

For the Tudor Documents:

1. Read through the various primary source documents on the website. Be prepared to discuss:
2. What types of sources are there? How might they be categorized?
3. How do the sources themselves add to, or qualify, the material presented in the text? What difference do these sources make in your understanding of the history of the early Tudors?
4. What significant questions are raised by these sources? Is there anything which would bear further investigation?



- ✂ 1347- hit N Europe
- ✂ Began in Asia
- ✂ Imported by N trading
- ✂ The Problem: *yersinia pestis* bacteria, (in fleas on rats.)
- ✂ Bubonic Plague: spread through flea bites
 - ✂ Black Spots -- hence "Black Plague"
 - ✂ Swollen lymph glands "buboes" -- hence, "bubonic plague"
- ✂ (Septicemic -- plague in blood)
- ✂ Pneumonic -- plague in lungs, spread through coughing.

The Plague:

Its effects and how

Killed 1/3 of the population of Europe, More in England.

- Deaths were unevenly distributed: Some communities wiped-out, others "spared."
- Widely seen as the Judgment of God, but this raised big questions:
 - Why are good people dying?
 - Why do the wicked survive?
 - What are we to do now? (morally, and to survive)



Effects of the Plague on:

- **Religion:** forced a reexamination of "comfortable assumptions." For many in England, as well as Northern Europe generally, it involved a turn toward more "fervent" forms of religion rather than a loss of faith.
- **Economics:** ended the "population boom" and increased the standard of living (ended famine conditions). Created a labor shortage contributing to economic straits for nobles, peasant prosperity, and the rise of Yeomen in England.
- **Art and Culture:** The theme of untimely and arbitrary death gains force in the rise in death as a theme -- consider images such as the "Grim Reaper" and the "Dance of Death."

Key Themes of Chapter 4

- "The Golden Fleece": the rise of wool as an English export transformed the English economy and countryside in the later fifteenth century. Grazing land becomes more profitable than rent for owners.
- Enclosure: In order to obtain larger grazing areas some nobles confiscated the land of their tenants, often by denying the peasants' ancestral rights. NOTE: the forced takeover of land was not as pervasive as it seemed to people at the time, the cases where it did occur made a real impact on the social perception of the nobility and the transient poor.
- Prosperity: The wool trade, and increased efficiency on farms, mean plenty of food to go around, though the perceived gap between the "rich" and the "poor" was also growing. The general equality in living standards of the medieval manor gives way to a system in which the "haves" and the "have-nots" are more clearly defined through consumer goods and the consolidation of land.
- Inflation: A side effect of the sudden plunge into the international market. "Greed" was blamed rather than economic growth. The growth, however, was severe, and prices shot up.
- A merchant culture developed "between" the classes, incorporating the rich commoners with the nobility in an interactive group. There was no genuine "middle class."
- The "New Learning": The curriculum of the humanists made its way northward in the sixteenth century, shifting the educational focus to classical texts and practical subjects.
- Politically: England solidified its national identity, over against the regional identities of the medieval period, and the internationalism of the Church, London becomes the "Heart of the Realm."

Henry VII: "The Accountant King"

- At Bosworth, Henry achieved the crown by right of combat. This eliminated messy debates in Parliament, but it did not eliminate rival claimants to the crown.
- Henry represented a new bloodline, but because of this, his claim to the throne was questionable.
- If Henry VII lacked the romantic flash of the Black Prince or Henry V, he possessed a quality which is regal in its own right: calculated efficiency.
- Henry eliminated rivals himself with a measure of cool calculation that most of his predecessors notably lacked, and at the same time he raised the revenues of the monarchy to kingly levels.
- Henry was ruthless when necessary, lenient when expedient, and virtually lacking in the vindictiveness which had brought others down.
- In all his actions, if not in his bloodline, there was no room to question who was king.



Securing the Crown

- Henry had the backing of the Lancastrians, but he was faced with consolidating a bitterly divided realm. How could the White Rose be brought over to back him?
- Step 1: Marry it. With the two princes dead the closest claimant to the throne was Edward IV's daughter, Elizabeth of York. A few months after Bosworth she became Henry's wife. When all the major contenders were eliminated after the Battle of Stoke, she was crowned queen.
- Step 2: Lock it up. The only direct living male heir to the Yorkist claim was the 10-year-old Earl of Warwick. He was given free room and board in the Tower of London.
- Step 3: Prune it. The de la Pole brothers, grandsons of Richard of York, still had the means to be a threat to Henry:
 - John, Earl of Lincoln
 - Edmund, Earl of Suffolk
 - Richard
 - William
- Through battle and intrigue they were eliminated when it was appropriate to do so, and kept on the run in the meantime.



(The de la Pole Gang goes Down)

- John, Earl of Lincoln, second in line behind the imprisoned Warwick to the throne, set up an impostor, Lambert Simnel, as the escaped Earl of Warwick. At the Battle of Stoke 1487, John was killed. (Simnel was taken into the King's service.)
- Edmund and Richard -- Yorkist intrigues continued. Perkin Warbeck, a Flemish-born 17-year old, began posing as the younger brother to Edward V, Richard. He toured the major courts of Europe staking his claim, but when he landed in England (1497) he was quickly arrested and thrown in the tower. Partly to satisfy the King of Spain, whose daughter was to marry Henry's son Arthur, and partly to take care of unfinished business, both the impostor Warbeck and the real Warwick, were publicly executed after a failed escape attempt. (Which Henry had arranged.) Edmund and Richard fled to France in 1501 before their number came up.
- William was taken into custody, along with whoever else Henry could reasonably arrest, and he died in the Tower.
- Edmund was handed over to Henry by the Duke of Burgundy in 1506 and Richard fled to the court of the King of France.
- (Epilogue: When Henry VIII was fighting his first war with France the French King declared Richard the rightful King of England. Henry killed Edmund in answer - 1513. Richard died fighting beside the French King at the Battle of Pavia - 1525.)

Securing the Coffers:

- Henry VII possessed a merchant's eye for financial opportunity.
- He also possessed a thorough understanding of how money, and more notably, debt, could be used as a tool to maintain power.
- Added to this, he understood, better than anyone had in the past, the power which inhered in Parliament.
- Factors leading to solvency:
 - Henry claimed all lands and incomes previously held by the crown for his own.
 - The right of reversion meant that the lands of dead lords could be "held" by the King, or redistributed as necessary.
 - If there was a law on the books which could be interpreted as a tax it was.
 - Justice could be profitable. Nobles and rich merchants found it more comfortable to pay money than to be on the wrong side of the King. (See the case of Abergavenny, p. 100) Debt was a handy means of control.
 - Loans to the crown could be forced "for the good of the realm."
 - The sale of Brittany.
 - Getting money from parliament *before* waging war with France, then coming up in the black.
- The end result was that Henry created the necessary financial distance between the crown and all subjects to render himself financially "untouchable."

The King's Justice

- Henry VII surrounded himself with a court of competent advisors selected from the lower ranks.
- This had the effect of ensuring loyalty, as the lot of these men rested entirely on the good will of the King.
- The great lords of the realm were inherently dangerous, as potential "kingmakers," yet necessary.
- Henry wielded finance as one weapon to keep the Nobility in check -- keep them concerned about their "means."
- Justice was another weapon in his arsenal.
- Unlike many before him, Henry exercised his right to take an active interest in the judicial process of the realm.



The Equalizing Power of Equity Law

- The King had the inherent power of "equity law" which Henry expanded beyond civil cases to include criminal cases. The Court of "Star Chamber" was formed.
- Justice, which had been provincial became centralized, and local nobles who had once made the law, and held themselves above it became subject to it.
- "With calculated cruelty, the Tudors insisted that the great should be humbled while the weak, protected by the mantle of royal authority, should inherit the earth." (p. 102) This was the proper image to have.
- Star Chamber, under the Tudors, developed a well-earned reputation for arbitrary decisions -- some seeming overly harsh, others overly merciful.
- This was also a necessary image: what was at stake for Henry was not being "just" but being KING (and appearing just.)
- Appearances matter: The image of "impartial justice" which was presented to the masses with "calculated" executions of nobility functioned alongside the image of arbitrariness presented to the nobility, who knew that the line between mercy and execution was the King's to draw.
- The visible unity of Lancaster and York in the Tudor family, the establishment of Kingship through combat, and the image of the King's justice worked together to secure the Tudor throne.

The Tudor Cosmos: Order in Nature and Politics

- At the beginning of the sixteenth century in Europe, humanity was seen to live at the center of a hierarchically ordered system of nature.
- If all were right with the world, the image of order which inhered in nature would be obvious in the realm as well. Under the Tudors, this appeared to be so.



Henry VIII: The Early Years

- 1509 -- Henry VII dies, leaving the Kingdom to his second son, Henry. His firstborn, Arthur, had died in 1502. Arthur had been VII's favorite and was much more the image of his father than Henry VIII.
- In the early years of Henry VIII's reign the young king *appeared* to take far more interest in the "diversions" of hunting, feasting, wenching, and poetry and the lute than in affairs of state.
- Henry had time for diversions because the administrative duties were split between him and the Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey.
- Both men were ambitious (Wolsey had risen from the son of a butcher) and their political interests supported one another well until 1529.
- To secure political alliances, Henry VIII also married his brother Arthur's widow, Catherine of Aragon in 1509.

Henry VIII and the Continent

- From 1509-1527 Henry and Wolsey played the game of continental politics as a team.
- Through political manipulation Wolsey rose in rank to a permanent legate of the Pope in England, and Henry became a major player in the game of thrones for the title of Holy Roman Emperor.
- 1511 -- Henry sided with the Holy League, demonstrating loyalty to the Pope (Wolsey's patron)
- 1513 -- Henry established his military prowess at the Battle of the Spurs (largely a cavalry action.)
- 1519 -- Henry is encouraged by the papacy to be a candidate for Holy Roman Emperor.
- 1521 -- Henry is declared a "defender of the faith," by the Pope for his writings against Luther.
- 1525 -- France is crushed by Emperor Charles at Pavia.
- Pavia marks the end of the balance of power between Spain and France which England had played to its advantage.

The King's Great Matter

- Henry was seeking a divorce from Catharine in 1527. Many factors were involved, including:
 - Lack of a male heir
 - Old Testament law
 - Anne Boleyn (a Protestant)
 - Political appearance of being in Charles' pocket.
- Because Wolsey held a position on the legatine court, there was hope that a divorce could be easily obtained, and also that the legatine court could take a stand against the hegemony of the Emperor.
- This hope was crushed with the sack of Rome, and the events leading to treaties between both France and Rome and the Emperor in 1529.
- Instead of a divorce, Henry was summoned to Rome to stand trial.
- Wolsey had failed magnificently and was dismissed as Chancellor, to be replaced by Thomas More.
- King and Parliament were both dissatisfied with Roman authority, and were willing to work together to put it in check.

The Resolution of the Matter:

- According to established English Law the Pope was to have no direct authority in England (Statute of Praemunerie).
- Wolsey's presence as a papal legate was a violation. The Church was forced to pay a fine and acknowledge Henry's authority in 1531.
- 1532 Spring -- Act of Annates.
- May 1532 Thomas More resigns for "ill health."
- August 1532 -- Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury dies.
- December 1532 -- Anne Boleyn is pregnant.
- January 1533 -- Anne and Henry are secretly married. Rome was petitioned to make Thomas Cranmer Archbishop.
- March 1533 -- Cranmer is made Archbishop (turns out to be a Protestant and married.)
- April 1533 -- Act in Restraint of Appeals
- May 1533 -- Cranmer declares the marriage to Catherine to be null from the beginning.

Wives 1-3:

1. Catherine of Aragon: Spanish princess, "widow" of Henry's brother Arthur, Mother of Mary Tudor, divorced 1533, died 1536.
2. Anne Boleyn: One of Catherine's chamber ladies, part of the Protestant movement at Court, married January 1533; gave birth to Elizabeth Tudor, September 1533; Executed May 19, 1536, accused of treason and adultery, after a stillborn birth in January and a marriage plagued by fighting.
3. Jane Seymour: Married May 30, 1536; kept Henry "happy" like none other. Died after giving birth to Edward Tudor, October 12, 1537.

1.

2.

3.

Wives 4-6:

- Anne of Cleves: Protestant; Married, January 1540 in order to secure an alliance with Germany (Thomas Cromwell's arrangement); Divorced before the marriage was consummated; Dubbed 'the Flemish mare' by Henry; Stayed-on in England and was popular among the people; Died in 1557.
- Catherine Howard: Young, pretty pawn of the Catholic faction at Court; Married, July 28, 1540; not a virgin before marriage nor faithful after (nor very bright); Executed for Adultery/Treason in March 1542.
- Catherine Parr: Married, July 1543; had been twice widowed; brought Henry's children to live under one roof; Cared for Henry until his death.

4.

5.

6.

Key points in Henry's Reformation:



- (Thomas Cromwell became the King's closest advisor after the fall of Wolsey, 1529. The leader of the Protestant faction at Court, Cromwell manipulated King and Parliament whenever possible to advance the reformation. Rightly called the architect of the shift to Protestantism.)
- After 1533:
- 1534: Act of Succession (required all to approve of the break with Rome); Act of Supremacy (Henry is Supreme head of the English Church); Act of Treason (made it an act of treason to speak against the King's motives and actions)
- 1536: Ten Articles published laying-out a Reformed English Church. The "Pilgrimage of Grace" revolt follows, and is crushed.
- 1535-39 Forced dissolution of the monasteries (and confiscation of their lands)
- 1539: Act of Abolishing Diversity of Opinion establishes Henry's "Catholicism without the Pope" as the official religion of the realm.
- July 28, 1540: After Anne of Cleves, especially, Henry is tired of Cromwell's schemes and has him executed.

Henry's Legacy:

- Many wars in France, and at home, to consolidate and expand the Realm (actions in Scotland and Wales.) Militarily very successful. Financially devastating.
- A divided and scheming Court.
- Dissolution of Monasteries: put an end to what were essentially embassies of a now "foreign power" in England, and also brought in a lot of revenue from the "reappropriation" of monastic land. Revenue was fleeting -- the big winners were the landed gentry who expanded their holdings and their political power through the dissolution.
- Religious chaos.
- Three children who would be monarchs after him.

What I'm Looking for when Grading:

- Support -- must be specific, can be with or without quotations, but it must clearly relate to the point.
- Analysis: Beyond just a relation or summary of the obvious, making connections, drawing conclusions, raising questions.
- It must be clear that you understand the material.
- I must be able to understand the points you are making.
- If you're missing something specific in the assignment.
- For future reference:
 - Steer clear of sweeping philosophical conclusions.
 - Avoid standard historical clichés.
 - Questions can make great conclusions.

Edward VI (1547-53):

- According to Henry's will, Edward's minority years were to be handled by a council run by a strict majority rule.
- Very early on, the 'majority' of the council voted to end that situation, and name Edward Seymour, the young King's uncle, as the official Lord Protector.
- There is good reason to believe that Seymour was given power because many believed that he could be manipulated.
- He could.
- Under Seymour's protectorate battles were won and the stability of the Kingdom was lost:
 - Scotland was defeated but Mary Queen of Scots was allowed to flee to France
 - An open door policy made England a refuge for the most extreme elements of the Reformation.
 - Rampant inflation destabilized the economy and ruined lives.
- Ket's Revolt in 1549 capped a series of revolts which proved to the nobility that the Lord Protector was a problem.



Edward VI: part 2

- With John Dudley pulling the strings, the council arrested and imprisoned Seymour, who was executed for treason two years later. Dudley took his place as "adviser" to the King.
- Dudley controlled the young King by giving him economic freedom and seeing to it that Edward thought he was making all the decisions.
- Dudley also used the radical Protestant faction at court (of which Edward had been raised to be a part) to his advantage. The blame for recent unrest was laid at the feet of lingering Catholicism: after all -- it was obvious that the Church was too rich if so many people were hard up.
- Greed and Reformation had a common cause, if not a common goal. Protestantism (increasingly in a Calvinist form) was the politically correct religion.
- 1552 -- The Prayer Book was revised to be less tolerant, and an Act of Uniformity was passed which was targeted at making Catholic practices illegal.
- 1553 -- The King is obviously dying, and Dudley is desperate. Dudley quickly pushed through a change in the line of succession from Mary Tudor, the Catholic, to his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey.
- The people weren't about to have it and neither was Mary.

"Bloody" Mary Tudor (1553-58)

- For Mary Tudor it was time to redress past wrongs, and return the Realm to its proper Catholic state.
- After Edward, however, the Realm was thoroughly divided, and politics and religion were hopelessly entangled. The stage was not set for compromise.
- The Catholic bishops were restored and their places in the Tower were taken by the Protestants.
- Radical Protestants began fleeing. No one stood in their way.
- Mary began negotiations to marry Philip II of Spain. At this time, however, English sentiment was turning sharply against Spain.
- There were still plenty of Protestants in England, and plenty more who were concerned about being subject to a Spanish King.
- January 1554 -- 3,000 Kentish men, under Sir Thomas Wyatt, marched on London.

Making Martyrs the Old Fashioned Way

- Wyatt's rebellion was dangerous not for its size, but for its proximity to London. London was not about to give up the Queen.
- Mary was immediately aware of the depth of the division in her realm.
- However, she saw all through religion-colored glasses: Examples must be made of the heretics.
- Between 1555 and 1558 300 went to the stake, including, right off, Thomas Cranmer and many others who were moderates, in favor of compromise.
- Many historians agree that she made the wrong decision in burning heretics rather than hanging traitors.
- England had a national identity, not a Catholic one.
- The Martyrs under Mary made a cultural impression that would, as much as anything, ensure that England would never be Catholic again.

Elizabeth

- November 17, 1558 Mary died. Aged 42 years.
- According to Henry's will, Elizabeth was next.
- Another woman, with a dubious claim to the crown because of the Catholic interpretation of her birth as illegitimate, Elizabeth began her reign over a troubled country appearing to bring only more trouble.
- Europe would learn not to underestimate the new "King."
- In fashioning her image, she was her father's daughter.
- In fashioning her court she showed her grandfather's genius.
- She surrounded herself with people who had only one political interest -- her.



Fashioning the Court

- Elizabeth's coronation was planned to the last detail. The goal of everything was to ensure that there was no doubt who was the ruler, and to present the people with the perfect image of the medieval monarch: powerful, pious, just, and merciful.
- Elizabeth's first critical decision was to appoint William Cecil, created Lord Burghley, as her Lord Chancellor.
- Burghley had been around the court from Henry VIII through Edward and Mary. He knew that this was his last time around. If Elizabeth failed, Mary, Queen of Scots and her French husband would reign. The Tudor courtiers would be gone.
- As a veteran of three courts, Cecil had the established connections to be more than an advisor: he became a skilled spymaster at home and abroad, and the architect of Elizabeth's propaganda.
- The spy rings of Cecil kept Elizabeth ahead of Parliament as well as the Courts of Europe.
- Another major decision early on was to establish Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury -- Mary's Catholicism was gone but not replaced with Edward's Puritanism. She had sent a message of compromise, on her terms, and the potential for peace in the Realm.
- Financially, William Paulet was chosen for his skill, and in spite of monumental debt that had been accruing since Henry VIII, the Crown was solvent in three years.
- The King of England was back -- in the body of a red-haired girl.

Problems of Succession

- Elizabeth gained the confidence of her people early, by gaining complete control of all aspects of government immediately and never letting go.
- However, especially on the Continent, objections remained which would plague her reign:
- Among all Catholics she was regarded as illegitimate.
- She was not a Catholic, and she could not be, without forfeiting the Crown.
- There were other clearly legitimate contenders, including Lady Jane Grey's younger sister Catherine, and Mary, Queen of Scots.
- Mary was married to the young King of France, and was a Catholic.
- France and Spain were reconciling, in order to close the Catholic ranks of Europe.
- Fortunately for Elizabeth, France and Spain were far from resolving all differences.
- She helped ensure that they would remain at odds.



France and Spain

- A marriage was to seal the union -- Henry II of France's daughter wed Philip. At a joust in honor of the wedding Henry II was mortally wounded, leaving his son
- Philip II of Spain had no desire to see France gain control of England -- treaty or not, religious unity or not.
- Philip kept an eye on Catherine Grey, while (half-heartedly?) considering a marriage with Elizabeth himself.
- As time went on, the French threat to the English crown decreased and the Spanish increased to the point that, in 1572, England signed a mutual protection treaty with France.
- On the French side: a series of inept kings and the behavior of Mary, Queen of Scots, reduced the threat to nil.
- On the Spanish Side, Philip began to back Mary:
- Philip II was increasingly convinced that he was God's special tool for Counter-Reformation.
- The English were clearly assisting the Dutch Protestant rebels in the Netherlands.
- Elizabeth was encouraging piracy against Spain: Drake was knighted in 1580.



Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-87):

- 1559 -- Protestant clans were in revolt against Mary Guise: The Queen Regent.
- 1560 -- Treaty of Edinburgh: Scottish Lords pledge to Elizabeth.
- 1560 -- Death of Francis II, Queen Mary returns home, denies Treaty of Edinburgh.
- 1562 -- Elizabeth's bout with smallpox.
- 1565 -- Married Henry Stuart.
- 1566 -- James VI of Scotland born.
- 1567 -- Stuart kills David Riccio, Mary's Italian secretary, Mary conspires with James Hepburn to kill Stuart. Scotland responds "Burn the Whore!"
- 1567 -- Mary forced to abdicate in favor of James.
- 1568 -- Mary loses final bid for Scotland.
- 1569 -- (Northern Revolt -- Was Mary in on it?)
- 1570-87 -- She was in on plenty of other plots against Elizabeth. (Esp. "Ridolfi Plot" 1572)
- 1587 -- Under pressure from Parliament and Court Elizabeth signs Mary's death warrant.

The Elizabethan Religious “Settlement”

- Elizabeth could not be Catholic, and would not bend to the increasingly radical Protestantism of her realm.
- A new prayer book, Act of Supremacy, and Act of Uniformity were passed in 1559. All were ambiguous documents designed to maintain peace, not actual uniformity.
- Those who wanted Catholicism or the Geneva model of Protestantism were dissatisfied: those who wanted peace and tolerance of their own beliefs were not.
- 1563 -- Thirty Nine Articles passed: contrary to the book these were not clearly Calvinist, but thoroughly ambiguous, though the “Puritans” thought they had made headway.
- For as many years as possible, Elizabeth maintained balance by a carefully selective enforcement of the Act of Uniformity.
- Puritans, demanding greater reforms, became increasingly restless (though remained thoroughly disinclined)
- Catholics increasingly became martyrs.
- 1569 -- Catholics (and others) in the North revolted and were swiftly put-down.
- 1570 ff. -- Puritans increasingly gained power in Parliament and Court. (ex. Walsingham -- Consummate spy-master of Elizabeth’s reign, used the Geneva connection and a Calvinist underground to move people and information.)
- 1588 -- Armada is seen as a holy cause by Puritans, a dark omen by Catholics. Following: hanging/disebowelling of Priests, and imprisonment/deportation of Puritans under Whitgift.

Constitutional History Sources:

1. Go to the Webpage:
[http://www.constitution.org/sech/sech .htm](http://www.constitution.org/sech/sech.htm)
2. Read the Magna Charta and any other documents which you find helpful to answer the following questions:
3. What types of “rights” were at stake in the enacting of legal protection?
4. Who benefited from the various protective acts?
5. How could these protective laws be enforced?

Elizabethan Government:

- Elizabeth achieved the medieval goal: all power radiated from the crown. It passed outward through the council and court to the Lords.
- This was achieved not through force (Elizabeth had no standing army) but through negotiation, intelligence, and carefully orchestrated “image-building.”
- (including the image of a hanged traitor from time to time)
- Parliament, for Elizabeth, “was an instrument, not a source, of royal authority.” (p. 226)
- The key to controlling Parliament was controlling the Lords.
- The “pocket-borough” system made this possible.
- “Pocket-borough” -- a small political district with an electing population under control of a single landowner/lord.
- In response to the patronage of the Lord the pocket-borough would grant the Lord the privilege of writing-in one of their two names for the House of Commons.
- Therefore, controlling the House of Lords gave Elizabeth’s Council effective control of half of Commons as well.

Paternalism:

- Paternalism: “The crown regulated for the ‘general good’ of the Kingdom.” (191) The good of the Kingdom involved:
 1. Wage and Price controls (economy by decree)
 2. Poor relief
 3. Legislation designed to protect peasants and laborers.
 4. A legal guarantee of hierarchy, and the late medieval *status quo*, all members of society were arranged according to “degree, priority, and place” and were to maintain and uphold their station.



Puritans and Parliament:

- Puritans: to the extent that Paternalism also implied the regulation of the *status quo* of the Elizabethan settlement, there were plenty of religious objections from those who thought that the Reformation in England was incomplete. (Catholics generally remained silent.)
- The House of Commons was a natural forum for Puritan grievances, but it was far from a Puritan stronghold.
- In Elizabeth’s reign, Puritanism was a disorganized mass of religious complaints.
- To the extent that the Puritans were connected with the international phenomenon of Calvinism they were perceived by the Queen and many in both houses as a potential threat: dedicated to the “Kingdom of God on Earth” rather than the Kingdom of England.
- When Peter Wentworth opposed the Queen (223) his imprisonment was greeted with approval (and relief).
- Keep your eye on the Puritans: times were changing...



Tradewinds of Change

- Particularly after the Armada, the relationship between crown and subjects became increasingly strained.
- Catholics and Puritans alike recognized that the Religious Settlement was not to their advantage.
- Unrest regarding the policies of Elizabeth increased in Parliament, particularly with the increase in the size of the House of Commons.
- In the past, scholars have often attributed the conflict between Crown and Commons as stemming from the rise of a class-conscious Puritan gentry.
- While this makes sense out of the events of the 1640’s, it is anachronistic for the Tudor era.
- At the end of Elizabeth’s reign the greatest controversy was not religious but economic: the concern over State control of the economy, especially in granting monopolies.
- Elizabeth’s medieval reign had no control over the rapid development of the concept of free trade.
- As with the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381, the issue was not freedom from oppression, but the economic glass ceiling resulting from government policy.

The Essex Affair

- Among other mounting criticisms of the later Elizabethan government, was the objection to the continued expenditures on unproductive warfare.
- One of the military money-pits of the 1590's was Ireland.
- After Tyrone's rebellion of 1596, Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex and one of the Queen's long line of "favorites" at court, sought the honor of putting down the rebellion.
- He was granted this request, went to Ireland, and failed miserably as a general.
- (He had failed as a leader before, but was repeatedly forgiven. He might have been permanently out at court prior to this, had he not taken-on two young political minds named Anthony and Francis Bacon to advise him.)
- He took it upon himself to make terms with Tyrone.
- On return in 1599, Essex was stripped of office and income. (The Bacon boys left along with others.)
- In 1601 he staged a revolt against Elizabeth, which, like most of his military enterprises, went nowhere.
- His last move upward was up the stairs to the headsman's block.
- The Essex affair cast a dark shadow over the final image of Elizabeth's court, and marked a downturn in her spirits as well.



James I (VI of Scotland)

- On her deathbed, Elizabeth settled a long-standing concern, naming James of Scotland her successor.
- Hopes were high that the problems unresolved by Elizabeth would be swiftly dealt with by James, who had earned a reputation for shrewd leadership in Scotland.
- England was not Scotland.
- James had survived in Scotland through his ability to balance the interests of powerful lords using favors and rewards.
- He failed to establish the swift control of all aspects of government which had been the key to Elizabeth's early success.
- Moreover, he had been left with a bewildering variety of religious and political factions, all of whom looked to James as the answer to their problems, and none of whom could be reconciled with each other.
- He had also been left an impossible financial situation which could not support his usual mode of government.



Money and Parliament (The bane of Kings)

- At the beginning of his reign James resolved to address three outstanding grievances of Parliament:
 1. Monopolies
 2. Purveyance
 3. Wardships
- All three had been the means by which the later Elizabethan court raised money without going through Parliament. All three were abuses of power according to English law.
- Yet, at all levels, the government had become dependent upon under-the-table funds.
- King and Parliament hit an immediate impasse: Parliament was unwilling to discuss alternative forms of royal income, and the King would not give up the present system without alternatives in place.
- "Parliament refused to grant the crown enough money to live on and at the same time insisted that the king should take nothing from his kingdom except what Parliament voted." (248)
- The Great Contract: Designed by Robert Cecil, it was the last hope of financial stability and a resolution of Parliamentary grievances for the Realm. The King would relinquish the three offending practices, and not institute new trade tariffs in exchange for an annual grant of 200k. Parliament refused.

Pound Wise Penny Foolish, part 2

- Parliament refused to meet annually, and their lack of cooperation was exacerbated by the clear evidence that the King wasted money.
- For James, wasting money was an essential part of rulership. Funds, titles, and lands, were the tools to guarantee loyalty among lords.
- He failed to realize that an iron control of Parliament was the means to guarantee funds.
- King and Parliament parted company, with the former raising money by any means necessary, and the latter reducing itself to a forum for complaining about royal abuses.
- The sale of noble titles, especially the newly invented "Baronet" brought some funds to the crown, but it also increased the tensions in Parliament, particularly when a new infusion of nobles entered the House of Lords.
- The King's image was also harmed by the way he played politics close to the vest: surrounding himself with "favorites" but not encouraging those favorites to actually prove themselves by exercising power in public (especially in Parliament.)
- The privy council was treated as a joke when they did appear.



Stuart Religion

- Elizabeth had also left James with irreconcilable religious factions to deal with.
- Puritans and Catholics alike looked to James with hope.
- Of necessity, both were disappointed.
- James immediately arranged for a meeting to settle differences at Hampton Court in 1604.
- While listening to grievances, he also made it clear that he intended to follow the middle way forged by Elizabeth -- the episcopal system would remain in place, further drifting toward Geneva would not occur, and uniformity would be enforced.
- James also commissioned the "new translation" of Scripture at Hampton Court.
- James wisely recognized the need for *status quo* if serious conflict was to be avoided, and he managed to prevent the irreconcilable differences in his realm from erupting.
- When James and Cecil made peace with Spain, however, some among the Catholics in the realm became desperate.

The Gunpowder Plot

- Nov. 5, 1605
- Guy Fawkes and other Catholic conspirators placed kegs of gunpowder in the cellars of Westminster intending to blow up King, Council, and both houses of Parliament.
- Several of the conspirators were unwilling to blow-up Catholic peers, and word of the plot got out, hours before the fuse was lit.
- Many of the Catholic peers were horrified, the King was notified, and the conspirators were caught, and drawn and quartered.
- Guy Fawkes is still burned in effigy on November 5 in England.
- The net result for James was very good -- public sentiment turned sharply against the Catholics in the realm, and James was seen as the defender of Protestantism. Puritan criticisms remained, but there was a new faith in the "middle way" which gained ground throughout James' reign.

Back to War:

- With the eruption of the 30-Years' War on the Continent, there was a clamor for England to support the Protestant cause.
- It was assumed that James *would* help, because his daughter was the Wife of the "Winter King," Frederick V, of the Palatinate, who had just lost his throne as the result of the Catholic reconquest of Bohemia.
- James was not sold on the idea.
- The peace with Spain which had been so necessary was now in peril.
- In a final attempt to cement relations with Spain, Buckingham took young Charles, the heir to the Throne, to Spain to obtain a marriage with the daughter of Philip III.
- The Spanish, and especially the princess, were not interested, and would not be drawn away from support of their Habsburg relatives.
- War with Spain broke out in 1624, with the full support of Parliament.

Colonization:

- If the government finances were in complete disarray, the economy was still booming throughout the reign of James.
- There was tremendous capital available, and English merchants set about establishing massive joint stock ventures for exploration and colonization.
- England was also rich in "human capital" -- thousands of people who were unemployed, or employed at poverty-level jobs.
- Thousands more were frustrated by the wide variety of "glass ceilings" in English society -- resulting from high land prices, monopolies, and the *perception* of social immobility.
- There was also an increasing perception among the "godly" that they were being persecuted.
- The New World promised a release from all of the restrictions, real and imaginary, of English society.
- (Especially for convicts.)

Ireland:

- The #1 destination for colonists in the 17th century.
- There were exceptional benefits to colonizing Ireland:
 1. It was close.
 2. It would eliminate a Catholic threat.
 3. The land was largely unimproved -- ready for the latest farming and sheep raising techniques.
 4. Tariffs and taxes were easy to extract and manage.
 5. The Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell had fled Ireland in 1607, conveniently abandoning their lands in Ulster.
- 59 "Undertakers" were appointed -- Scottish officials who would recruit Protestant settlers for vast estates in Ulster.
- Settlement was stepped-up under the Cromwellian protectorate.

Charles 1: Royal Failure

- At his death, James left Charles the crown and a host of unresolved problems including war and a falling-out with Parliament.
- What he did not give Charles was the training in rulership which would enable him to deal with these problems. (Not that being King would have been easy for anyone, at this time.)
- Charles came to the throne with an image of medieval kingship firmly in place, and with a desire to reproduce the success of the Tudors.
- Parliament was moving in an entirely different direction, along with the rest of the Realm.
- Charles was also hampered by his marriage: Henrietta Maria pushed more and more for an absolutist monarchy of the kind that was developing in France.
- Seemingly unaware of the divide between Crown and Parliament over money, Charles' first act as King was to request a budget of one million pounds for the war in Spain.



Buckingham and Parliament

- Among other problems which Charles inherited was his chief advisor, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
- Buckingham had worn thin with Parliament, and there was widespread concern that the King was being led away from the best interests of England by Buckingham's counsel. Buckingham was behind:
 1. An attempted marriage between Charles and Catholic Spain.
 2. An Actual marriage between Charles and Catholic France.
 3. The military plan which would cost a million pounds, rather than the naval piracy route favored by Parliament.
 4. A phenomenal amount of overt nepotism in James' court.
- When Buckingham launched the disastrous raid on Cadiz (an attempt to fight part of a war and stop) Parliament called for his impeachment and removal.
- Charles refused, and dissolved Parliament, further damaging his reputation, and his budget.
- Charles had dissolved Parliament before they passed his right to the "poundage and tunnage" tariff for that year.
- Still, he regarded it as a success.



Exeunt, Buckingham

- The price of keeping Buckingham had been high. The rift with Parliament could not be healed as things stood.
- Charles and Buckingham resorted to "fiscal feudalism" in order to make-up the financial difference of the loss of poundage and tunnage.
- Left alone in a room with foreign policy, Buckingham began crafting the nails for his own coffin: without making peace with Spain he began a war with France.
- The attempt to reinforce the Huguenots at La Rochelle had all the marks of Buckingham at his military finest --
- It was a complete failure.
- It was necessary to call another Parliament.
- Led by a growing number of powerful men in Commons, Parliament passed the Petition of Right demanding adherence to the traditional rights of property owners and an end to the abuses of fiscal feudalism.
- As a condition of Parliament granting funds, Buckingham had to be dismissed.
- Charles very reluctantly agreed.
- Buckingham was stabbed to death in August, 1628, by an angry sailor.



The Personal Rule: The Beginning

- Charles (probably correctly) blamed one of the Parliamentary leaders, Sir John Eliot, for Buckingham's death.
- Eliot, for his part, was not through with flexing the newfound Parliamentary muscle: early in 1629 he forwarded three hostile resolutions:
 1. All "high-churchmen," and any "suspected of popery," were to be declared "capital enemies" of the Realm.
 2. The same charge would apply to all who were involved with collecting the King's recent taxes.
 3. Anyone who had paid these taxes was to be regarded as a "betrayor of the liberties of England."
- This was an over-the-top bid for Parliamentary power.
- Charles dissolved Parliament again.
- Charles and his advisors, Thomas Wentworth, and Bishop William Laud, determined to make the government work without Parliament.
- If expenditures were limited, fiscal feudalism, and ruthless efficiency in the control of the economy could support the Crown.

The Personal Rule: What was Sought

- Financial independence from Parliament. The historic laws of England had to be ransacked for possible sources of funding, from the old property infringements of fiscal feudalism (now using monopolies as blackmail), to a rigid adherence to the letter of the "ship tax" (even in times of peace.)
- A reduction of expenditures: immediate peace with Spain and France (but especially Spain.)
- Paternalism: peace in the Realm meant keeping the poor fed and as many people as possible employed. Elizabeth had established the pattern. The economy had to be controlled to that end.
- The complete control of such an economy by decree combined with Paternalism formed the policy known as "thorough."
- Uniformity: according to Laud, peace in the Realm also required the suppression of the religious dissent which lay behind the more radical factions of Parliament. Conformity was a matter of the security of the state and should be enforced accordingly.
- Efficiency: at all levels (except that of the King) government waste and corruption had to be curtailed (no matter how embedded such corruption was.)

The Personal Rule: What went Wrong

- FINANCES: (278) Superimposing a "command economy" on a thriving free market was a disaster. Those most needed to support the financial measures, the mobile merchant class resented it. Smuggling increased and was widely approved. Inflation was spotty, but could be severe. The budget was balanced, but only through ever more ruthless measures.
- PATERNALISM: A forced policy of poor relief and mandatory employment contributed to wild swings in certain parts of the economy, and growing resentment of both the King and the "idle." The return to fiscal feudalism was seen as a return to that which had been rightly overcome a generation before.
- CONFORMITY: Laud's vicious enforcement of a narrowly defined Anglicanism was met with resistance as well. While the Arminians had been on the rise, they came to be resented, and the Puritans, long the symbol of intolerance to the majority, found themselves replaced in that role.
- RELIGION: As a result of the policy of uniformity, the image that Catholicism was gradually taking-over grew. Anti-Catholic sentiment peaked, and the High Church party was rolled-up in the blanket condemnation of "papism."
- BUREAUCRACY: Charles lacked the money and the bureaucratic infrastructure to make "absolutism" work -- the will of the gentry was needed to enforce the system, and they were precisely the ones who were outraged by all the above measures.

Calvinist, Arminian, Low Church, High Church, and Catholic

- Calvinist -- by far the dominant form of Christianity under the Stuarts. Some pushed for ever greater reform, while others preferred to graft Calvinist doctrines onto the time-honored rituals and structure of the Church of England.
- Arminian -- named after Jacob Arminius, a Dutch theologian who rejected predestination. In England, this is something of a misnomer: the "Arminians" were really "anti-Calvinists" a growing movement under the Stuarts to reject predestination and other Calvinist doctrines, in favor of doctrines which were in accord with the Church Fathers of the first four to eight centuries, and the Tradition of English Worship.
- Low Church -- refers to a preference for simple rituals, no vestments, and no images, more like the preaching services of Geneva. Typically Calvinist.
- High Church -- a preference for the more elaborate traditional ceremonies, vestments, and worship trappings of western Christianity, including those developed specifically in England. Typical of "Arminians."
- Catholic -- Specific allegiance to the Roman Pope. During the later Tudor and Stuart periods up to 1/5 of the nobility was Catholic. The Jesuits were also active in England, and there was a small but significant trend toward converting back to Catholicism.

Parliaments: Short and Long

- WAR: In 1639, Charles and Laud demanded religious conformity in Scotland (as well as a return of Church lands to the Church, in the Act of Revocation). The Scottish Lords rose in rebellion.
- Expecting to be met with patriotic unity against the threat of invasion, Charles summoned Parliament.
- Patriotism was in short supply, and when the Parliamentary session consisted of a two-hour harangue from John Pym on the grievances of the commons against the crown, Charles dissolved this "Short Parliament."
- The Scots invaded and routed the northern English recruits who were sent to stop them.
- The Scots demanded 850 pounds a day from the English until a settlement could be reached.
- (Time to call Parliament again.)
- This time the ministers recognized that they had the leverage to control the King.
- "M.P.'s from every sector of the Kingdom were willing to make common cause to change an increasingly unpopular system that, as a consequence of the Scottish humiliation, had totally broken down." (286)

Resolutions without Resolve

- What followed in early 1641 was a series of radical measures on the part of Parliament directed against royal power.
- Increasingly, Parliament itself was divided over the steps being taken.
- This split leads to the taking of sides in the Civil War.
- Triennial Act: Parliament would meet every three years whether called by the King or not.
- All non-Parliamentary taxation was illegal. (Ending fiscal feudalism and putting Poundage and Tunnage entirely in control of Parliament.)
- The Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission (the instruments of enforcement of the Personal Rule) were abolished.
- Charles was forced to dismiss Wentworth and Laud, who were attainted (stripped of all civil rights), and sentenced to death.
- Wentworth was executed in May. (Laud not until 1645.)
- September 1641 -- "Root and Branch Bill" abolishes the episcopacy (bogs down in the upper house)
- November 1641 -- Grand Remonstrance lists continued outstanding grievances against the crown. Passes by eleven votes.

The Final Steps to War

- It was clear that the more radical faction in Parliament under “King” Pym were not only pushing in Parliament, but were also encouraging anti-monarchy sentiment in the streets. Rumors of Catholic atrocities in North Ireland, and of Catholic invasion to save the King ran wild.
- January 1642 -- Charles “invades” Parliament to arrest Pym and four others. (They had gotten word and were absent.)
- February 1642 -- Militia Bill strips the King of the power of military appointment (this is transferred to Parliament) Passed by twenty-three votes.
- June 1642 -- Nineteen Propositions -- All power of law and appointment of the King’s council is transferred to Parliament (Charles was expected to sign this?)
- Committee on Safety -- formed as a rival government to the crown, a Parliamentary Army is formed, and Charles is declared an “aggressor.”
- August 22, 1642, Charles raises his standard at Nottingham. Those who were concerned that Parliament had gone too far joined with committed supporters of the King.



1642-46

- Commons had lost 236 members to the Royalist side. Around 270 remained. Not all of those were committed to defeating the King.
- Royal victories were the rule for the first year of the war.
- 1643 -- Solemn League and Covenant brings Scotland in on the side of Parliament.
- 1644 -- With the aid of Scotland Parliament wins the Battle of Marston Moor. No follow-up.
- December 1644 -- Self-Denying Ordinance removes members of Parliament from military office.
- The New Model Army took over, under Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell: well-drilled, well-financed, and rank was organized on merit, not birth.
- March 1645 the sweep of Royalists by the N.M.A. permanently turns the tide of war.
- “Clubmen” rise in the Southwest and Cornwall -- rural commoners demanding peace from both sides.
- May 5, 1646 -- Charles surrenders to the Scots.

1646-49

- Radicalism is in the air -- to win the war, Parliament had to take extreme measures. This resonated through society and small groups of partisans, Levellers, Diggers, Fifth Monarchists, etc. formed calling for far more extreme changes. (See the book on this).
- Millennial expectations intensify the effect.
- 1647-48 saw a reaction in Parliament, among a sizeable “conservative” faction alarmed by the direction of society.
- This was exacerbated by the threat of rebellion among Parliamentary soldiers. The War had thrown Parliament into debt, and the soldiers were unpaid and unsupported afterward. (Regular pay was an innovation, and the downfall of the New Model Army.)
- Conservatives in Parliament joined with Charles, and the Scots, to bring the King back, with huge concessions, and put an end to threats of unrest. This was easily the majority preference throughout the Realm.
- A group of radicals in Parliament responded and the “second civil war” was effected.
- Dec. 6, 1648, Parliament is closed and 110 conservatives forcibly evicted. 160 other M.P.s refused to take their seats when Parliament resumed.
- What was left was the “Rump Parliament.” Barely a quorum, questionably legal, but the only alternative government to the King.
- The Rump decided to put the King on trial -- less than 1/10 of those who had originally made war on the King were involved in this decision.

Trial and Execution

- The trial was odd -- Charles showed-up and refused to defend himself. Few of those remaining in Parliament who had been chosen to sit in judgment showed up: 68/135.
- Charles refused to remove his hat and openly ridiculed the authority of the Court, laughing when he was declared a “traitor” to the people who had overthrown their rights and liberties.
- When the court recommended that Charles be executed there were only 46 M.P.’s sitting in Parliament . By a very narrow vote (26-20) The execution of Charles was passed.
- The bottom-line: A man named Cromwell and a few of his associates would not stop until Charles was dead.
- Cromwell: “A monarch must obey the law and protect, not make war on, his subjects.”
- At the execution, Charles reminded the people of what many of them were aware of: whatever laws he had abridged in his reign, the most significant transgression of the Laws of England had just occurred in his sentence.
- The axe swung once.
- The crowd responded with a groan.
- The ‘Godly minority’ won. But momentum was already swinging the other way.