

1590, 1596..... Spenser's *Faerie Queen.*

1594–1603..... O'Neill Rebellion in Ireland.

1595–1598..... Terrible harvests.

1600..... East India Company founded.

1601..... Monopolies controversy.

1601..... Essex Rebellion.

Ruling House: Stuarts (1603–1714)

1603–1625..... James I

1604..... Goodwin's case.

1604..... Treaty of London.

1605..... Gunpowder plot.

1606..... Bacon's *Advancement of Learning.*

1607..... Virginia founded.

1611..... King James Bible.

1614–1628..... Ascendancy of Buckingham.

1622–1623..... Bad harvests.

1624–1630..... War with Spain (L).

1625–1649..... Charles I

1627–1629..... War with France (L).

1628..... Petition of Right.

1628..... Assassination of Buckingham.

1629–1641..... Personal rule.

1633..... Laud appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.

1636..... King wins ship money case.

1638–1640..... Bishops' Wars (L): Battle of Newburn (L) (1640); Treaty of Ripon (1640).

1640..... Short Parliament.

1640–1653..... Long Parliament:

..... Triennial Act; condemnation of personal rule, etc.; impeachment of Strafford (1641).

1641..... Irish Rebellion.

1642–1649..... English Civil Wars: Battle of Edgehill (W) (1642); Battle of Marston Moor (L) (1644); Battle of Naseby (L) (1645).

1647..... Putney debates.

1648–1649..... Bad harvests.

1649..... Charles I beheaded; monarchy and House of Lords abolished.

Interregnum (1649–1660)

1649–1653..... Commonwealth

1649..... Massacre at Drogheda.

1650..... Battle of Dunbar (W).

1651..... Battle of Worcester (W).

1651, 1660, 1663..... Navigation Acts.

1651..... Hobbes's *Leviathan.*

1652–1654..... First Anglo-Dutch War (W).

1653..... Barebones Parliament.

1653–1658..... Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector

1653..... Instrument of Government.

1655..... Capture of Jamaica.

1658–1659..... Richard Cromwell, Lord Protector

1659–1660..... Monck's March on London.

1660–1685..... Charles II

1660..... Convention Parliament; Stuarts restored.

1660–1669..... Pepys keeps his *Diary.*

1661–1678..... Cavalier Parliament.

1661..... Corporation Act.

1662..... Quaker Act; Act of Uniformity; Licensing Act.

1663..... Royal Society founded.

1664..... Conventicle Act.

1664–1668..... Second Anglo-Dutch War (L).

1665..... Plague in London.

1666..... Fire of London.

1667..... Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

1670..... Treaty of Dover.

1672..... Declaration of Indulgence; Stop of the Exchequer.

1672–1674..... Third Anglo-Dutch War (L).

1673..... Test Act.

1673–1678..... Danby's ascendancy.

1678..... Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

1678–1694..... Purcell's major works.

1678–1682..... Popish plot and Exclusion Crisis; Exclusion Parliaments; rise of Whig and Tory parties.

1681–1685..... Tory revenge; remodeling of corporations.

1683..... Rye House plot.

1685–1688..... James II

1685..... Monmouth's Rebellion; bloody assizes.

1686–1688..... Purge of Commissions of Peace, etc.

1687..... Newton's *Principia Mathematica.*

1687..... Declaration of Indulgence.

1688..... Birth of Prince of Wales; Glorious Revolution.

1689–1702..... William III and Mary II (Mary dies in 1694)

1689..... Toleration Act.

1689–1697..... Nine Years War (W): Battles of the Boyne (W), Beachy Head (L) (1690); Battle of La Hogue (W) (1692); Battle of Namur (W) (1695).

1690..... Locke's *Treatises of Government* and *Essay Concerning Human Understanding.*

1694..... Bank of England founded.

1697..... Treaty of Ryswick.

1701..... Act of Settlement.

1702-1714 ..... Anne.

1702–1710..... Ascendancy of Marlborough and Godolphin.

1702–1713..... War of Spanish Succession (W): Capture of Gibraltar (W); Battle of Blenheim (W) (1704); Battle of Ramillies (W) (1706); Battle of Almanza (L) (1707); Battle of Oudenarde (W) (1708).

1706..... Regency Act.

1707..... Act of Union with Scotland.

1710–1714..... Ascendancy of Harley (Oxford).

1712..... Pope's *Rape of the Lock.*

1713..... Treaty of Utrecht.

Ruling House: Hanoverians (1714–1901)

1714–1727..... George I

1715..... Jacobite Revolt.

1716..... Septennial Act.

1720..... South Sea Bubble.

1720–1742..... Sir Robert Walpole, Prime Minister.

1720..... Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe.*

1720–1767..... Hogarth's major works.

1726..... Swift's *Gulliver's Travels.*

1727–1760..... George II

Glossary

advowson: right of the local landlord to choose the parish priest.

Anglicans: conservative or "High Church" members of the Church of England favoring Church government by bishops. Theologically, they were generally Arminians (see **Arminians**) or at least favorably disposed toward elaborate ritual and ceremony. The dominant strain of the Church of England after the Restoration; the term is anachronistic but useful for explaining tendencies up to that point.

Appeals, Act in Restraint of, 1533: parliamentary statute that forbade appeals in legal cases to jurisdictions beyond that of the King of England (such as Rome). The most important piece of legislation in the break from Rome, it not only made the divorce from Catherine of Aragon possible, but some historians believe that it established a modern conception of sovereignty in England.

Arminians: followers (or accused followers) of the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius, who believed that humans could play a role in their own salvation by means of good works and efficacious rituals (theologically opposed by Calvinists; see **Calvinists**). They emphasized "the beauty of holiness" through elaborate church decor and ceremonial. Led by Archbishop Laud, Arminian clergy became influential under Charles I in the 1630s.

asiento: the right to supply African slaves to the Spanish colonies of the New World, secured for Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 (see **Utrecht, Treaty of**).

assizes, assize court: court held twice a year in a major town as part of a regular circuit of assize judges with jurisdiction over the most serious felonies.

attainder: parliamentary statute that declared the party in question "attainted" of treason, without the formal procedure of a trial. Because those attainted lost their lives, titles, lands, and goods, whole families were ruined by this process.

Babington Plot: plot engineered by Anthony Babington, page to Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1586 to assassinate Elizabeth and place Mary on the throne. Discovered by Secretary Walsingham's spy system, he waited to see if Mary would incriminate herself by approving the assassination. She did so, leading to her trial and execution.

Baptists: Protestants who believed that baptism should be left to adult choice. This idea was controversial because it would leave children unbaptized and vitiate any notion of a national church.

Calvinists: Protestant followers of John Calvin who believed that God has predestined all human beings to be saved or damned. Most members of the Church of England prior to 1630, and all Puritans (see **Puritans**), were Calvinists.

Cavaliers: cant name for supporters of the Royalist side during the Civil Wars.

chantry: a chapel, often a side-chapel in a church, set aside for prayers for the dead, often endowed by the deceased (see **purgatory**). Dissolved by the Crown in 1547.

Clarendon Code: popular name for the series of statutes passed by the Cavalier Parliament to establish the monopoly of the Church of England and outlaw dissent after the Restoration (see **Conventicle Act; Corporation Act; Five Mile Act; Quaker Act; Uniformity, Act of, 1662**). Its effect was to make Dissenters second-class citizens. Unfairly named for Lord Chancellor Clarandon who, though a staunch Anglican, was opposed to the persecution of Dissenters (see **Dissenters**).

Conventicle Act 1664: forbade meetings of more than five people for illegal (i.e. dissenting) worship on pain of fines and exile for a third offence.

corporation: the mayor, aldermen, and/or other governors of a city or borough, as laid out in its charter, granted by the Crown under the Great Seal of England.

Corporation Act, 1662: parliamentary statute that gave the king power to revoke city charters and change the composition of the corporation. Because the corporation ran the city in question and often voted for its members of Parliament, this was a way to ensure royal control of local government and the electoral process.

Declarations of Indulgence, 1672, 1687: royal proclamations suspending (see **suspending power**) the laws against both recusants (Catholics) and Dissenters (see **Dissenters**). Generally not supported by Dissenters because of their hostility to Catholics and fiercely opposed by the Anglican majority (see **Anglicans**).

Deists: those who, in the wake of the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment, ceased to believe that God works actively to determine every occurrence in the world. Rather, they conceived of a "watchmaker God" who set the universe running according to unalterable natural laws. They tended to be suspicious of Scripture and dogma as infallible guides for human behavior, preferring the exercise of reason.

demesne: the part of a manor reserved for the landlord's crops and other uses. It was farmed for him by his tenants.

Diggers: religious sect emerging out of the toleration following the Civil Wars. They were led by Gerald Winstanley in the period 1649–1650 and believed that the Bible did not sanction private property. They attempted to set up communes at St. George's Hill, Surrey, and elsewhere, but a combination of government repression and local hostility broke the movement.

dispensing power: the customary, but increasingly controversial, right of English kings to dispense with the law in individual cases. Its use died out after the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689.

Dissenters: those Protestants, usually theological Puritans, who rejected or were expelled from the Church of England after the passage of the Clarendon Code (see **Puritans**, **Clarendon Code**) following the Restoration. Dissenters were persecuted under the code until the passage of the Toleration Act in 1689, after which Dissenters who accepted the Trinity could worship openly if they kept the doors of their meeting houses unlocked.

enclosure: the process whereby landowners ceased arable (crop) farming and turned their lands over to pastoral, usually sheep, farming. This process was highly controversial, because it was thought to involve not only the enclosing of land by fences, but the eviction of the tenant farmers who had worked it. In fact, historical research indicates that its motivations and effects varied so considerably from place to place as to defy generalization.

Exclusion Crisis: the crisis over the succession that occurred in 1678–1681 over whether James, Duke of York, a Catholic, should be allowed to succeed his brother Charles II. The crisis, which was borne of the supposed discovery of a popish plot (see **Popish Plot**), precipitated three elections and led to the rise of the first two political parties in England. Whigs (see **Whigs**) opposed the duke's succession, proposing that Parliament name a Protestant instead; Tories (see **Tories**) favored it.

Five Mile Act, 1665: parliamentary statute barring any non-conforming minister from coming within five miles of a town in which he had served, unless he swore an oath renouncing rebellion.

forced loan: the practice of extorting money from English subjects, occasionally resorted to by the Tudors and, most notoriously, by Charles I.

grammar school: an endowed primary school with a classical curriculum, usually patronized by the middling orders.

Gunpowder Plot: Catholic plot organized in 1605 by Robert Catesby to blow up King James I and both Houses of Parliament at the state opening on 5 November by detonating barrels of gunpowder stored in the basement of the House of Lords. The plot was uncovered, and one of the conspirators,

Guy Fawkes, caught red-handed with the explosives the night before. The conspirators were executed and anti-Catholic legislation was toughened.

heretic: one who publicly denies principal doctrines of the established Church. The Act for Burning Heretics of 1401 decreed burning at the stake, most famously, for Protestant "heretics" under Mary.

Independents: those who, during and after the Civil Wars, believed that individual congregations should be allowed to decide on forms of worship and discipline within a loose national church. They generally favored a more aggressive war strategy during the Civil Wars and more radical solutions to social problems afterward. Eventually, they became known as Congregationalists.

Jacobites: supporters of the exiled King James II and his son, the titular James III, known to his opponents as the Pretender. Jacobite rebellions in 1715 and 1745 failed to restore the Catholic Stuarts.

Junto: from the Spanish *junta*, the group of five Whig politicians who acted in concert to lead the party and, often, the government between 1690 and 1715: Thomas, Lord Wharton; John, Lord Somers; Charles Montagu, later Earl of Halifax; Edward Russell, Earl of Orford; and Charles Spencer, later Earl of Sunderland.

Justice of the Peace (J.P.): an unpaid officer of the Crown in the localities, usually a gentleman, who acted as a magistrate, sitting in judgment over (usually) non-capital felonies, regulating markets and prices, maintaining roads, and supervising the Poor Law, among many other responsibilities. The mainstay of county government.

Kett's Rebellion: rebellion led by Robert Kett in East Anglia in 1549 in response to hard economic times. The rebels demanded lower rents and entry fines, the inviolability of common lands, and a greater say in the selection of local officials. After the Duke of Somerset hesitated, its ruthless suppression by the Earl of Warwick helped catapult him to power.

Latitudinarians: early 18th-century churchmen, many of them Whig bishops, who sought an inclusive Church of England accommodating a variety of beliefs, including those consistent with reason and the new science.

Levellers: radical members of the army from 1647 who followed the ideas of John Lilburne and others demanding universal manhood suffrage, law reform, and "the sovereignty of the people." A Leveller constitution, the Agreement of the People, was debated at Putney in 1647, but the movement was eventually suppressed by the Commonwealth.

Long Parliament. The Parliament summoned in the autumn of 1640, which sat in one form or another from the spring of 1641 to December 1648. At that time, its more moderate members were purged to form the Rump Parliament, which governed the Commonwealth until 1653 (see **Pride's Purge**, **Rump Parliament**). First the Rump, then the whole of the Long Parliament were recalled during the period of instability before the Restoration, 1659–1660.

Lords Lieutenant: from the late Tudor period on, unpaid government officials, usually the most prominent peer in each county. His duty was to maintain order, keep an eye out for disaffection, and raise the militia when called on.

manor: the estate of a landlord, usually originally held by feudal tenure.

National Covenant: the agreement signed in 1638 by the leaders of Scottish society to defend Presbyterian Church government and its Calvinist theology against the Anglicizing tendencies of Charles I (see **Presbyterians**).

Navigation Acts, 1651, 1660, 1663: parliamentary legislation requiring that goods shipped to and from the English colonies in America be transported in English vessels through English ports. This legislation ensured England's commercial supremacy.

Nonconformists: see **Dissenters**.

nonjurors: Anglican clergymen who refused to take the oaths of allegiance to William III and Mary II.

Northern Rebellion: revolt in 1569 that started out as a plot by the Duke of Norfolk to wed Mary, Queen of Scots, and replace William Cecil in Elizabeth's councils. When he hesitated, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland raised the north for Catholicism and marched south to Durham. The rebellion lost steam and was suppressed brutally.

occasional conformity: the practice by office-holding Dissenters of receiving communion at Anglican services in order to qualify under the Test Act (see **Dissenters**, **Test Act**). The Tories attempted legislation to ban the practice repeatedly under Anne (see **Tories**). They succeeded in securing a statute in 1711, only to see it repealed in 1719.

Overbury Scandal: the scandal that emerged in 1615 when it became apparent that two years before, Frances Howard, Countess of Somerset, had engineered the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower of London to stop him from revealing embarrassing personal information about her divorce from the Earl of Essex and marriage to the current favorite, the Duke of Somerset. Both she and the duke fell from favor and were imprisoned but later pardoned.

Pale: the small area around Dublin in which direct English rule was effective in Ireland.

Petition of Right, 1628: parliamentary statute guaranteeing that no subject could be forced to pay a tax not voted by Parliament, imprisoned without charge, have soldiers billeted upon his house, or be subject to martial law. Charles I agreed to it with great reluctance in order to secure five new taxes.

Pilgrimage of Grace: Series of uprisings in the North in 1536–1537. Ostensibly in reaction to Henry VIII's innovations in religion, they also had economic and social causes. After promising concessions, the Henrician regime crushed the movement, executing its most prominent leader, Robert Aske, and about 180 rebels.

Poor Laws, 1536, 1563, 1598, 1601, 1662: series of parliamentary statutes designed to provide relief for the "deserving" poor, that is, those who could not work because of gender, age, or illness. The relief came out of taxes, the

Poor Rate, collected and distributed on a parish-by-parish basis. Some of these laws also had punitive provisions for "sturdy beggars," that is, those who would not work. The law of 1662 allowed parishes to send itinerant poor back to their parishes of origin.

Popish Plot: fictitious Jesuit-Catholic plot to assassinate Charles II and raise the Catholic James, Duke of York to the throne with French help. The plot was manufactured by the de-frocked clergyman Titus Oates in the late summer of 1678 and led to widespread panic and anti-Catholic hysteria.

Poyning's Law, 1494: named for Sir Edward Poyning, Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1494–1496, this statute of the Irish Parliament gave the English Privy Council the right to approve the summoning and legislation of the Irish Parliament. It further stated that statutes passed by the English Parliament applied to Ireland.

Praemunire, Statutes of 1351, 1363: parliamentary statutes that prohibited English subjects from acknowledging papal jurisdiction in certain cases.

Presbyterians, Parliamentary Presbyterians: theological Calvinists (see **Calvinists**) who embraced the form of Church government established in Scotland in the 16th century, whereby doctrine and practice were determined by a hierarchy of courts, culminating in a general assembly. Some Puritans found this system attractive, and Parliamentary Presbyterians wanted to apply it to England during and after the Civil Wars (see **Puritans**). They tended to be among the more conservative Puritans, favoring an accommodation with the king before 1649 and the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.

Pride's Purge: In December 1648, Col. Thomas Pride, under orders from the Council of the Army, led troops who purged those remaining members of the Long Parliament who wished to continue negotiations with the king. Their removal paved the way for the trial and execution of Charles I by the remnant, known as the Rump Parliament (see **Rump Parliament**).

proclamation: royal decree (similar to the modern presidential executive order) that does not carry quite the same force as statute law.

public schools: original term for an endowed grammar school, has come to be associated with the wealthiest and most exclusive examples, such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Winchester. Offering a curriculum emphasizing the Latin classics, they have long been famous as the training grounds for England's elite.

purgatory: Roman Catholic belief that, at death, souls who are not damned but not of sufficient perfection to merit heaven go to this place to become so. Catholics believe that the prayers of the faithful and the indulgences granted by the Church for good deeds in life are efficacious in reducing the amount of time a soul spends there. The sale of indulgences was one of the corrupt practices that aroused the indignation of Martin Luther and other Protestant reformers.

Puritans: Protestants who sought the continued reform of the Church of England after its establishment in 1559–1563. Puritans tended to be Calvinists, favoring plain church ritual consistent with scriptural injunction. Many, though not all, favored a Presbyterian form of church government (see **Presbyterians**). After a brief moment in the sun following the Civil Wars, they were driven out of the Church of England by the Clarendon Code (see **Clarendon Code**) and, thus, are properly known after the Restoration as Dissenters (see **Dissenters**).

Quaker Act 1662: made it illegal to refuse to plead in court (thus attacking the Quaker aversion to swearing oaths) and proscribed all meetings for worship outside the parish church of groups of five or more.

Quakers: religious sect emerging out of the toleration following the Civil Wars and led by George Fox. They believed that each human being possessed God's inner light in equal measure, regardless of gender or social rank. This inclined them, notoriously, to flout gender roles, deny deference to social superiors, refuse to swear oaths, and "quake" with their inner light at services. They were harshly suppressed at the Restoration.

Ranters: religious radicals emerging out of the toleration following the Civil Wars who believed that those in tune with God, who is pure good, can commit no sin. This was thought to give them license to perform all manner

of debauchery. Though much feared and reviled at the time, historians now debate their existence.

Regency Act, 1706: statute of Parliament guaranteeing that that body would continue to sit for six months after the death of Queen Anne, the realm administered by a Council of Regency to ensure the smooth accession of the Elector of Hanover as ruler of England, in keeping with the Act of Settlement. Its implementation in 1714 did precisely that.

Ridolfi Plot: plot engineered by Robert Ridolfi and supported by Phillip II and the pope in 1571 to overthrow Elizabeth and replace her with Mary, Queen of Scots. Discovered and foiled by the government.

Roundheads: cant name for supporters of the parliamentary side during the Civil Wars.

Rump Parliament: popular nickname for the radical remnant of the Long Parliament that continued to sit after Pride's Purge (see **Long Parliament**, **Pride's Purge**) in December 1648. The Rump was the effective legislature of the Commonwealth. It was dissolved by Cromwell in 1653 but briefly revived in 1659–1660 during the chaos leading to the Restoration.

Ryswick, Treaty of, 1697: treaty ending the Nine Years' War, by which Louis XIV recognized William III as the rightful King of England, Scotland, and Ireland; gave back European territory taken since 1678; and agreed to work out with William a partition of the Spanish Empire after the death of Carlos II.

Settlement, Act of, 1701: The statute that established the Hanoverian succession after William III and Queen Anne. It passed over dozens of Catholic claimants to award the succession to the Protestant descendants of James I's daughter, Elizabeth, namely, Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her successor, Georg Ludwig. The act also restricted the power of the monarch to make war, leave the country, or employ members of Parliament in government office.

sheriff: originally the *shire reeve*, an unpaid officer of the Crown in the localities, responsible for collecting taxes, impaneling juries, and early in the period, raising the militia. Considered onerous and to be avoided if possible.

ship money: tax money collected in port cities to provide for the Royal Navy in times of national emergency. Charles I's extension to the whole country in the 1630s was financially lucrative but highly resented, leading to Hampden's case, which the king barely won. Condemned by the Long Parliament, 1641 (see **Long Parliament**).

Solemn League and Covenant, 1643: the agreement between the Scottish Covenanters (see **National Covenant**), on the one hand, and the English Parliamentarians, on the other, by which the former supplied their army in return for £30,000 a month and a promise to establish Presbyterianism in England (see **Presbyterians**). This agreement made possible the crushing parliamentary victory at Marston Moor.

Star Chamber: the Council acting as a court of law in matters involving riot and disorder. Its rules were few and its justice, quick, which made it popular with the Crown and litigants.

suspending power: the customary, if always controversial, right of English kings to suspend the operation of the laws in a time of national emergency. Condemned in the Declaration of Rights of 1689 and extinct thereafter.

Test Acts 1673, 1678: legislation passed by the Cavalier Parliament in response to the Declaration of Indulgence requiring all civil officeholders and members of either House of Parliament to take communion in the Church of England, to take oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and to repudiate transubstantiation annually. These requirements "flushed out" many Catholics in government but were less effective against Dissenters because of the practice of occasional conformity (see **Dissenters**, **occasional conformity**).

Tories: English political party that arose in response to the Exclusion Crisis of the 1680s (see **Exclusion Crisis**). The Tories began as a court party defending the hereditary succession in the person of James, Duke of York.

They favored the rights of the monarch, the Church of England, and the interests of landowners. During the 1690s, as they became associated with Jacobitism and lost power, the Tories became more of a country party. Their name derives from a cant term for Catholic-Irish brigands.

Uniformity, Acts of 1549, 1552, 1559, 1662: parliamentary statutes mandating attendance at church and the use of the English Book of Common Prayer.

Union, Acts of 1536 with Wales, 1707 with Scotland: parliamentary statutes uniting the country in question with England as one state. The 1707 Union created the state of Great Britain.

Utrecht, Treaty of, 1713: Treaty between Great Britain and France ending their hostilities in the War of the Spanish Succession. Britain acquired Gibraltar, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia; territory in the Caribbean; the asiento (see **asiento**); Louis XIV's recognition of the Protestant succession; and the promise that the crowns of France and Spain would never be united.

Whigs: English political party that arose in response to the Exclusion Crisis of the 1680s (see **Exclusion Crisis**). The Whigs began as a country party demanding the exclusion of the Catholic James, Duke of York, from the throne; emphasizing the rights of Parliament and Dissenters; and championing a Protestant (pro-Dutch) foreign policy. In the 1690s, they became a party of government and grew less radical.

Wyatt's Rebellion: rebellion led in 1554 by Sir Thomas Wyatt against Mary's intended marriage to Phillip, King of Naples. Mary rallied the palace guards and remnants of Northumberland's army and beat back the rebels, many of whom were executed.

Biographical Notes

Note: With one exception, monarchs designated with the Roman numeral I bore no such designation in life: King Charles I was King Charles, Elizabeth I was Queen Elizabeth, and so on. They acquired their distinguishing Roman numerals posthumously, when a second of that name succeeded. The exception was King James I, who was actually so designated in his proclamation of accession to distinguish his English title from his Scottish as James VI.

Anne (1664–1714): Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1702–1714); pursued successfully the War of the Spanish Succession against France. Her attempt to maintain her freedom of action in the face of party partisanship was less successful, but her reign saw the Act of Union between England and Scotland, creating the state of Great Britain; maintenance of religious toleration for Dissenters; unprecedented British military success; and the expansion of the British territorial and commercial empire as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

Buckingham, Sir George Villiers, first Duke of (1592–1628): Principal favorite of King James I and King Charles I from 1614–1628. As plain George Villiers, he rose on the strength of his good looks to power and influence, as well as the Earldom of Buckingham in 1617, the Marquisette in 1618, and the Dukedom in 1623. Thereafter, Buckingham monopolized office and wealth. His principal policy initiative was to engineer unsuccessful wars against Spain and France, beginning in 1624 and 1627, respectively. The House of Commons sought his impeachment in response to the ensuing military disasters. He was assassinated by John Felton in 1628.

Burghley, Sir William Cecil, first Lord (1520–1598): Statesman and principal advisor to Elizabeth I. He began his public career as secretary to Lord Protector Somerset and was subsequently secretary of state under Edward VI (1550–1553) and Elizabeth I (1558–1572). She created him Lord Burghley in 1571 and Lord Treasurer of England in the following year; he

served in the latter post until his death. Burghley was Queen Elizabeth's principal advisor and the leader of a vast clientage network at court and in the countryside. A brilliant administrator and resourceful financial manager, his advice was invariably cautious and prudent. At his death, both his power and his clients were inherited by his son, Robert Cecil.

Charles I (1600–1649): King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1625–1649). His support for the Duke of Buckingham's failed foreign policy early in the reign, combined with his pro-Arminian religious policies and suspected Catholic sympathies, poisoned his relationship to Parliament. His attempt to rule without it, the Personal Rule of 1629–1640, saw a much-needed reform of the royal administration, but his financial exactions, never approved by Parliament, were very unpopular. His attempt to impose an Anglican-style liturgy on Presbyterian Scotland provoked the Bishops' Wars, provoking, in turn, the Long Parliament, which sought to limit his power. After neither king nor Parliament could agree on how to deal with the Irish Rebellion of 1641, civil war broke out. After some opening successes, the king lost the conflict by 1646. When, after much negotiation, it became clear that he would never agree to a limitation of his powers, he was tried by order of the Rump Parliament and executed in January 1649.

Charles II (1630–1685): King of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1660–1685), though committed Royalists began his reign at the death of his father in 1649. Prince Charles fought in the Civil Wars on the Royalist side, escaping to Europe in 1646, but he returned in 1650 to accept the Scots' acclamation as king. Defeated by Cromwell at the Battle of Worcester in 1651, he was forced to hide in a tree—"the royal oak"—and make his way incognito back to European exile. Restored in 1660, Charles II initially attempted to pursue a combination of absolutism, religious toleration, and friendship with France, culminating in the Treaty of Dover of 1670. But after the disaster of the Third Anglo-Dutch War, he employed the Earl of Danby to repair his relationship with the ruling elite by working to manage Parliament, embracing an Anglican religious policy, and pursuing, albeit fitfully, a Protestant (pro-Dutch) foreign policy. The climax of his reign was the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, in which he coolly refused to accept that there was such a plot and, after some hesitation, continued to back his brother, James, Duke of York, as his heir, until a Tory reaction set in.

Cromwell, Oliver (1599–1658): Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1653–1658). Cromwell began life as an obscure gentleman from Huntingdonshire. Educated at the strongly Puritan Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, he proved himself a brilliant general of horse during the Civil Wars. By their end, he was the commander of the New Model Army and, arguably, the most important man in England. In 1649, he recaptured Ireland, gloating over the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. In 1650–1651, he defeated the Covenanting and Royalist Scots, securing the control of the Commonwealth over the whole of the British Isles. However, he soon became disillusioned with the Rump Parliament and used the army to send them home in 1653. Named Lord Protector by the Instrument of Government later that same year, he gave England good government and an aggressive and successful foreign policy but also a more intrusive state and higher taxes than it had ever known previously. Though succeeded by his son, Richard, after his sudden death in 1658, his regime collapsed soon after.

Cromwell, Thomas (from 1540, first **Earl of Essex**; c. 1485–1540): English statesman who rose from obscure origins to become the architect of the Royal Supremacy. Cromwell's youth and training are shadowy, but he appears to have spent some time in Europe as a soldier and a merchant. After his return to England around 1514, he became secretary to Cardinal Wolsey, assuming the same position to the king, among many other offices, in 1534. As secretary, Cromwell planned and drafted much of the legislation that made possible the break from Rome, as well as major initiatives to increase royal power in frontier areas, such as Ireland, and in social welfare through the Poor Law of 1536. He also sought to improve the royal finances through the dissolution of the monasteries. As vicar-general for religious affairs he pursued policies that were often more Protestant than the king seems to have wished. Cromwell was a master of courtly politics, securing the elimination of Anne Boleyn in 1536, but the failure of the marriage he engineered between Henry and Anne of Cleves, combined with the machinations of Catholic courtiers, brought him to the block in 1540.

Danby, Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of (from 1689, **Marquis of Carmarthen**; from 1694, **Duke of Leeds**; 1631–1712): Statesman and principal minister of Charles II in the mid-1670s. As Sir Thomas Osborne, Danby first came to Charles II's attention as Treasurer of the Navy from 1671–1673. Named

Lord Treasurer in 1673 and Earl of Danby in 1674 after the disasters of the Stop of the Exchequer, Declaration of Indulgence, and Third Anglo-Dutch War, it was his task to rebuild confidence in the Stuart regime by pursuing an Anglican and financially responsible domestic policy and a Protestant (pro-Dutch) foreign policy. To ensure parliamentary majorities, he attracted the loyalty of "court" members by giving them office, favors, payments from the secret service funds, and so on. Danby fell, and was imprisoned in the Tower, after revelations in 1678 that he had negotiated secretly with Louis XIV for a subsidy. Freed in 1684, he was one of the seven signers of the invitation to Prince William of Orange to invade England in 1688. He was Lord President of the Council from 1689–1699 and served as William III's leading minister in the early 1690s.

Edward VI (1537–1553): King of England and Ireland (1547–1553), he was too young to direct policy on a day-to-day basis. The first part of his reign was dominated by his uncle, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, named Lord Protector within days of Edward's accession. Somerset pursued Protestantism at home and an aggressive foreign policy against Scotland, but fell in 1549 over his failure to deal effectively with the Western Rising and Kett's Rebellion. He was replaced as leading minister by John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who pursued Protestantism more aggressively. Given that this would make Northumberland's position untenable if the Catholic Mary succeeded, he persuaded the king [Edward] to divert the succession to the Protestant Lady Jane Grey as Edward's health failed in the spring of 1553. The king died in July.

Elizabeth I (1533–1603): Queen of England and Ireland (1558–1603). As princess, Elizabeth had a checkered career, sometimes in royal favor, sometimes, especially under her Catholic sister Mary, well out of it and in some danger of her life. She preserved herself by avoiding all plots to put her on the throne prematurely. As queen, she inherited a great many problems from Mary. She solved them by pursuing extreme frugality and a moderately Protestant compromise on religion (the Settlement of 1559–1563) and by placating the great powers of Europe for as long as possible. This last was difficult, as Elizabeth found it in her interests to offer support to Scottish Presbyterian rebels against Mary, Queen of Scots, and, covertly, Dutch Calvinist rebels and English privateers against Phillip II of Spain. Spain

retaliated only when Elizabeth sent an army to the Netherlands in 1585 and executed her cousin Mary in 1587. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was only the beginning of a long war, the climax of which was the English suppression of the O'Neill Rebellion in Ireland in 1603. By then, Elizabeth's well-cultivated aura as Gloriana, the Virgin Queen, wedded to her adoring people, was wearing more than a little thin because of high taxes, poor harvests, and a sense that the reign had run its course.

George I (1660–1727): King of Great Britain and Ireland and Elector of Hanover (1714–1727). His family was placed in the succession to the British throne by the Act of Settlement of 1701. The Hanoverian claim having received the wholehearted support of the Whigs before his accession, George I employed them in office exclusively as king. In particular, he placed his affairs so fully into the hands of Sir Robert Walpole that the latter is considered the first real prime minister in British history.

Henry VII (1457–1509): King of England (1485–1509). As Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, he inherited a claim to the English throne from his mother, Margaret Beaufort. Acting on that claim in 1485, Henry defeated Richard III at the battle of Bosworth Field and seized the throne. He kept it by reducing the power of the greatest nobles; promoting trade; building alliances with France, Scotland, and Spain through threats of war or diplomatic marriage; and reforming the administration and finances of the Crown to a point where he no longer had to trouble Parliament for funds. This, in turn, meant that they would not trouble him.

Henry VIII (1491–1547): King of England (1509–1547) and of Ireland (1541–1547), he deployed his considerable intelligence and energy during the first 20 years of his reign on pleasure and wars with France, leaving the administration of the country to Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey. Wolsey fell in 1529 after failing to secure for Henry a papal divorce from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, necessitated in Henry's eyes, by her failure to give him a male heir. Wolsey's replacement, Thomas Cromwell, made possible the divorce by making Henry supreme head of the Church of England in 1533–1536. In the process, they initiated the English Reformation and a virtual revolution in the Crown's relationship to its subjects. Henry was a popular monarch, despite the fact that he exploited, exhausted, or liquidated a series of wives,

ministers, and courtiers and the contents of the royal Treasury. Though a political and religious conservative, his constitutional and religious changes did much to propel England down the path of parliamentary sovereignty and Protestantism.

James I (1566–1625): King of England and Ireland (1603–1625) and, as James VI, of Scotland (1567–1625). James succeeded his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, as ruler of Scotland after she was deposed by the Presbyterian nobility. Raised a somewhat reluctant Presbyterian, James grew up to be an effective ruler of Scotland, particularly good at balancing its various factions. He was also something of a scholar, writing in support of divine-right kingship. He succeeded Elizabeth I on the strength of his Tudor great-grandmother, Margaret. As King of England, James won peace with Spain and pursued a moderate religious policy, avoiding persecution of either Catholic or Puritan extremes when possible. He had more difficulty balancing English political factions and never quite figured out how to manage Parliament so as to supply the extravagance of his court. Increasingly lazy as he grew older, he turned his affairs over to his principal favorite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. This explains the ill-advised resumption of hostilities with Spain begun in his last year on the throne.

James II (1633–1701): King of England and Ireland and, as James VII, Scotland (1685–1688). As a young man following the Civil Wars, James, Duke of York, escaped to the continent. There, in the service of the French king, and after the Restoration, as Lord High Admiral (1660–1673), he distinguished himself by his bravery. In 1678, after allegations of a popish plot to kill Charles II and place James on the throne, the Whigs organized, unsuccessfully, to try to ban him from it. As king, he proved a far-sighted administrator, but his major policy initiative, to grant both Catholics and Dissenters a toleration, was widely unpopular. In 1688, he was deposed by William of Orange and fled once more to France. The following year, he attempted to launch a second Restoration from Ireland, but following his defeat at the battle of the Boyne in July 1690, he left his former kingdoms for good. He lived out his days on the hospitality of Louis XIV.

Laud, William (1573–1645): Anglican churchman who rose to be Archbishop of Canterbury (1633–1645). Laud embraced an Arminian theology, which

emphasized hierarchy, the sanctity of the priesthood, and elaborate ritual. He became the scourge of Puritan clergy, using episcopal visitations and the Court of High Commission to promote uniformity of worship. He was impeached of high treason by the Long Parliament and beheaded during the Civil Wars.

Marlborough, John Churchill, Duke of (1650–1722): English statesman, Queen Anne's captain general (1702–1711), and the greatest military leader of his day. He began life as plain John Churchill at the Restoration court, where he soon won the favor of James, Duke of York. As Lord Churchill, he distinguished himself with his effective leadership at the battle of Sedgemoor in 1685. He won the Earldom of Marlborough by defecting, with much of the English officer corps, to William of Orange during the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 but fell out of favor after being implicated in correspondence with the Jacobite court in 1692. Named to his Dukedom by Queen Anne in 1702, he led her forces during the War of the Spanish Succession to crushing victories at Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), and Oudenarde (1708). He became estranged from Anne by her inclination toward peace and her refusal to confirm his position for life in 1709–1710. He was dismissed his command at the end of 1711, going into voluntary exile until the accession of George I in 1714. His declining health thereafter precluded a return to politics.

Mary I (1516–1558): Queen of England and Ireland (1553–1558). Educated to be a consort, not a queen; de-legitimized by her father, Henry VIII, in 1533; taken out of the succession by her brother, Edward VI, in 1553, Mary survived the attempted coup of Lady Jane Grey to succeed in July of that year. She precipitated another crisis, Wyatt's Rebellion, in 1554 by choosing to marry Phillip, King of Naples, the future Phillip II of Spain. The rebellion failed, but the marriage proved unhappy: It never produced the heir that Mary so desperately wanted, but it did land her in a disastrous war with France that saw the loss of Calais. The major policy initiative of her reign, the restoration of Catholicism as the state church, failed, not so much because of the persecutions that earned her the sobriquet "Bloody Mary," but because she had neither time on the throne nor an heir to continue her policies. In their absence, hers is generally considered the only failed Tudor reign.

Mary II (1662–1694): Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland (1689–1694). The daughter of James, Duke of York (the future James II), Mary was raised a Protestant at the Restoration court. She was matched, in a diplomatic marriage, with William of Orange, Stadholder of the Netherlands, in 1677. In the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, she was offered the throne with William as king, in whom administrative power was vested. Serving as regent when he was out of the country on campaign, Mary was frequently urged by the Tories to exercise her power, but she remained loyally subordinate to her husband. Her importance to the regime was in giving it a face that was English, Anglican, charitable, fun-loving, and attractive. She was also important as a patroness of the arts and was much lamented at her sudden death from smallpox in December 1694.

Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587): Queen of Scotland (1542–1587). Mary ascended six days after her birth, at the death of her father, James V. A most eligible princess, Henry VIII and Lord Protector Somerset tried to neutralize their northern frontier by forcing her marriage to the future Edward VI. Instead, a Scottish government under Cardinal Beaton sent her to France in 1548. Ten years later, she married King Francis II. At his death in 1560, the Catholic queen returned to a Scotland gripped by Protestant reformation and rebellion. Her ability to work with the victorious Protestant nobility was compromised by her subsequent checkered marital history, first to the callow and cruel Lord Darnley in 1565, then to his murderer and her supposed kidnapper, the Earl of Bothwell, in 1567. She was deposed in favor of her son, James VI, in 1567 and forced to flee to England the following year. There, she was a focus for Catholic plots to assassinate or depose Elizabeth I, regarded by good Catholics as illegitimate. After explicitly agreeing to Elizabeth's murder in the Babington Plot, Mary was tried in 1586 and, after much prevarication on Elizabeth's part, executed in February 1587.

Oxford, Robert Harley, first Earl of (1661–1724): English statesman, architect of the Treaty of Utrecht. From a Dissenting and Roundhead background, Harley rose in the 1690s to be Speaker of the House of Commons. An effective parliamentary organizer, he led a contingent of country politicians who started out as Whigs, ended up as Tories, and virtually ran the country by the end of the reign of William III. Under Queen Anne, he served as Secretary of State from 1704–1708. In February 1708, as

Junto Whigs flooded into the administration, he staged an abortive coup to maintain a mixed ministry of Whigs and Tories. In apparent retirement, he secretly counseled Anne to restore such a ministry and was named a treasury commissioner in 1710, then Lord Treasurer and Earl of Oxford in 1711. His great achievement was the Treaty of Utrecht, negotiated, often secretly, over Whig opposition and Allied hostility. The treaty established Britain's maritime supremacy for a century, but it also cost him the votes of moderate Whigs and the confidence of the Protestant heir, Georg Ludwig of Hanover. Unable to maintain the queen's confidence in turn, he was dismissed in July 1714. Impeached for Utrecht in the next reign, he was acquitted and retired to one of the great book and manuscript collections in England, which later formed the basis for the British Museum.

Walpole, Sir Robert (from 1742, first Earl of Orford; 1676–1745): First and longest serving prime minister of Great Britain (1722–1742). Walpole served as Secretary at War (1708–1710), treasurer of the Navy (1710–1711), and a frequent Whig spokesman in the House of Commons under Queen Anne. Under George I, he served briefly in a ministry with Lords Stanhope and Sunderland, but broke with them in 1717. Restored to office in the wake of the financial scandal known as the South Sea Bubble (1720), Walpole maintained his hold on power for 20 years by embracing the Hanoverian Succession, the Anglican Church, pacifism, and low taxes; by exploiting government patronage to reward his followers; and by engaging in effective parliamentary oratory. He was accused by his opponents of corruption, but he is generally credited by historians with restoring a measure of political stability to the British state after the upheavals of the previous century. These interpretations are not mutually exclusive.

William III (1650–1702): King of England, Ireland, and (as William II), Scotland (1689–1702); (as William III) Prince of Orange (1650–1702); and Stadholder of the Netherlands (1672–1702). William was the only child of William II, Prince of Orange, and Mary, the daughter of Charles I. Chronically unhealthy but of exceptional intelligence, William was kept from power in the Netherlands by a republican faction during his youth. He was catapulted to the leadership of the Dutch Republic by Louis XIV's attempt to wipe it off the map in 1672. For the remainder of his life, he worked to build a Grand Alliance to stop the Sun King, an important stage in that project being his

marriage to Princess Mary of England in 1677. His great opportunity to take advantage of this match came in 1688 when he was invited to invade England. After extensive preparations, the invasion was a success and, on 13 February 1689, William was offered the English crown, jointly, with Mary, but with administrative power to be vested in him. The Glorious Revolution precipitated the Nine Years' War, in which he secured, first, Ireland by 1692, then a favorable peace with Louis through the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697. As William's reign ended, he was preparing a second war to stop Louis XIV from placing his grandson, Philippe, Duke of Anjou, on the Spanish throne and James II's son, Prince James, on the British thrones.

Wolsey, Thomas (c. 1472–1530): Cardinal (1515–1530), Archbishop of York (1514–1530), Lord Chancellor (1515–1529), papal legate (1518–1530), and Henry VIII's principal minister during the first half of the reign. After graduating from Oxford, Wolsey became a chaplain, first to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1501), then to Henry VII (1507). As Henry VIII's almoner (1509), he came to the king's attention by his logistical skill in support of his early French campaigns (1513–1514). Thereafter, the king delegated responsibility for both foreign and domestic policy to Wolsey. The Cardinal achieved some notable diplomatic successes, in particular the Treaty of London (1518) and the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520), but he could not win for Henry parity with the King of France and Holy Roman Emperor. In domestic affairs, Wolsey used the power of Star Chamber to fight enclosure, illegal retaining, and riot and was famous as a fair judge to the poor. But his great wealth and power were highly resented at court. He fell in 1529 when he failed to obtain from the pope Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. He was subsequently charged with treason but died on his way to London for trial.

Bibliography

Essential Reading

Bucholz, Robert, and Newton Key. *Early Modern England, 1485–1714: A Narrative History*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2003. A history of England under the Tudors and Stuarts written from an American point of view for the general reader. The lectures follow this text very closely. For alternative points of view, try Morrill, Brigden, Guy, Coward, or Kishlansky, below.

Cannon, J., ed. *The Oxford Companion to British History.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. The most comprehensive one-volume encyclopedia of British history. Invaluable for looking up individual topics.

Morrill, J., ed. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Tudor and Stuart Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Organized thematically (and not always logically) rather than chronologically, this work presents the latest research in a series of essays by the leading scholars in the field. A good non-narrative alternative to Bucholz and Key.

Sharpe, J. A. *Early Modern England: A Social History, 1550–1760*, 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1997. The most comprehensive and up-to-date synthesis of recent work in social history.

Tillyard, E.M.W. *The Elizabethan World Picture*. New York: Random House, 1941. A concise explanation of the Great Chain of Being and the Tudor worldview. Methodologically unsophisticated but gets the job done.

Wrightson, K. *English Society, 1580–1680*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1982. Persuasive interpretation of what life was like for ordinary people; more engaging but less comprehensive than Sharpe.

Supplementary Reading

General Surveys of English History under the Tudors and/or Stuarts

Brigden, S. *New Worlds, Lost Worlds: The Rule of the Tudors, 1485–1603*. New York: Penguin, 2000. Recent, readily available, and persuasively written.

Coward, B. *The Stuart Age: England, 1603–1714*, 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1994. A detailed survey, stronger on the period before 1680 than after.

Davies, C.S.L. *Peace, Print and Protestantism, 1459–1558.* London: Granada, 1977. A bit outdated but eminently readable and judicious.

Guy, J. *Tudor England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. The now-standard survey.

Hoppit, J. *A Land of Liberty?: England, 1689–1727*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Thorough, up to date, and useful on a variety of topics.

Kishlansky, M. *A Monarchy Transformed: Britain, 1603–1714*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996. A beautifully written, concise history that gives the later Stuarts their due.

Lockyer, R. *The Early Stuarts: A Political History of England, 1603–1642*, 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1999. Engagingly written but organized more topically than chronologically.

Williams, P. *The Later Tudors: England, 1547–1603*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. Comprehensive, detailed, and judicious with well chosen quotes and anecdotes. Perfect for exploring individual topics in greater depth.

Biographies

Baxter, S. B. *William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650–1702.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1966. The standard biography, now in need of updating.

Carlton, C. *Charles I: The Personal Monarch*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 1995. The best biography so far.

Chrimes, S. B. *Henry VII*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972; repr. 1977. The standard biography.

Coward, B. *Oliver Cromwell*. New York: Longman, 1991. A balanced reinterpretation of this controversial man.

Gregg, E. *Queen Anne*, 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. The definitive biography; provides a good narrative of the reign.

Gwyn, P. *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey*. London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1990. The best biography.

Haigh, C. *Elizabeth I*, 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1998. A challenging reinterpretation that debunks many myths and avoids hero-worship.

Harris, F. *A Passion for Government: The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991. A brilliant political biography that addresses the situation of a woman of ability in a man's world.

Jones, J. R. *Marlborough*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. The most recent biography.

Loades, D. M. *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government, and Religion in England, 1553–1558*. New York: St. Martin's, 1979. The most balanced portrait.

Lockyer, R. *Buckingham, the Life and Political Career of George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham, 1592–1628*. London: Longman, 1981. An important revision of received wisdom on Buckingham.

MacCaffrey, W. *Elizabeth I*. London: Edwin Arnold, 1993. A solid synthesis based on a lifetime of research.

Miller, J. *Charles II: A Biography.* London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1991. The best recent biography.

———. *James II: A Study in Kingship*, 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. The most balanced assessment of this failed monarch.

Scarisbrick, J. *Henry VIII*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968. This definitive biography serves as a fine history of the reign.

Starkey, D. *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne.* New York: Harper Collins, 2001. The first volume of what promises to be a stimulating reinterpretation.

Weir, Alison. *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*. London: Grove, 2000. The best of the popular accounts.

Political: Pre-Tudor (1400s–1485)

Pollard, A. J., ed. *The Wars of the Roses*. New York: St. Martin's, 1988. The now standard account.

Political: Tudor

Coleman, C., and D. R. Starkey, eds. *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. This work admirably summarizes the debate on Elton's Tudor Revolution and goes far to settle it in the negative.

Elton, G. R. *The Tudor Revolution in Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953. The book that started the controversy is now largely outdated, but the overall argument remains stimulating.

Fletcher, A., and D. MacCulloch. *Tudor Rebellions*, 4th ed. London: Longman, 1997. The standard concise account.

Graves, M.A.R. *The Tudor Parliaments: Crown, Lords and Commons, 1485–1603*. London: Longmans, 1985. Standard.

Williams, P. *The Tudor Regime*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. Still the most perceptive explanation of how it all worked.

Political: Stuart

Brewer, J. *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783*. New York: Knopff, 1983. A brilliant synthesis that explains fully why Britain beat France and emerged as the most powerful nation of the 18th century.

Clark, J.C.D. *English Society, 1660–1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. A challenging reinterpretation of the long 18th century that sees England not as the first modern society but as a traditional monarchical and confessional state.

Holmes, G. S. *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, rev. ed. London: Hambledon, 1987. A classic. The clearest and most reliable treatment of party politics after the Glorious Revolution.

Hughes, A. *The Causes of the English Civil War*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998. The best overall explanation.

Hutton, R. *The British Republic, 1649–1660*, 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's, 2000. Standard.

Kenyon, J. *The Popish Plot*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972. Lively.

Kenyon, J., and J. Ohlmeyer, eds. *The Civil Wars: A Military History of England, Scotland and Ireland, 1638–1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. Explains the military dimension of a subject usually covered from the political angle.

Marshall, A. *The Age of Faction: Court Politics, 1660–1702*. Manchester: Manchester University Pres, 1999. A concise analysis of court politics.

Morrill, J. *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630–1648*, 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1999. Explains the feelings and actions of people "on the ground."

Russell, C. *The Causes of the English Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. The classic statement of the revisionist position on the causes of the Civil Wars.

Sharp, K. *The Personal Rule of Charles I*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. Massive; probably the most thorough treatment of any aspect of Charles I, but contains too much special pleading.

Smith, D. L. *The Stuart Parliaments, 1603–1689*. London: Edwin Arnold, 1999. Standard.

Speck, W. A. *Reluctant Revolutionaries: Englishmen and the Revolution of 1688*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. Now the standard account.

Stone, L. *The Causes of the English Revolution, 1529–1642*. New York: Harper and Row, 1972. The classic statement of the Whig interpretation of the causes of the Civil Wars.

Underdown, D. *Revel, Riot and Rebellion: Popular Politics and Culture in England, 1603–1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985. A classic; connects the broad sweep of English history with popular culture.

Political: Post-Stuart (1714–1730s)

Black, J. *The Politics of Britain, 1688–1800*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993. A good brief account.

Colley, L. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*. London: Vintage, 1994. A classic, this book explains how the idea of "Britain" developed in the 18th century.

Plumb, J. H. *The Growth of Political Stability in England, 1675–1725*. London: Macmillan, 1967. A classic; the book that explained how Walpole

and the Hanoverians established political stability after the upheavals of the Stuart century.

Religious and Intellectual

Bossy, J. A. *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975. Standard.

Dickens, A. G. *The English Reformation*, 2nd ed. Schocken, New York, 1989. The classic statement of the "Protestant-Whig" interpretation of the English Reformation, that is, that it was both justified and desired by the great mass of the English people. Now considered one-sided.

Duffy, E. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–c. 1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. One of the key revisionist texts on the Reformation in England, that is, arguing that it was neither needed nor desired.

———. *The Voices of Morbath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000. A fascinating and moving look at the Reformation at the grassroots level.

Haigh, C. *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. The most comprehensive statement of the revisionist position on the Reformation that the English Catholic Church was healthy and not in need of reform.

MacCulloch, D. *The Later Reformation in England, 1547–1603*, 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2001. An updating of the Protestant-Whig position on the Reformation.

Prall, S. E. *Church and State in Tudor and Stuart England.* Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1993. A good general overview.

Spurr, J. *English Puritanism, 1603–1689*. New York: St. Martin's, 1998. An updated treatment of this complicated subject.

———. *The Restoration Church of England, 1646–1689*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991. The best examination of the Restoration Anglican Church.

Thomas, K. *Religion and the Decline of Magic.* New York: Scribners, 1971. A classic. The most comprehensive examination of popular attitudes to religion, magic, astrology, and witchcraft.

Social and Cultural

Beier, A. L. Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640. New York: Methuen, 1985. Standard.

Borsay, P. The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. The best book on the rise of urban England.

Bostridge, I. Witchcraft and its Transformations c. 1650–c. 1750. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. A recent, stimulating reformulation of an old problem.

Brewer, J. The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Farrar, Straus Giroux, 1997. A brilliant synthesis.

Bucholz, R. O. The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993. Examines the structure, finances, politics, and culture of the later Stuart court.

Clark, P. The English Alehouse: A Social History. London: Longman, 1983. A fascinating examination of an institution of English popular culture.

Clark, P., and P. Slack. English Towns in Transition, 1500–1976. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976. A good, concise account of urban England.

Clark, P., and D. Souden. Migration and Society in Early Modern England. London: Hutchinson, 1988. The most comprehensive treatment of a massive movement of people during our period.

Coleman, D. C. The Economy of England, 1450–1750. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977. Still the best brief history of the economy.

Coster, W. Family and Kinship in England, 1450–1800. London: Longman, 2001. The most recent treatment of a massive subject.

Cressy, D. Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. A deeply researched analysis of the ceremonies around rites of passage.

Eales, J. Women in Early Modern England, 1500–1700. London: UCL Press, 1998. A fine, brief guide summarizing the latest research.

Foss, M. The Age of Patronage: The Arts in England, 1650–1750. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971. A good popular survey.

Heal, F., and C. Holmes. The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994. The best and most recent book on a vast subject.

Holmes, G. S. Augustan England: Professions, State and Society, 1680–1730. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1982. The best overall account of the rise of the professions.

Houlbrooke, R. A. The English Family, 1450–1700. London: Longman, 1984. Still the most sensible overview of the history of the family.

Houston, R. A. The Population History of Britain and Ireland, 1500–1750. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992. The best brief summary of an extremely complicated topic.

Hutton, R. The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400–1700. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. A fascinating window onto the Reformation through its explanation of changes in the calendar and holiday rituals.

Inwood, S. A History of London. New York: Carroll and Graf, 1998. By far the best history of London.

Laurence, A. Women in England, 1500–1760: A Social History. New York: St. Martin's, 1994. Standard.

Loades, D. M. The Tudor Court. London: Batsford, 1986. Standard.

Manning, R. B. Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509–1640. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988. The best and most comprehensive work on riot and popular demonstrations.

Palliser, D. M. The Age of Elizabeth: England under the Later Tudors, 1547–1603, 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1992. A synthetic social history of Elizabethan England.

Reay, B. Popular Cultures in England, 1550–1750. London, Longman, 1998. The best overall explanation of popular culture.

Rosenheim, J. M. The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society, 1650–1750. London: Longman, 1998. Along with Heal and Holmes, the best book on the making of the 18th-century ruling class.

Seaver, P. Wallington's World: A Puritan Artisan in Seventeenth-Century London. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. Using his voluminous diary, an exploration of the world of a 17th-century Puritan London craftsman.

Sharpe, J. A. Crime in Early Modern England, 1550–1750, 2nd ed. London: Longman, 1999. The best overall survey.

———. Witchcraft in Early Modern England. London: Longman, 2001. The best and most recent survey of the subject.

Slack, P. From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. Written by the leading historian of early-modern English charity.

Smuts, R. M. Culture and Power in England, 1585–1685. New York: St. Martin's, 1999. A comprehensive analysis of the relationship between high culture and politics.

Starkey, D., ed. The English Court: From the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War. London: Longman, 1987. Argues for the central significance of the court before the Civil Wars.

Stone, L. The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967. A classic. Although the overall interpretation of this book is no longer generally accepted, it remains the best account of what aristocratic life was like.

———. The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800. New York: Harper and Row, 1977. A pioneering book whose main thesis is now largely rejected. Still worth reading for the anecdotal material alone.

Thompson, E. P. Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture. New York: The New Press, 1991. A provocative collection from the late dean of English social historians. The articles on patrician versus plebeian culture and riot are especially important.

Underdown, D. Fire from Heaven: The Life of an English Town in the Seventeenth Century. New York: Yale University Press, 1992. The most thorough and readable reconstruction of life in an English town during the upheavals of the 17th century.

Wrightson, K. Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000. A compelling synthesis by a leading English social historian.

Wrightson, K., and D. Levine. Poverty and Piety in an English Village: Terling, 1525–1700, rev. ed. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995. A pioneering study of an English village.

Ireland, Scotland, and Wales

Bradshaw, B., and J. Morrill, eds. The British Problem, c. 1534–1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago. New York: St. Martin's, 1996.

Brown, K. M. Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603–1715. New York: St. Martin's, 1992. A recent and challenging reinterpretation of the Union with Scotland.

Canny, N. Making Ireland British, 1580–1650. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. This book is by the leader in this field.

Ellis, S. G. Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447–1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule. London: Longman, 1998. The now-standard account.

———. Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. The most comprehensive account of how the Tudors dealt with all their borderlands.

Jenkins, G. H. The Foundations of Modern Wales, 1642–1780. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. This book is by the leader in this field.

Levack, B. P. The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland and the Union, 1603–1707. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987. Standard.

Williams, G. Recovery, Reorientation and Reformation: Wales, c. 1470–1642. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987. A standard recent account.

Europe and Empire

Doran, S. *England and Europe, 1485–1603*, 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's, 1996. Standard.

Howat, G.M.D. *Stuart and Cromwellian Foreign Policy*. New York: St. Martin's, 1974. Standard.

Lenman, B. *England's Colonial Wars, 1550–1688: Conflicts, Empire and National Identity*. London: Longman, 2001. Ambitious overview that addresses Ireland and Scotland as part of England's colonial empire.

Loades, D. *England's Maritime Empire: Seapower, Commerce and Policy, 1490–1690.* London: Longman, 2000. This book is by one of the dean's of current Tudor studies.

MacFarlane, A. *The British in the Americas, 1480–1815*. London: Longman, 1994. A recent and comprehensive publication by a leader in the field.

Mattingly, G. *The Armada*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959. A classic. Not the most recent work on these dramatic events, but the most readable.

Reitan, E. A. *Politics, War, and Empire: The Rise of Britain to a World Power, 1688–1792*. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1994. A brief, but masterly, synthesis.

Internet Resources

BBC. *A History of Britain*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/programmes/hob/index_series1.shtml. British Broadcasting Corporation Web site; history to 1603.

———. *British History to 1776*. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/programmes/hob/index.shtml.

Source for early modern England. http://www.quelle.org/emes/emes.html.