KING HENRY VIII, THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE TUDOR SOCIETY (1509- 1570)

A dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in English, Political Science and History

Submitted by

Meghna Banerjee

Reg. No. 2134058

Under the guidance of Dr Anna Varghese and Dr M Christhu Doss

Department of Political Science and History

CHRIST (Deemed to be University), BANNERGHATTA ROAD CAMPUS BENGALURU

April 20, 2024

APPROVAL OF DISSERTATION

Dissertation titled "*King Henry VIII, The Reformation of the Church of England and the Tudor Society*" by Meghna Banerjee, 2134058 is approved for the degree of Bachelors of Arts in (EPH) English, Political Science and History.

Examiners:

Date:

Place: CHRIST (Deemed to be University),

Bangalore.

DECLARATION OF GUIDE

This is to certify that Meghna Banerjee has completed her dissertation titled "*King Henry VIII, The Reformation of the Church of England and the Tudor Society*" under my guidance. She consulted me at regular intervals during the period of the course to report the progress.

Name and Signature of the Guide:

Name and Signature of the HoD:

DECLARATION OF STUDENT

I, Meghna Banerjee (2134058), student of BA English, Political science and History, hereby declare that I have well researched on my topic "King Henry VIII, The Reformation of the Church of England and the Tudor Society". The dissertation is original work done by me as part of my Bachelor degree in English, Political science and History (EPH). This dissertation is submitted to CHRIST (deemed to be university) in partial fulfilment of the requirement for my BA course English Political Science and History. The content in the dissertation is self written not copied from any other work. I further declare that this Dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree or diploma course to any University or Institution.

Signature of the candidate:

Meghna Banerjee (2134058)

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation submitted by Meghna Banerjee - 2434058 titled “King Henry VIII, Reformation of the Church of England and the Tudor Society” is a record of research work done by her during the academic year 2023-2024 under my supervision for the partial fulfilment for the award of Bachelor of Arts in English Political science and History (EPH). The dissertation is not submitted to any other fellowship and the dissertation has not been sent for publication.

Place: CHRIST (Deemed to be University), Bangalore

Date:

Signature of the Supervisor:

Dr Anna Varghese

Assistant Professor

Department of Political Science and History,

CHRIST (Deemed to be University), Bangalore

Signature of Head of the Department:

Dr.Venkatanarayanan S

Department of Political Science and History,

CHRIST (Deemed to be University), Bangalore

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank CHRIST (Deemed to be University), Banerghatta Road Campus and Dr Venkatanarayanan S, the Head of Department of Political Science and History for giving me the opportunity to conduct this dissertation.

I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Anna Varghese for providing me with immeasurable guidance, support and encouragement through the course of my research. Ma'am's input, feedback and constructive contribution to my dissertation has made a very significant impact on my research and helped me proceed with my work. I would also like to thank Dr Christhu Doss for helping me arrange my topic systematically, for going through my initial chapters and for always being available for feedback and support.

I would like to thank all my history professors for igniting in me the curiosity that I harbour for the subject and for imbibing in me the temperament to delve into the nuances of the past. I would also extend my gratitude towards my family, for supporting my academic choices and always providing fruitful advice and guidance.

Last, but not the least, I would like to thank my friends for going through my work and providing fruitful peer reviews and feedback. The knowledge shared and passed on between us will forever be cherished by me. I am also grateful for each and every person who has contributed even in the simplest of ways to help me complete my dissertation.

Meghna Banerjee

2134058

ABSTRACT

This dissertation will focus on the factors which contributed to the breakaway of England from papal authority and the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, it will analyse the impact of the English Reformation on the various dimensions of English society in the medieval era, including its people, education, economy, art and literature. The dissertation will also examine the effects that the Reformation had on England's relations with Catholic nations such as Rome, Spain and France, whilst also evaluating the spread of Reformation in Ireland and Scotland. Finally, the dissertation will provide a brief overview of the Tudor successors of Henry VIII and their contribution to the Reformation.

Keywords: *Henry VIII, Tudor, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Church of England, Reformation.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER- 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

The English Reformation has been one of the most discussed and debated movements in history. The event was carried out in several stages spanning over the 16th century. The stages witnessed the dissolution of monasteries, abolition of the mass as well as the use of the English Language instead of Latin during religious proceedings. Needless to say, the English Reformation had perpetual implications on the broader society, public opinion and international ties of England. This multifaceted event had its roots during the reign of King Henry VIII and started as a political movement.

King Henry VIII, born in June 1491, was the second son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. On the death of his older brother, Prince Arthur, Henry VIII became heir to the throne. He ascended the throne in 1509 and ruled until his death in 1547. The King was best known for his turbulent marital life and his breakaway from the Roman Catholic Church. His quest to yield a male heir to the throne caused him to marry six times, during which he had two of his marriages annulled and beheaded two of his wives.

This Dissertation, with the help of textual and visual analysis of various political and religious documents of the era, books and papers, as well as paintings of the time, will explain the motives behind and the consequences and legacy of the Reformation of the Anglican Church during the reign of King Henry VIII.

1.2 Literature Review

To conduct research on the chosen topic, I have amalgamated literary texts from different eras, both primary and secondary, to get a more comprehensive understanding of the topic. The Reformation of the Church of England has been considered to be unique and different from the other reformations that took place in the continent.

The reign of King Henry VIII of England and the subsequent English Reformation stand as pivotal moments in the history of England and Europe. This six-page literature review aims to delve into the multifaceted aspects of this historical period, shedding light on the events, motivations, and repercussions associated with the actions of Henry VIII and the profound transformation of the English Church.

King Henry VIII, who reigned from 1509 to 1547, belonged to the Tudor dynasty, which had established its rule in England after the tumultuous Wars of the Roses. The Tudors brought relative stability and prosperity to the nation. Henry VIII's accession to the throne marked the beginning of a dynamic period in English history, marked by political manoeuvring, religious upheaval, and the quest for a male heir.

The Tudor dynasty had a profound impact on England and beyond, and King Henry VIII's role in initiating the English Reformation remains a central aspect of their legacy.

The tumultuous journey of King Henry VIII and his quest for an annulment from his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, was a pivotal chapter in the lead-up to the English Reformation. At the heart of this complex narrative were a confluence of personal, dynastic, and political circumstances. One of the most pressing concerns was the absence of a male heir to secure the Tudor dynasty's future. Catherine, originally married to Henry's older brother Arthur, had become a widow, and her subsequent marriage to Henry produced only one surviving child, a

daughter named Mary. The absence of a male heir raised grave questions about the stability of the Tudor succession.

The dynastic imperative weighed heavily on Henry's mind. The Wars of the Roses had torn England apart, and the Tudor dynasty had emerged as the reconciling force following the conflict. To ensure a stable royal lineage and prevent a return to the tumultuous civil strife of the past, the birth of a male heir was seen as crucial. The absence of such an heir, in Henry's eyes, represented a potential threat to the Tudor legacy.

Amid these concerns, the marriage between Henry and Catherine became a subject of debate. The roots of the issue lay in the Catholic Church's strict teachings on marriage and divorce. Moreover, as a member of the powerful Spanish Habsburg dynasty, Catherine was closely related to the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, and Charles's political influence weighed on the Pope's decisions.

As Henry sought an annulment from Catherine, his relationship with the Pope, Clement VII, became increasingly strained. Pope Clement VII found himself in a precarious position, caught in the crossfire of political and religious conflicts.

The Pope's reluctance to grant the annulment was influenced by the fact that Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor and Catherine's nephew, exerted considerable pressure on the papal decisions. Granting an annulment to Henry, effectively declaring his marriage to Catherine invalid, would not only jeopardize the interests of Charles V but could also plunge Europe into a diplomatic and political quagmire.

To secure the annulment, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Henry's chief minister, was dispatched to negotiate with the Pope. Wolsey, however, was unable to secure the desired outcome, leading to his fall from favor. The Pope's unwillingness to grant the annulment on grounds of Henry's

marriage's invalidity or the Levitical prohibition led Henry to seek an alternative course of action.

In 1534, Henry took a momentous step. With the passage of the Act of Supremacy, he declared himself the Supreme Head of the Church of England. This marked a significant turning point in the English Reformation. The English Church now stood separated from the authority of the Pope in Rome, and Henry wielded the ultimate religious and secular authority within his realm.

The Act of Supremacy in 1534 not only severed England from the papal authority but also formally established the Church of England. This institution, often referred to as the Anglican Church, marked a significant departure from the religious status quo in England.

The creation of the Church of England, with Henry as its head, redefined the religious landscape of the nation. The monarch's position as the ultimate religious authority within the realm was cemented, consolidating his power and influence. The Church of England, while distinct from the Catholic Church, maintained certain traditional Catholic practices and rituals.

Simultaneously, the dissolution of monasteries played a critical role in shaping the English Reformation. In the 1530s, Henry ordered the dissolution of monasteries across the nation. This had profound economic and social consequences, as monastic lands and properties were seized and redistributed. The wealth amassed from this dissolution became a substantial source of revenue for Henry and enabled him to reduce his financial dependence on Parliament and the aristocracy.

The English Reformation was not merely a result of Henry's desire for an annulment or his subsequent dispute with the Pope. It was a multifaceted transformation shaped by a complex interplay of religious and political motivations including, doctrinal disputes, emergence of Protestantism, and role of key figures including Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The English Reformation allowed Henry to consolidate power by breaking free from the authority of the Pope and gaining control over religious institutions and wealth. The dissolution of monasteries provided Henry with a substantial source of revenue, reducing his financial dependence on Parliament and the aristocracy. The English Reformation was influenced by international politics and alliances. Henry's desire for an annulment and the subsequent break with Rome were driven, in part, by diplomatic considerations and his desire to secure his own marital future. The issue of the male heir was a pressing concern throughout the Tudor dynasty. The English Reformation ultimately enabled Henry to marry Anne Boleyn, leading to the birth of Elizabeth I, who succeeded to the throne.

The English Reformation significantly strained diplomatic relations between England and Spain, a Catholic nation and a key player on the European stage. The primary source of tension lay in King Henry VIII's decision to seek an annulment from Catherine of Aragon, who was not only a Spanish princess but also the aunt of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. This familial connection added a layer of complexity to the diplomatic standoff.

The English Reformation had a more complex and shifting impact on diplomatic relations with France, a historically rival Catholic nation. England and France had a long history of conflicts, with intermittent alliances. The religious and political turmoil introduced new variables into this relationship. Francis I and Henry VIII: Francis I, King of France, initially expressed sympathy for Henry's quest for an annulment. He perceived an opportunity to strengthen the traditional rivalry between England and the Holy Roman Empire. However, Francis's support was inconsistent, as he did not wish to provoke Charles V too aggressively.

The diplomatic landscape was dynamic. England, France, and the Holy Roman Empire often shifted alliances, depending on the changing dynamics of European politics. The English

Reformation and the subsequent break with Rome introduced a religious dimension to these alliances.

In 1526, Henry VIII, France, and several Italian states formed the League of Cognac, which aimed to counter the power of Charles V. This alliance was significant as it was driven, in part, by shared anti-Habsburg sentiments rather than religious unity. It marked a temporary alignment of England and France against the Holy Roman Empire.

After the Act of Supremacy, Henry VIII found it increasingly difficult to secure international alliances with traditional Catholic powers. As a result, he gradually pivoted toward forging closer relations with France.

In 1546, Henry signed the Treaty of More with France, marking a rapprochement between the two old adversaries. This treaty marked the culmination of a series of negotiations and overtures between England and France.

The English Reformation paradoxically contributed to the end of the traditional rivalry between England and France, as religious and political considerations converged to foster cooperation.

Henry VIII's foreign policy reflected a degree of political realism, as he sought alliances that served his immediate political and dynastic interests rather than strict religious adherence.

In an attempt to secure the annulment and maintain good relations with Spain, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Henry's chief minister, embarked on several diplomatic missions. These diplomatic efforts were intended to persuade the Pope to grant the annulment. However, they proved futile, as the Pope was cautious about antagonizing Charles V, one of the most powerful rulers of the time. When diplomatic efforts failed, Henry took the unprecedented step of breaking with Rome. In 1534, he enacted the Act of Supremacy, declaring himself as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. This move represented a direct challenge to the authority of the Pope and marked the official separation from the Roman Catholic Church.

The Act of Supremacy was a radical departure from traditional Catholic orthodoxy, and it had a profound impact on England's diplomatic relations with Spain. In response, Pope Clement VII excommunicated Henry from the Catholic Church, further isolating England from the wider Catholic world. Charles V, who wielded immense influence over a vast empire, including Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Low Countries, was a staunch defender of the Catholic Church's authority. He responded by exerting diplomatic and military pressure on England, aiming to protect the Catholic Church from what he perceived as heresy. Charles V's pressure included the threat of military intervention in England to enforce the Pope's excommunication. This threat loomed large over Henry VIII, who was acutely aware of the military might at Charles's disposal. The English Reformation significantly constrained England's diplomatic options. It was increasingly isolated from traditional Catholic allies, and its relations with Catholic powers like Spain remained strained for years. Diplomatic channels that had previously been open became fraught with tension and mistrust.

The English Reformation introduced a religious schism that created deep fault lines in Europe's diplomatic landscape. The division between Catholic and Protestant nations was a defining feature of international relations during this period. he English Reformation exacerbated religious polarization in Europe. England's separation from the Catholic Church marked it as a Protestant entity in a predominantly Catholic continent. This division was not limited to theological differences but was deeply intertwined with political and diplomatic considerations. England found itself in a challenging position. It sought alliances with other Protestant states, such as the German princes of the Schmalkaldic League, to counter the Catholic alliance led by Charles V. However, these alliances were often tenuous and driven by the immediate political and military realities rather than shared religious convictions.

The English Reformation was not solely the result of monarchs' decisions and political maneuvering; it was also significantly shaped by the active involvement of the public and the

emergence of various religious groups, most notably the Puritans. These religious movements played a crucial role in influencing the trajectory of the Reformation, the Church of England, and the monarchy. This period of transformation had a profound impact on English society and politics, setting the stage for lasting religious and political changes. The English Reformation sparked the emergence of diverse religious groups, each with its own set of beliefs, often challenging the traditional practices of the Catholic Church and the newly established Church of England. These groups ranged from radical reformers to those advocating for more moderate changes, reflecting the breadth of religious sentiment during this period. Among the various religious groups that emerged during the English Reformation, the Puritans played a prominent role. The Puritans were a reformist faction within the Church of England who sought to "purify" the church from what they saw as remnants of Catholic practices. Their beliefs and convictions were characterized by several key elements:

Puritans held a strong commitment to "sola scriptura," emphasizing the Bible as the sole source of authority in matters of faith and practice. They believed that traditional practices, rituals, and ecclesiastical hierarchies should be reformed in accordance with biblical teachings.

Puritans were influenced by the theological teachings of John Calvin, including the doctrine of predestination, which held that God had already determined the fate of each individual. This doctrine shaped their understanding of salvation and the elect.

The Puritans advocated for a simpler form of worship that excluded what they perceived as "popish" rituals. They favoured plain church buildings, unadorned vestments, and the exclusion of images and elaborate ceremonies. Moral and ethical discipline was a cornerstone of Puritan beliefs. They encouraged strict adherence to a moral code, which included temperance, hard work, and strong family values.

The Puritans' interactions with the Church of England and the monarchy were marked by tension and negotiation, as they sought to influence the religious direction of the nation. Puritans were initially a faction within the Church of England, advocating for reforms from within. They sought to influence the church's doctrine, liturgy, and religious practices through various channels, including Parliament, ecclesiastical synods, and royal advisors. The Puritans' efforts often clashed with the interests of the monarchy, as the Tudor and Stuart monarchs saw the Church of England as a crucial element of their authority. Monarchs like Elizabeth I and James I were determined to maintain a degree of religious uniformity and resisted radical changes sought by the Puritans. As tensions escalated, Puritans faced persecution, both within the Church and by the monarchy. Nonconformity with the religious practices of the Church of England led to dissent, and many Puritans were marginalized or persecuted. Puritans continually pushed for religious reforms and voiced their concerns. They presented proposals for change through petitions, pamphlets, and writings, engaging in a dialogue with the authorities.

The religious movements, including the Puritans, left an indelible mark on English society and politics during the English Reformation. The emergence of various religious groups, including the Puritans, introduced religious diversity into English society. While the Church of England remained the established church, these movements brought about a multiplicity of religious beliefs and practices. The tension between the established church and the Puritans, as well as other religious groups, led to religious conflicts. These conflicts sometimes spilled over into political disputes and unrest. The English Reformation and the religious struggles that accompanied it played a role in the development of parliamentary power. As the monarchy sought to maintain religious control, Parliament became a forum for debating and shaping religious policies. The religious diversity and conflicts of this period contributed to a growing acceptance of religious toleration. The experience of religious persecution and conflict paved

the way for later developments in religious liberty and pluralism. The religious fervour and debates of this period influenced English literature, producing works like John Bunyan's "The Pilgrim's Progress" and John Milton's "Paradise Lost." These writings reflected the religious and moral concerns of the era.

The reigns of Henry VIII's successors, including Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I, played a pivotal role in the development and consolidation of the English Reformation. Each monarch's religious policies and decisions had a profound impact on the course of the Reformation and left a lasting legacy that continues to shape the religious landscape of England. Edward's reign saw the consolidation of Protestant reforms. Influenced by his regents, such as the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland, the young king presided over the enforcement of Protestant doctrines. The introduction of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and the Second Act of Uniformity in 1552 standardized Protestant worship practices. These liturgical changes promoted the use of English in religious services and the simplification of rituals, emphasizing the centrality of the sermon.

Edward's government promoted iconoclasm, the destruction of religious images, and the dissolution of chantries. These measures sought to remove remnants of Catholic practices and extinguish the veneration of saints. Chantries were religious institutions established for prayer, and their dissolution was part of the broader movement to strip religious practices of perceived superstition. Edward's Protestant reforms were met with resistance from traditionalist Catholics. This resistance sometimes led to conflicts and acts of rebellion, most notably the Prayer Book Rebellion in the southwest of England in 1549. Although Protestantism was gaining ground, it was not universally embraced.

Edward's reign left an indelible mark on the English Reformation by firmly establishing Protestantism within the Church of England. The liturgical and doctrinal changes introduced

during his reign became enduring features of the Church and laid the foundation for a distinctively English Protestant identity.

Mary I, Henry VIII's daughter with Catherine of Aragon, ascended to the throne in 1553. Her reign represented a significant reversal of the Protestant reforms introduced by her predecessors and a determined effort to restore Catholicism to England. Mary moved swiftly to reverse the religious reforms of her brother, Edward. The Act of Uniformity (1553) reintroduced the Latin Mass, and the Book of Common Prayer was abolished. Mary aimed to restore the traditional Catholic liturgy and practices that had been eradicated during Edward's reign. Mary's reign was infamous for the persecution of Protestants, leading to hundreds of executions by burning at the stake. Prominent figures like Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer were among those who faced martyrdom. This period of persecution earned Mary the epithet "Bloody Mary." Mary's religious policies included the reestablishment of papal authority in England. The country was once again subject to the Pope's jurisdiction, signalling a return to Rome's ecclesiastical control. The persecution of Protestants during Mary's reign had a profound and lasting impact on English society. The memories of the Marian Persecutions remained a source of religious trauma and engendered anti-Catholic sentiment for generations.

The death of Mary I in 1558 and the ascension of her half-sister Elizabeth I marked a pragmatic and politically astute approach to religion. Elizabeth's reign saw the establishment of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement, a compromise designed to maintain religious stability.

Elizabeth's reign witnessed the establishment of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement, which aimed to strike a balance between Catholic and Protestant traditions. The Act of Uniformity (1559) reintroduced the Book of Common Prayer, while the Thirty-Nine Articles (1563) delineated the doctrinal foundations of the Church of England. These measures combined elements of both Catholicism and Protestantism.

Elizabeth was declared the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, rather than the Supreme Head. This nuanced change allowed her to maintain royal supremacy without explicitly separating the English Church from papal authority, demonstrating her political pragmatism.

Elizabeth's approach to religion allowed for relative religious tolerance. While she sought to establish religious uniformity within the Church of England, she did not conduct widespread religious persecutions. This approach aimed to stabilize the religious situation in the country. Elizabeth's religious policies were driven by political pragmatism. She understood the importance of stability and sought to maintain a religious settlement that would minimize religious conflict and unify her realm.

Elizabeth's reign and the Elizabethan Religious Settlement left a profound and lasting legacy. The Church of England, as established during her reign, became a broad-based institution with elements of both Catholicism and Protestantism. This "via media" or middle way characterized the enduring character of the Church of England and remains a hallmark of Anglican identity.

The research gap established after conducting an extensive literature review is the effect of the reformation on the ties of England with her allies such as Spain and Scotland, how the Reformation failed in Ireland, the effect the Reformation had on the women of England and the roles played by them in the movement.

1.3 Hypothesis

Henry VIII's Reformation of the English Church, marked by the establishment of the Church of England, dissolution of monasteries, and the shift in religious doctrine, had profound and multifaceted effects on English society. It contributed to the consolidation of royal authority, triggered religious upheaval, and transformed cultural practices. Additionally, these religious changes had significant implications for England's diplomatic ties with its European allies. As

Henry distanced England from the Papal authority and pursued his own religious path, diplomatic relations were strained and realigned, leading to both tensions and opportunities in the international arena. This study aims to examine the extent to which Henry VIII's Reformation reshaped English society and influenced the country's diplomatic relationships with its European allies during the 16th century.

1.4 Research Objectives

This dissertation aims at identifying, understanding and analysing the different repercussions that the Reformation of the English Church during the rule of King Henry VIII had. These effects include effects on the English society, literature and economy, the effects the reformation had on England's diplomatic ties with neighbouring Catholic countries, and how it was carried on during reigns the Tudor monarchs who succeeded Henry VIII. The dissertation aims to interpret these repercussions with context to the Medieval era.

1.5 Tentative Chapterization

The dissertation will comprise of five chapters which will have sub-parts discussing the various aspects of the topic. The first chapter will be the introduction which will consist of a background of the topic, literature review, research objectives, hypothesis, and tentative chapterization.

The second chapter of the dissertation will discuss the early life, marriage and initial years of reign of King Henry VIII leading to the Reformation. It will also encompass the passage of the Act of Supremacy, 1534, and its implications. Moreover, the chapter will discuss the initial stages of the Dissolution of Monasteries.

The third chapter will describe the public reaction to the Dissolution of Monasteries, the impact of the Reformation on the youth of England, women and education, as well as art and literature.

The fourth chapter will analyse the effect of the Reformation on England's diplomatic ties with countries such as France, Spain, Roman Empire, Ireland and Scotland. It will also decipher the effects of the reformation on England's position in the international arena in a wider aspect. The chapter will discuss how the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I, shaped the Reformation and how it continues to be a legacy.

The final chapter or the Conclusion will infer on the findings of the previous chapters while commenting on the legacy of King Henry VIII and how the Reformation has shaped modern day Britain.

The Dissertation will conclude with a Bibliography of all the sources utilized to conduct research and compose the paper.

.

CHAPTER- 2

The Road to Reformation

2.1 Early Days as a Monarch

The Tudor dynasty came into being when Henry VII, popularly known as Henry Tudor, ascended the throne in 1485. Henry, the heir to the house of Lancaster married Elizabeth of York, the daughter of King Edward IV. This marriage ended the long anarchy over the English crown and created the foundation for the Tudor dynasty.

Henry VIII was the second son of King Henry VII. He acceded the throne on the death of his older brother, and first son of King Henry VII, in 1509. Ed Rawdon Brown has provided a vivid description of the young Henry VIII in his Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice, Volume 2, 1509-1519. Brown describes Henry VIII as an exceedingly handsome, twenty-nine-year-old monarch. According to Brown, Henry VIII was very fair and more good looking than any Christian sovereign, even more so than the King of France. With a well-structured physique, Henry VIII has been said to have a reddish beard that resembled gold. As per Miles F. Shore, in his book Henry VIII and the Crisis of Generativity, the monarch had had a particularly strict upbringing. As expected in royal children, the king's childhood was filled with wealth and exorbitant presents, however, it was also accompanied by an almost cruel discipline in preparation for the throne or the duties of an adult royal. This may have caused a psychological effect on the mind of the then prince, having to face excessive show of love as well as brutality at the hands of the same set of people. There were also other hot and cold aspects of royal life, for instance, there were days on end filled with ceremonies and gatherings, followed by periods of extreme lull. Due to the constant movement of the court from one location to another, the children, including the then Prince Henry, experienced long

periods of separation with their parents. Moreover, King Henry VII is said to have had a household of meagre spending as compared to other royals, and that King Henry VIII's extravagance may be attributed to the dullness of his childhood. However, Henry VIII did receive a unique education. Even though Henry VIII was not the heir apparent, he was taught by the methods of "The New Learning" that emerged in the early 1500s. He was the first generation of Tudors from whom more than just war and fighting skills was expected. Henry VIII is said to have been an intelligent child, with talent in the field of music where he would rework the compositions of others.

After the death of his older brother, Arthur, in 1502, four months after his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII was transitioned into more care and protection. Henry VII died in 1509, within two months of which Henry VIII acceded the throne. Six weeks later, he was married to Catherine of Aragon, to whom he had been engaged since 1503 as a papal dispensation had been granted to Henry VIII, allowing him to wed his brother's widow.

On accession to the throne, Henry VIII has been described by Brown to have been a spendthrift, spending one-half of the enormous wealth that his father left him in a war against France. The monarch led an exorbitant life as mentioned by J J Scarisbrick in his book "Henry VIII". Scarisbrick described how the king led a 'spectacular' life and was indulgent in 'throwing away money' as gambling was his major pastime. England under his reign could also be described as the 'dazzling' kingdom.

Shore describes Henry VIII as the Renaissance ruler with an active interest in the intellectuals of his court, and their ideas. He engaged in discussions with learned men such as Sir Thomas More, was well versed in Colet and Erasmus. Ironically, in the face of growing anti-Protestant movements in England, the monarch composed the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, a treatise defending the papacy of Rome. Gifts and presents sent from the papacy to the monarch also

revealed the bonds of solidarity between the Church and the State. According to Margaret Mitchell, in her article "Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII: A Study of Anglo-Papal Relations as Reflected in Papal Gifts to the English Kings", Henry VIII pursued a very different foreign policy as compared to his father, Henry VII. The latter had followed a policy of isolation, wherein, England had little to no ties with any other country apart from France. However, Henry VIII not only wanted to extend the territory of his kingdom but also establish the splendour and superiority of England over the neighbouring nations. In the initial years of his reign, he was said to have given encouragement to Italian workers and artisans to strengthen his relations with the papacy. Pope Julius II was said to have looked up to the monarch for support in a 'holy' war against France. However, it was with Pope Leo X that the young monarch enjoyed shared interests and ideas, such as literature, poetry, music and oratory. After a series of successes in the 'holy war' against France, the Pope bestowed the Holy Sword and the Cap of Maintenance on King Henry VIII. On the other hand, the king too conferred the Pope's family, that is, the Medicis with land grants and gifts and bestowed the latter's brother, Guiliano with the Order of the Garter. He also offered the Pope Protectorship of England. In less than ten years of reign, Henry VIII had placed England in an important position in Europe and had strengthened bonds of solidarity with the papacy.

In the beginning of his reign, Henry VIII relied wholly on the advisors of his father, Henry VII. However, from 1510- 1529 Cardinal Wolsey looked after the daily affairs of the government. The monarch was unavailable for extended periods, however, was always present at the right time to take matters into his own hands. Henry VIII learned valuable lessons in kingship from the Cardinal who was the master of his game. The monarch and his advisor remained close till 1529, when the former seeked a divorce from Catherine of Aragon to marry Anne Boleyn. Wolsey's downfall began during the proceedings of the divorce when his negotiations were sidelined by the King. Later matters worsened to the extent that Wolsey was allowed to visit

Henry VIII only when Anne Boleyn granted the former the permission to do so. Wolsey's subsequent decline resulted in the rise of the 'fourth alter rex' as described by Shore, Thomas Cromwell, the third alter rex being Anne Boleyn.

2.2 Marriage and Subsequent Divorce to Catherine of Aragon

Henry VIII married Catherine of Aragon in 1509, six weeks after he became King. Catherine was 23 at the time of their marriage, making her seven years older to the eighteen-year old monarch. Catherine was the daughter of King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castille. She had earlier been married to Henry VIII's older brother, Prince Arthur. Their marriage ended when the prince died unexpectedly. A few years after his death, Catherine was betrothed to Henry VIII. At the time of their wedding, Henry VIII was said to have been very much in love with his brother's widow. During the years of the French war, when the young King was away from court for extended periods, Catherine acted as the responsible and patient regent. According to Mattingly, Catherine treated Henry VIII as a young boy. Although the union was viewed by society as a happy one, the marriage was in actuality, a sour one. Its course had long run itself and was marked by the birth of multiple still-born children, yielding just one royal child who survived infancy, Mary. Henry VIII had associated himself with multiple concubines during the period of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, including Mary Boleyn, Anne Boleyn's sister, who yielded him a son, Henry Carey.

There is little knowledge as to how the discussion of divorce first came up, however, according to Herbert Thurston, that there were doubts about the legitimacy of Mary raised by the Bishop of Tarbes in 1527 when the question of fixing her alliance came up. However, there is also a probability that it was Wolsey who imbibed these ideas into the King's mind. The fact that Henry, consumed with his passion for Anne Boleyn and the need to wed her had come up with the idea by himself also remained. Moreover, it was alleged that Anne Boleyn had resolved not

to offer herself to the King completely until she was his wife and the Queen of England. The king was also in desperate need of a male heir and could only gain so from a remarriage. These alleged reasons however led to the event in 1527 when King Henry VIII proposed that he had feelings of doubt and apprehension with regard to his marriage with Catherine of Aragon. A collusive suit was arranged to show the cause of the failure of the marriage in front of Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Warham. Henry VIII appealed that his conscience was 'burdened' by his marriage, finding it inappropriate to have such relations with his brother's widow, and that he had only married Catherine to maintain the good relations between his father, Henry VII and King Ferdinand of Aragon. Further it was stated that the King had not wished for the marriage to happen and that the contract of their marriage had been revoked and objected by Henry VII when Henry VIII had turned fourteen. He attributed the aforementioned reason for the birth of all of his still born sons.

The King in 1527 presented the causes for wanting to impugn his marriage in front of Cardinal Wolsey and Archbishop Warham. He received a formal reply appointed a proctor to represent him in subsequent proceedings, sending a letter to the Queen informing her of the questioning of their marriage. However, at the time the matter did not go as far as any of the English courts. The monarch had not deterred from his absolute decision but was swaying away from putting things in the hands of Wolsey, allegedly due to Anne Boleyn's influence. However, the King did know that he could not dispose of Wolsey years of expertise. Henry wanted Catherine to convert into a nun and live in a monastery, which he thought would be equivalent to her dying and the Pope would perhaps allow him to marry again without a formal annulment of his previous marriage. For the same purpose, Henry VIII sent his secretary, Knight to Rome. At that time, due to the sack of the city, the Pope was under house arrest in the castle of St Angelo. However, Knight did manage to obtain the required documents, only, they differed so much from the draft prepared in England that it was of virtually no use to the case.

Due to the time wasted, the King decided to put the preparation of the next appeal to the Holy See[1] in the hands of Cardinal Wolsey. To make the process more efficient Wolsey appointed Sir Gregory Casale and his secretary Stephen Gardiner. The main task undertaken was to see if the Pope, in captivity, could be requested to without any delay grant Wolsey a special commission that would allow him to summon any person as he wishes to be able to enquire into the tenor enclosed in the bill[2]. Wolsey did not want to lose his grip on Henry and to secure his hold he wanted to go to any lengths to extort a special commission from the Pope that would allow the reason for the nullity of the marriage to be decided in England, leaving no opening for further appeal or discussion. However, the Pope, residing in Orvieto at the time was under the mercy of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, Catherine's nephew. Notwithstanding the situation, Wolsey kept pushing for a special commission. The Pope was threatened with a revolt against the papacy and Catholicism in England, not dissimilar to the Reformation movements in Germany. Ideas of Henry being the Defender of Faith emerged and his services to the church were highlighted. Wolsey pushed the idea that Henry had asked for the divorce considering the welfare of his people and by the highest religious ideal. The Pope was asked to have some mercy on Wolsey and grant as much as was required for him to save face in front of the King. The fact that the King wanted to marry Anne Boleyn was hidden from the ears of Rome. Pope Clement VII, partly exhausted by the ongoing negotiations, and partly due to certain unknown reasons granted a commission in the joint name of Cardinal Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio. In a letter from John Cassale to Wolsey it is mentioned that the Pope wanted to cut off one of his fingers to recall the document that he had sent out later.

[1] 1 The Holy See, also known as, the See of Rome Petrine See or Apostolic See, refers to the jurisdiction of the Pope in his role as the bishop of Rome.

[2] 'Letters and Papers, Henry VIII; IV, n. 3641.

The commission sent by Clement was very similar to the draft made in England. The contents of the commission remained in the hands of Wolsey and Campeggio and were only shown to the King and a selected few, in all probability were also burnt by the Cardinals. This led to an enquiry into the dispensation granted by Pope Julius II granting permission to Henry to marry Catherine. The enquiry came up with answers that were in all aspects untrue. It said that the union was only allowed to take place to prevent the souring of relations between England and Spain, when in reality, Henry was anxious and desperate to wed Catherine. This also removes doubt that Henry was bothered by Catherine being his brother's wife. The fact that, as mentioned by William Dallman, Catherine revealed that her marriage with Prince Arthur had not been consummated only added to the point. This was refuted by saying that even though the marriage had not been consummated, it had taken place in "the face of the church", and had to be regarded as a proper marriage. Henry claimed that he was just twelve years old at the time of the dispensation and knew nothing about it. With this, the Pope granted Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey the joint as well as singular authority, in other words, the entirety of his apostolic authority[3], to come to a decision on the matter. They had the power to judge the dispensation and if they were to find that the relations between England and Spain are strong and that Henry had no say in the dispensation, they could declare the marriage as null and void, deeming the King free to enter into a new matrimonial contract.

In May 1529, the Legatine Court[4] was brought to session. The decretal commission obtained by Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio was introduced to the court, however, one must remember that the commission could only decide upon the validity of a dispensation that had been provided in entirety. Hence, a simple action of Queen Catherine blocked the working of the commission. She produced another dispensation issued by Julius II which was in gist the

[3] The power invested by Jesus Christ in a mortal to carry out the Lord's wishes.
[4] The court formed by the English officials to carry out Henry VIII's divorce proceedings.

same as the earlier one, but had certain small differences that made significant difference. This document had not been provided to the Pope, hence, no decision could be taken on its validity. The legates asked to see the original document, as Catherine had just provided a copy. The original document remained with Charles V, who allowed English officials to view the document but was not ready to part with it. However, Cardinal Hadrian de Castello, an Italian but faithful servant of Henry VII had been made the Bishop of Bath and Wells and had viewed the brief during the dispensation. The brief produced by Queen Catherine and the bull[5] dispensed by the legatine court had some tiny, but significant differences. There were differences with regard to the consummation of marriage, however, the bigger difference lay in the motive of the union of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. The bull stated that the one and only motive behind the marriage of the two parties was to maintain the good relations between England and Spain. However, in the brief, the phrase "and for certain other reasons" was added. This one phrase was enough to wreck the entirety of the efforts undertaken by the cannons of Henry VIII. Since no further progress could be made until the aforementioned subject was judged.

The defeated members of the legatine commission now undertook a different approach to win the trial. Before this, no idea of questioning the Pope's power had been taken into consideration, however, after so many failed attempts this thought was taken up. There were two reasons for this, the first being that the King had absolute faith in Pope Clement that the latter would grant him a special commission to obtain divorce from the Queen, and the second, that Henry VIII would require another papal dispensation to marry Anne Boleyn post his divorce, as she was the sister of his lawful mistress, Mary. However, now the legatine members started referring to learned men of various European universities on the powers of the Pontificate on matters of

[5] An exclusive letter from the Vatican till the 14th century when the brief arrived. However, bulls were still used.

marriage. The body of learned men came up with the answer that the rules against marrying one's brother's wife was that of a natural law that no power had the authority to override.

In 1530, an appeal was made to the Pope to grant the King's desire, detailing the evils that were taking place due to the prolonged marriage. Due to the crowds sympathizing with the Queen, Henry had to combat civil unrest and rebellion. According to Shore, if Catherine wanted, she could have led a successful rebellion, such was the devotion that the crowd had for her. To deal with the same, Henry surrounded himself with authority. Two major changes took place between 1529-1531, the Pope became Bishop of Rome and Henry became institutionalized as an ideal figure, making him the emperor. In February, 1532, an act passed by the English parliament stopped most of the annates[6] to Rome. This was the first official step towards what came to be known as the English Reformation. The process continued with the passage of six such acts, the last of them being the Act of Supremacy, 1534 which declared Henry VIII as the head of the English or Anglican Church.

In the midst of such complex proceedings, the divorce of King Henry VIII and Queen Catherine took place in May, 1533. In January, 1533, Henry secretly married Anne Boleyn. The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, declared the marriage null and void. However, the secret marriage was leaked to the courts and on May 29, 1533, Anne was crowned Queen of England.

2.3 Act of Supremacy, 1534

After declaring himself as the Supreme Head of the Church of England by the Act of Supremacy, 1534, Henry expected loyalty and subordination. The King told his men to either take an oath of allegiance or be beheaded at the Tower of London. Most of them swore to the King, however, people like More and Fisher who deflected were beheaded. According to Shore,

[6] Payments

Henry was way ahead of his time, pushing people to take actions and bring about social change. Guided by Cromwell, Henry becomes instrumental in the following years, as will be discussed in this study, to start the English Reformation.

Before the passing of the Act of Supremacy, 1534, 42 Articles of Religion was composed by Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1533. The articles consisted of doctrines that defined the dogmatic position of the Church of England. The articles will be discussed in the course of the study.

Anne Boleyn was allegedly pregnant prior to her official marriage to Henry. As the time of her confinement approached, Henry, assuming that the child was a boy, started preparing for the infant's christening. The King had also decided to name the child Henry or Edward. However, Anne gave birth to a girl, Elizabeth I, who was to later become Queen of England. The King had expected a male heir from Anne, with that not being there he seemed to lose interest in the Queen. Elizabeth I was christened at a chapel in Greenwich. By this time, the King had gained interest in Jane Seymour.

Since 1529, Henry had to deal with one of the most famous revolutions of all time. However, the popularity of the revolution, despite being that of the onset of the English Reformation, did not make it occur without violence. Moreover, Henry's subsequent marriages and divorces did not help to contain the situation. Therefore, the monarch had to take matters in his own hands. He began to amend the Law of Treason, adding acts to supplement it, mostly to reduce papal jurisdiction, or to declare the current queen of Henry his lawfully wedded wife, sweeping aside her predecessors and their off springs. One act, passed in 1534, to augment the Law of Treason gave rise to a period of terror, lasting until 1540. Henry VIII had accomplished destroying the papal jurisdiction over England, and for the next decade his aim was to impose the Reformation 'unalterably' on the people of England. However, it was evident that Henry was not trying to

impose a genuine transformation to Protestantism, instead he was merely passing anti-Catholic laws such as the dissolution of monasteries. He did not try to facilitate the implementation of the adoption of justification by faith or rejection of transubstantiation, theological laws that were being passed in other countries of Europe going through Reformation.

The Act of Supremacy, 1534, was also accompanied by an oath of allegiance to Henry VIII. The oath was taken by all men over the age of fourteen, particularly the bishops and representatives of the clergy of England, at the British parliament. It acted as a formal renunciation of the powers of the Pope. In the start of the oath, Henry VIII is referred to as the Lord and The Supreme Head of the Church of England under Christ. He is also called the Lord of Ireland and the defender of faith, and the King of England and France[7]. The original text of the oath specifies that the same has not been taken under any kind of force and coercion but by the active and cognitive working of the minds of the oath takers and their own will. They swear on their priesthood to "profess, promise and swear" to King Henry VIII as their only Lord and Patron. They deny their obedience to any foreign king or emperor or to the Bishop of Rome[8]. They swore to defend King Henry VIII and all his successors. They declared the papacy of Rome to not have been ordained by God but rather by human traditions, and henceforth, no English trial shall be made by appealing to the court, no letters are to be sent by the papacy to the court of England without the consent of the monarch, nor will any such letter be sent to the Pope. The papacy was denied from issuing to England any bulls, briefs or rescripts, and if any such document is issued without the consent of the clergy then it shall be renounced and shown to the monarch. The Highest Prelate or the Pope was exempted by the oath takers and all gifts, privileges and grants conferred to and from Rome were to be ceased. The oath takers declared themselves to be the subjects of King Henry VIII alone and to nobody else. The oath was taken

[7] By tradition, the Kings of England had some dynastic claims over certain French territories.
[8] The Pope

by the word of their profession which they swore to forsake if not fulfilled properly. The oath was marked using the common seal of England and subscribed under the public notary. To enable the oath taking to be more efficient, one part of the clergy was divided into corporations while the other was grouped into individual seculars. The corporation was to propagate the King as the Head of the Church of England, stating that the Pope had illegitimately usurped the title of the pontiff, whereas, the individual seculars were to declare that the Pope had only so much power as any other Bishop of a foreign land. The Pope did not have to be revered as the highest prelate but just as the Bishop of Rome. The oath of the corporation included the oath of succession and those of the individual seculars could be received deanery wise, the question of administration arose. The clergymen had been appointed before the Act of Supremacy, therefore, the problem of whether they could still be trusted or new commissioners were to be appointed came up. There were penalties for not aligning with the Act of Supremacy but none, at least formally, for not aligning with the denunciation of the Pope. The solution for this was found in the vicegerency of Thomas Cromwell. However, another such action had been taken to turn the Supremacy Act into practicality. An ecclesiastical officer was appointed, however, leaving authority in the hands of bishops who had not yet proved their loyalty was out of question. Hence, the government turned to Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury. The trust was put in one bishop only, and he came about with his metropolitan visitation. This subsequently denounced the jurisdiction of all others in the Southern province and re-emphasized Cranmer's commitment to the Act of Succession and denunciation of Rome. This also acted as a catalyst for the oath taking of some of the clergy as all of them could not take the oath at once. Whoever refused to swear their allegiance would be imprisoned. As mentioned earlier, they could not be taken to court as unless they refused to accept the Act of Succession they had not committed any statutory offence, but they could be spotted and kept out of contact with other people to prevent them from spreading their views. These people

came to be known as papists[9]. This gave rise to fear in the hearts of the people. The collegiate of the visitation also tried to identify common men who would support the archbishop.

Fig 1: Henry VIII's prayer scroll.[10]

[9] English Catholics who in public confirmed their allegiance to Protestantism but remained Roman Catholics inside.

[10] Measuring over three metres in length, this roll contains prayers in Latin and English and fourteen illuminated images, which include martyred saints, St George slaying the dragon, and Christ's Passion. Prayer-roll of Henry VIII, c. 1485–1509, parchment roll, 335.5 x 12 cm (The British Library)

2.31 Role of Thomas Cranmer

Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, is considered the leading figure of the English Reformation under the reign of King Henry VIII. He is often compared to Martin Luther of Germany, Calvin of Switzerland and Knox of Scotland for his contributions to the establishment of the Anglican Church. Cranmer was a well versed man. After coming across the initial writings of Martin Luther, the former had conducted research on the same for three years to gather traces of truth in them. He started to learn scriptures without the application of human theology and commentary, using the Bible as his standard reading. Cranmer believed that, "The Word of God is above the Church", and this became one of the most important tenets of the English Reformation.

On 30th March, 1533, Cranmer was appointed as the Archbishop of Canterbury. One of his first decisions after appointment was to declare the marriage of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon void, and then to validate the marriage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. After the Act of Supremacy was passed in 1534, Cranmer decided on his Metropolitan visitation to different provinces to facilitate the oath of allegiance amongst the clergy and men over fourteen years of age. However, his metropolitan visitation was met with some protest. For example, in Winchester, Bishop Gardiner had started preparing for the oath taking in his own manner. Similarly, in Suffolk, the Metropolitan visitation did not facilitate the oath taking ceremony. The amalgamation of the age-old but seemingly disliked tradition of a metropolitan visitation, grouped with the new law of oath taking brought about protests, which began in London. The Bishop of London protested against the 'legate' title used in the metropolitan visitation, which was further carried on by other Bishops of places such as Winchester, Exeter, Lincoln and Norwick. Initially, the protests were not taken to kindly. In Lincoln, Bishop Gardiner was

informed just six days before the visitation of Richard Gwent, the representative of Cranmer. Gardiner endeavoured to appeal against the Archbishop, but the visitation went ahead. Gwent was installed in the Leighton Bromswold canonry and received the oath from the deanery that the King was the supreme Head of the Church of England and the Bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction. However, the protests from Longland and a few other bishops did what the Lincoln protest could not, that is, create the vicegerency. The implications of the protest were wide ranging. It was well known that Cranmer had the support of the monarch in his metropolitan visitation. It began to be used by the provincial bishops as a chance to force the King to clarify his powers and jurisdiction, along with the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury. They wanted to know if the King's powers were nominal, that is, whether the power still lay in the hands of the church and only the decrees were being passed in the name of the monarch, or the King possessed real powers and any changes within the church could only be brought about by a royal commission. The bishops wanted to be clear whether the sources of the power were papal or royal. There was also discrepancy regarding the swearing in of newer bishops such as those of Coventry and Ely, who has sworn in to Henry VIII being the Supreme Head of the Church of England who has granted them their bishoprics, and that of the pre-existing bishops who had been appointed by the papal bull. Since the Act for the Restraints of Annates had defused the legitimacy of papal bulls, questions arose about the authority of Cranmer who had been appointed by a bull of the aforementioned nature not unlike the other bishops before 1533. The protestors not only went against the idea of metropolitan visitations but also asked for a clear definition of the relationship between the King and his bishops. It had to be decided whether the King provided Cranmer with the power to conduct the visitations or whether he just permitted Cranmer to do so. In the first case, the ecclesiastical authority was derived from the King and in the second, there was no clear definition of the derivation of power. The protests led to the establishment of the vicegerency and the episcopate or the office of the

bishops, to legitimise the power and supremacy of the monarch. Hence, Cranmer indirectly contributed to the establishment of these bodies.

One of the most significant contributions of Cranmer to the Reformation was his Book of Common Prayer. This book replaced Catholic literature which was written in Latin and introduced new services. Two editions of this book were printed in 1549 and 1552 respectively. The first version restrained from bringing about massive changes and remained slightly conservative. However, it received a lot of critical speculations from Protestants which led to the 1552 edition. This new edition had more Protestant additions and greatly emphasized on the separation from Rome. However, the changes were not such to antagonize the masses. Cranmer wanted to gradually unite all the people of England and bring them under the same ideals. He wanted to abolish the evil practices and corruption of the Roman Catholic Church that had appeared over the years. He wanted to return to the ancient and primitive methods of Christianity. He also introduced new doctrinal codes such as Eucharism, clerical celibacy, images in places of worship and veneration of saints. Uses of symbols, images and icons were prohibited in places of worship and attending Sunday mass was standardized throughout the country. Cranmer also made contributions to the Reformation by writing the *42 Articles of Religion* (later became 39 Articles). This served as a statement of Anglican belief and worship which forms the basis of Protestantism till this day. Some of the articles such as, “No Man is Without Sin, but Christ Alone” (XIV), “Blasphemy Against Holy Ghost” (XVI), “We Must Trust to Obtain Eternal Salvation Only by the Name of Christ” (XVIII) and “All Men are Bound to Keep the Moral Commandments of the Law” (XIX), forms a basis of today’s ideas of the society and structure of the Anglican church in the medieval ages.

The Archbishop of Canterbury got involved in politics during the final days of Edward VI, which eventually carved the path for his own death. He was coerced by Lord Northumberland to sign papers which altered Henry VIII’s succession will, transferring crown to Lady Jane

Grey, Henry's great niece from his daughter Mary I. however, in nine days the former was executed and Mary I ascended the throne, holding Cranmer for treason.

Cranmer fought a long trial stoutly but due to the counter-reformation and revival of the Heresy Laws, he was sentenced to death by burning. However, before his death, Queen Mary I required him to forsake his Protestant ideas in public. Cranmer, already on his way to death, did the exact opposite and reaffirmed that the papal rule had been abolished in England. With his brave words, Cranmer goes down in history as a martyr for Protestantism.

2.4 The Dissolution of Monasteries, 1536

The Dissolution of Monasteries is generally considered an act for financial benefit made by King Henry VIII and his chief minister Thomas Cromwell. In the 1530s, England housed nearly 900 religious houses, of which 260 were for monks, 300 for regular canons, 142 of them were nunneries and 183 were friaries. These monastic buildings, and their churches, were of significant sizes and were notably some of the largest buildings of England. These monasteries were more than just religious centres and were involved in activities such as artistic patronage, charity, education and scholarships. Hence, the rapid dissolution of monasteries had a considerable and significant impact on society. The dissolution of the monasteries allowed the monarch to get hold of all the wealth acquired by these religious houses, wealth that he needed to wage wars against France and Spain. It also enabled him to also facilitate the secular use of the lands that were once occupied by these houses. The religious aspects were reduced to materialistic dimensions, wherein religion did not matter, just the material values did. One of the bodies of documents in the act dissolving the monasteries was known as *comperta* revealed the desire of the monarch to show the monastic houses in profane light. The King almost failed to justify the positive element of his decision to dissolve the monasteries.

The first act was passed in 1536 and was known as the Act for Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries. The act in itself did not specify anything apart from the English church's breakaway from papal authority but did have a scientific representation. It led to the census of the monasteries, overlooked by Thomas Cromwell, right after which the dissolution began. In 1536, the monasteries earning less than 200 pounds annually were dissolved. The immediate prequel to this act was the Valor Ecclesiasticus[11], passed in 1535. The act focussed on religious houses to such an extent that it seemed evident that it was solely extended as a herald to their dissolution. It also served as a standard for the initial dissolutions to take place. The second phase of dissolution was based on negative findings about the religious houses. Henry VIII listed a series of allegations such as sins and shortcomings, which although not true for all the houses, was given as a justification for his suspicion. Terms such as 'displeasure of God', 'breaking down of the country' and 'disgrace to the crown' were also used. Although it is believed that much of these allegations were fabricated, some of the investigations did reveal that there was corruption amongst the clergy in some religious houses. However, this creates a question as to why did the Henrician government fabricate false reports if there were true evidences of corruption in the monasteries. It can be understood that spreading false rumours about the monasteries was done to promote anti-Catholic sentiments.

The Act of First Fruits and Tenths was passed as a direct attack on the clergy and enabled the monarchy to access church funds. After this, as mentioned before, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was passed to conduct investigation and survey of the houses. After the conclusion of the investigation, the final aim, which was the dissolution of monasteries could be realised. Another way in which the dissolution was justified was by maintaining the belief that it would facilitate the return of confiscated property to the crown, hence, bringing back years of gifts to

[11] result of an investigation into church property ordered by the Henrician government, which took approximately seven months to complete

the royal treasury. The crown could sell the lands or make profit of it directly, thus reaffirming the fact that the crown had authority over religion. Yet another reason to dissolve the monasteries was the existence of potential foreign threat in these religious houses. One of the first monasteries to be dissolved was the Franciscan Observants, who strongly opposed England's breakaway from Rome.

While the greater houses were not dissolved in the same way in which the lesser houses were, they too were subjected to significant alternations. In fact, the monarch had clear intentions of eventually dissolving the greater houses as well since the threat to the monarchy could not have just been quenched by dissolving the less profitable houses. However, by the time the dissolution of the greater monasteries occurred, the Pilgrimage of Grace protests, which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, had already occurred and the convicts persecuted. Hence, the dissolution did not help in softening the blow on people. By 1539, the dissolutions of the greater monasteries were brought about as a call for surrender rather than a declaration. The document of 1539 states:

> Where divers and sundry abbots, priors, abbesses, prioresses, and other ecclesiastical governors and governesses of diverse monasteries, abbacies, priories, nunneries, colleges, hospitals, house of friars, and other religious and ecclesiastical houses and places within this our Sovereign Lord the King's realm of England and Wales, of their free and voluntary minds, good wills and assents, without constraint, coaction, or compulsion of any manner of person or persons, since the fourth day of February, the twenty seventh year of the reign of our now most dread Sovereign Lord, by the due order and course of the common laws of this realm of England, and by

> their sufficient writings of record, under their convent and common seals, have severally given, granted, and by the same their writings severally confirmed all their said monasteries.[12]

Although these houses 'seemed' to have 'surrendered', it would not have been possible without force or coercion of the monarchy, hence came to be known as the second dissolution. This phase of the dissolution gave the monarch access to the land and property of the greater monasteries. The uniform surrender of all the greater houses together to the King proved to be an example of the supreme power held by the King after the passage of the Act of Supremacy, 1534.

[12] Dickens and Carr, eds., The Act for Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries, J 539 (31 Hen. VIII, c. 13), 105.

CHAPTER -3

Popular Opinion, Political Shifts and Parasite Libertye

3.1 Reaction of the Public to the Dissolution of Monasteries

The dissolution of Monasteries was met with varied reactions from the public. A major part of the population, especially from the Northern parts of England such as Yorkshire and Lincolnshire were deeply disturbed that these religious places would be dissolved. Several of these people organized a mass protest. They participated in the Pilgrimage of Grace. The Pilgrimage did not establish much other than a slight delay in the dissolution of some of the monasteries of the North. However, it did give Henry VIII yet another chance to assert his newfound power and authority. In other parts of England, people engaged in slightly more violent protests, destroying monasteries, tearing down walls carrying away valuables and broadly destructing their places of worship. Yet another part of the population remained silent, and though aghast by the actions of their King, decided to not act upon it.

As mentioned above, the Pilgrimage of Grace is the most significant reaction of the public to the dissolution of monasteries. The rebellion was led in late 1536 by Robert Aske. Consisting of the Northern regions of England, mainly, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, the rebellion though historically important, had no uniformity. It consisted of people having different motives and lacked a common ideology. The revolt was marked by five northern risings from 1536-1537, however, amongst them, the October 1536 rising gained most prominence. Robert Aske was a devout Catholic. The changes made in England after the passing of the Act of Supremacy and the dissolution of monasteries deeply disturbed him. He believed that the dissolution of monasteries would cause a spiritual and moral decay in the country and destroy the sacrament of the people's relations with God. He was also concerned about how the population living in the sparsely populated areas of the country would face the wrath of this change the most since

they would be farthest away from the spiritual leadership of the country. Although, his concerns were not paid much heed to and the revolution did not bring about any change, it served as an act of open defiance against the monarch which was one of the firsts of its time, especially in the face of the brutal punishments given out by the King. The Pilgrimage failed to be the force it could have been due to the loyalty of the subjects to the monarch. Most of the people who participated in the rebellion remained loyal to the King despite the religious changes. They reckoned the King as their administrative head and ruler, which itself made them less inclined to go against him in a more concrete manner. Aske himself defused the movement from spreading to a greater extend whereas some of the protestors wanted to move it down South. Aske wanted to make use of less radical methods and "plead with the King and not bury him"[13]. However, this did not affect King Henry VIII. He failed to show any tolerance towards the uprising and sought to the most brutal and merciless methods to crush it. The monarch commanded the execution of Aske in 1537. He eliminated all the protestors from Lincolnshire and Yorkshire and dissolved all the monasteries. He considered himself the Supreme Head and any form of deference to that was taken as treachery and treason. He wanted to create a concrete dynasty and hence needed unquestioned loyalty. He was appalled that his subjects could find any flaws in their King and declared them brutal and inexperienced. He asserted that even though the demolition of religious houses had upset the public, it was his jurisdiction and authority to have done so. This can also be viewed as a venture on the King's part to sustain legitimacy for future Acts of Parliament since he craved the support of his people. In a part of his reply to the protest, he states that defying and rebelling against the King was the same as rebelling against God, since he was the representative of God on earth. However, his way of answering sounded brutal and resolute, leaving no room for adjustments or compromise of any kind.

[13] Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, 342.

3.2 Young Believers of the New Creed

It was seen as a trend during the Reformation that the youth, namely adolescents, aged 16-25, welcomed the changes favourably. It was believed by the elders to be sheer insubordination on the part of the young. Theologians belonging to the 16th century viewed the young as "wild, headstrong and passionate, ever seeking to shock by rioting, swearing or unbridled sensuality."[14] It was also believed that older men had the experience and wisdom to rule, whereas, young men were amateurs who were not suited to command. Only when a man attained the age of 24 was he allowed to ordain priesthood. Protestantism attacked this very notion of paternalism and allowed all believers to attain priesthood. Hence, the youth found it to be a medium to discard the anachronistic and archaic practices of centuries. According to the Catholic clergy, the reason for the youth's adherence to Protestantism was very obvious as the latter found the rules of the religion to be free and could use it as a method to disobey moral codes of conduct. For example, Protestantism allowed the freedom to conduct sexual intercourse, and follow other baser instincts which were regarded as profane by Catholicism. According to Miles Huggarde, the youth were never more disobedient to the elder magistrates and the clergy than they were during the spread of Reformation.[15] The desire for freedom which lay at the base of the youth's allegiance to Protestantism came to be known as "parasite libertye" by the conservatives of the English society. Education and educational institutions played a pivotal role in influencing the minds of the young. It is known that most reformers of England were converted when they were in university, such as, Cranmer, Bale, Beacon, Garet, Crome, Lambert, were all drawn to Protestantism while studying at Cambridge. However, it is

[14] Richard Whitford, A Werke for Housholders, or for Them that Haue the Gydynge or Gouernaunce of Any C6pany (London, I530, S.T.C. 25422), sigs. Bv, Ciiii", Dii-iiii; Ascham, Scholemaster, sig. Fiii; Sir Thomas Elyot, The Boke Named the Gouernour (London, I53I, S.T.C. 7635), cited in English Historical Documents, v, 1485-1558, ed. C. H. Williams (London, I967), pp. I046-7.

[15] Huggarde, Displaying of the Protestantes, sig. Lvv.

also hard to classify them as being conventionally ‘young’ as for example in the case of Cranmer, he was thirty years old when he converted. However, more undergraduates were attracted to change. It was said that a ‘climate of heresy’ existed in Cambridge, which made men more prone to conversion. Sir Thomas Starkey had influenced King Henry VIII to divert the revenues from the monasteries towards educational institutions. These had ample effects on the running of educational systems in England as compared to the pre-Reformation ages, more of which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Coming back to the youth population of England and their affinity towards embracing Protestantism, it can be co-related with the growing difficulties and discontent amongst the young people of the country in the middle ages. The Reformation occurred at a time when England was grappling with serious financial and social instability. The aged people were favoured at this time and the youth suffered the most. Hence, the latter started to look out for change and salvation. A new trend where the poor adhered more towards Protestantism as the new religion, as it was called, went beyond the boundaries of wealth and social rank. In the 16th century, London had become home to immigrants from all over England and Europe. From having a population of 60,000 in 1500, by 1600 the numbers had become 200,000. The adolescents of this population were restless and distressed. They arrived at London to try out their luck and change their destiny. The impoverished and the seemingly overflowing number of children on the street transformed London into a ‘pauper’s graveyard’.[16] The craft guilds of London were in control of the city economically, culturally, socially and politically. To gain rank and class, one had to be a member of the craft guild, which was an exclusive group of about seventy-five companies. The guilds became the epicentre of clashes between the juniors and seniors. As the apprenticeship extended for the juniors, their marriages were also put on

[16] A. L. Beier, "Vagrants and the Social Order in Elizabethan England", Past and Present, no. 64 (Aug. I974), pp. 9-Io

hold and this created increased discontent. The youth became politically unstable and started forming protests and rallies.

Hero worship was a common trend amongst the youth, wherein they mostly revered ideals having values and ideas different to those of the monarch and the government. The Duke of Somerset was one such hero for the young and the poor, since he was in favour of reform and overthrowing the protectorate of Rome. The Reformation brought about negative career changes amongst the youth, particularly in the craft guilds. Young apprentices, who would stay with their masters, would give up on work hours and miss learning sessions to attend sermons in the Protestant churches. Here, they would learn about rebellion and change and would therefore be open to disobeying their masters. Catholic holidays such as Childermas Day during the Boy Bishop festival allowed games and play for young people. However, some of these holidays coincided with Pagan holidays and the Protestants left no stone unturned to accuse the Catholic holidays to be pagan. Once they were empowered, the Protestants managed to remove these festivals from the liturgical calendar, the loss of which affected the youth. In 1547, people who assembled for the traditional May Day games were arrested.

Protestantism also attacked the paternalistic nature of Catholicism, calling the Roman Catholic priests, especially the Pope as ‘ghostly fathers’ to ‘ghostly children’. The Catholic Church derived its divine authority from two aspects, the mass and confession. To refuse to partake in these was to deny papal authority. The Protestants vehemently opposed the doctrine of transubstantiation which held that during mass the bread and wine transformed into the actual body and blood of Jesus Christ. People following Catholicism for ages found it difficult to consider the presence of the Eucharist during mass as untrue. However, the young, who were relatively less accustomed to following the faith were more open to questioning it. As per the Catholic religion, one started to officially follow the faith once they reached the Age of Confirmation, which was usually adolescence. Since many of the Protestantism adhering

youths were just touching adolescence, it can be believed that they were not rejecting Catholicism after having accepted it but adhering to a new faith de novo. Attacks on the sacrament of the altar became prevalent in the 1530s and 1540s, mostly done by young people. Young people were also amongst the first to die as Protestant martyrs for sacramentarianism. Confession was yet another cardinal aspect of Catholicism that the youth disliked. It was a rule for Catholics to confess at least once a year, and the confession of young people was highly encouraged. The confession manuals of the Middle Ages were highly instructive of the sins of the youth. Auricular confession became one of the main reasons for the youth to forsake Catholicism, or the old religion. Protestants wanted a 'direct relationship with God', and not by way of priests acting as a medium, something which attracted the youth. Discontent spread more when the Catholic youths surpassed the clergy in terms of education, especially about scriptures and theology. The former became distressed with the clergy for being too ignorant and not qualified enough to teach them. They began to embrace the new religion with ardent enthusiasm. In other cases, younger Protestants revealed their hatred of the priests in a more radical manner. In 1540, anticleric attacks in London became widespread and essential to the Reformist movement. Priests, such as Sir William Gravesend, were struck by the youth while walking down the street in a non-provocative manner. The young aggressors threatened that every priest walking down the street would be stoned and attacked. Mocking priests almost became a pass time game for the young boys of London. Protestantism began to be viewed as the fifth column within the English church. Young converts who had recently joined the creed began propagating it more. They started to indulge in heresy activities such as watching plays with Protestant morals, singing heretical songs, posting bills and propagating forbidden literary texts. Although these activities well defined the rebellious nature of the youth, they were also considered seditious. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Stephen Gardiner were especially concerned about the youth's involvement in spreading Protestant notions. More had a child

whipped in his household for being taught "ungodly heresy" by George Joye, trying to prevent the corruption of youth. Gardiner accused Richard Hilles of trying to lead young men astray from their parents' "right thinking." Young Protestant would assemble secretly to discuss scriptures and join their resources together to get hold of forbidden texts pertaining to the new creed. Many of them joined the profession of being book traders to sell and distribute these prohibited books. These young Protestants began to refer to themselves as ‘brethren’ and helped each other escape imprisonments and executions. Young men also interfered in Catholic services by questioning the Bible.

Protestantism had dismantled holidays for the youth, but gave them the chance to indulge in other activities. One such activity was the violent sport of iconoclasm. Idol breaking had emerged as a recent trend, and it was the youth who indulged in this statue smashing game. Such sports also started developing in learning centres, such as in Bodmin free school a special game emerged where simulating the bias of their elders, the young boys formed two parties, one for the old creed and one for the new. The two parties engaged in fierce physical fight against each other. The sport proceeded so furiously that one of the pupils blew up a calf using gunpowder, after which the activity was banned. It was common for children to stage fights which they saw in society, however, many of these were assisted by older youths who understood better as a form of revolt and protest. Many of these young believers left their homes in the suburbs of England and travelled to London. In doing so, they created a barrier between themselves and the older generations, often losing their families for good.

The religious landscape in England underwent significant shifts from orthodoxy to outlawed heresy during the reigns of different monarchs. Protestantism, once the established faith under Edward VI, became outlawed under Mary I. Young Protestants who grew up under Edward's reign found themselves unwitting rebels against the newly reinstated Catholicism, their resistance now seen as a refusal to conform rather than wilful apostasy.

Those under twenty at Mary's accession had never known England under papal authority, while anyone reaching the age of confirmation during Edward's reign would never have received the mass officially. This generational divide led to a stark contrast in religious beliefs and loyalties. John Bradford's warning in 1554 of a Spanish papist invasion, foreseeing a massacre of the youth, reflected the perceived threat to the Protestant faith.

The Venetian ambassador claimed in 1557[17] that there were no Catholics in England under the age of thirty-five, highlighting the generational divide in religious allegiance. Cardinal Pole lamented the challenge of converting a generation brought up in a contrary faith, recognizing the importance of education in restoring Catholicism. However, attempts at gentle conversion and catechism were hindered by government persecution, turning potential educators into persecutors. Despite offers of leniency and opportunities for recantation, many young Protestants remained steadfast in their faith, choosing loyalty to their beliefs over obedience to the Queen.

The martyrdom of young Protestants served as potent propaganda against the persecuting regime and inspired fellow believers. Their resistance to persecution and steadfastness in suffering validated the righteousness of the Protestant cause. Young Protestants, acting as a fifth column, organized clandestine meetings, spread subversive literature, and protected those fleeing arrest, much like the previous generation had done in the 1520s. As martyrs faced execution, their young supporters gathered to offer encouragement. The crowds at the burnings in Smithfield were so large, and the government's unpopularity so pronounced, that orders were issued to prevent apprentices and others from attending the executions. Despite these efforts, young people continued to defy the authorities, with large numbers attending the burnings. The tradition of martyrdom and secret meetings would inspire Elizabethan Puritans in the next

[17] From the Calendar of State Papers, 1557

generation. Young people played a significant role in the reception of Protestantism and the English Reformation, but allegiances and patterns of religious fervour changed over time. The zealous Protestant revolutionaries of Henry VIII's reign often became the conservative Anglicans of Elizabeth's reign, as age brought prudence. The rebellious spirit of youth in the 1520s gave way to a more conventional adherence to Protestantism in later years, with those seeking the restoration of Catholicism seen as the rebels.

Once Catholicism became associated with the evangelical faith, young disciples became missionaries. Some apprentices were enticed to Italy to join Cardinal Pole, while others went to Louvain to oppose the spread of Protestantism. Later, some fled to Douai, the capital of the Elizabethan mission, reflecting the changing dynamics of religious allegiance and fervour over time.

3.3 Impact on Education

Universities and other educational institutions had become the epicentre of the spread of Protestantism. However, this rebellion came along with its own set of changes, which in itself took place not without conflict.

One of the main impacts of the Reformation on English education was the vision to use the funds generated from the dissolution of monasteries for educational purposes. However, this idea remained utopic and was not successfully executed which lasted in 'the greatest educational opportunity in English history was (being) lost'[18]. The documents linked to the Chantries Act, 1547 suggested that the grammar schools established by the collegiate churches, guilds and chantries were suppressed and greatly impoverished. The establishment of grammar schools had marked a significant change in the educational landscape during the Reformation. Prior to the Reformation, schools were solely under the domain of the Catholic churches. These

[18] Ibid, vi, 7.

schools were created in service to the liturgy and clergy and the medium of instruction was Latin. However, with the dissolution of monasteries, most of these schools were dissolved. This led to the establishment of grammar schools which were patronised by both the monarch and the local authorities. One of the key figures in the establishment of grammar schools during this period was Thomas Cromwell, who served as Henry VIII's chief minister. Cromwell was a strong advocate for education and believed that the state should take a more active role in providing schools for the general population. Under his influence, a number of grammar schools were established, often using funds from the dissolution of the monasteries.

The establishment of grammar schools during the English Reformation had several important effects. It helped to democratize education, making it more accessible to a wider range of people. It also led to a shift in the language of instruction, with many grammar schools beginning to teach in English rather than Latin. This helped to standardize the English language and promote literacy among the general population.

The view that the transfer of ecclesiastical funds towards education resulted in complete failure was supported by historian A. F Leach. However, Leach was not correct in all his understandings. In fact, Leach’s examination has been regarded as inaccurate on many accounts. For example, by assuming that most collegiate churches ran both an elementary and a grammar school, he greatly overestimated the number and importance of ecclesiastical schools; in reality, few of these foundations included a grammar school, and the masters of their choristers were not concerned with teaching elementary school. However, Leach overstated the disastrous effects of the Chantries Act, mostly because he did not follow the Act's repercussions past the end of Edward VI's short reign. In the years leading up to 1536, some major changes had occurred in the education curriculum of England. New developments invariably came at the expense of the church; specifically, insofar as they replaced older ecclesiastical schools or were built on the remains of religious buildings, as well as generally

in the sense of undermining its monopoly on knowledge and authority over education. As with earlier colleges endowed with the lands of the dissolved alien priories, the latter was true of the colleges established at Oxford and Cambridge at the turn of the century. For example, in Cambridge, a Benedictine convent was suppressed to make room for Jesus College (I497), and in 1511, St John's College took over the grounds and structures of a hospital that had fallen into disrepair. In order to finance Cardinal College's endowment, Wolsey secured a papal bull allowing the liquidation of an indivisible number of small monastic institutions in 1524, when he started construction on the site of the former priory of St. Frideswide in Oxford. In these affairs, the archbishop was represented by attorney Thomas Cromwell, who would shortly oversee a general dissolution for Henry VIII.

In the initial stages of the dissolution of monasteries, the government had to clear cut plans to transfer the ecclesiastical funds to educational institutions. This idea sparked when the campaign of dissolution also brought with it doctrinal reforms. The break with Rome initially resulted in the suppression of canon law as a subject of study in universities and the establishment of regius professorships in Greek and civil law. Cromwell’s Injunctions also mandated studying the Bible rather than the Sentences and Aristotle, Agricola, and Melanchthon rather than the scholastic authorities. A positive substitute was later required due to attacks on specific traditional customs and beliefs, and in 1536 Cromwell's Injunctions mandated that an English Bible be placed in every parish church. The Bishop's Book, which outlined the Church's genuine theology, was published the following year and would eventually be replaced by the King's Book. The first of several required catechisms, primers, and grammars for the schools was then followed.

Reforming bishops were able to advance their case for increased education under these circumstances. Rather than being completely eradicated at this point, vernacular elementary education was a direct result of the Reformation. In order to help youngsters "the better learn

how to believe, how to pray, and how to live to God's pleasure," Latimer urged the clergy and chantry priests of the Worcester diocese in 1537 to make reading English instruction a priority for their students. Following the fall of Cromwell, these plans were abandoned, and Henry VIII carried out Wolsey's initial plan to convert some of the priories and abbeys into new secular cathedrals following the dissolution of the larger monasteries. Twelve of these foundations were grammar schools and chorister schools that took the place of monastic schools. In certain cases, such as in Ely and Canterbury, where former novices were among the first students of the new King's School, former schoolmasters remained in their positions. Although the statutes established a humanist-based curriculum, these were nevertheless conventional semi-ecclesiastical institutions.

More comprehensive plans to reopen schools using this approach had existed, but they were never carried out. The almonry schools that many of the bigger abbeys maintained for their choristers but that other boys also attended vanished as a result of the dissolution; these may not have been of great educational value, but they clearly provided the majority of the candidates for ordination. Because monks had frequently served as trustees of school properties, certain grammar school foundations were also impacted.

There is little evidence of these being taken along with abbey lands. This item was obtained from that the Court of Augmentations replaced the lost endowment with a salary given to the old schoolmaster. In some cases, locals intervened to re-establish a school. At Sherborne, for example, parishioners bought the abbey facilities, which included the schoolhouse, and the school was able to continue. However, it appears that a number of grammar schools closed. Bruton and Cirencester are two examples, but in the latter case the schoolmaster was given use of the chantry. Then, when the major religious communities vanished, there was a significant upheaval in the educational system. In addition to everything else, abbots regularly took in the sons of the nearby nobles in their own homes, while nunneries housed their daughters. The loss

of these institutions was most felt in the north, where there were few school foundations. Once more, the universities lost more students in addition to the monastic halls and colleges. For instance, at Gonville Hall in Cambridge, over half of the pensioners were monks from East Anglian houses who had returned to their monasteries to teach following their years as students.

In the 1540s, several of the bigger collegiate churches were likewise disbanded. When these had supported schools, the people who had bought the properties typically became responsible for paying the schoolmaster's salary; this was an inefficient structure that caused a lot of problems down the road. There are further instances when buyers have been granted land and buildings with the requirement that a former school be kept in good shape. The breakup often resulted in the complete transfer of religious patronage rights over schools which had been steadily encroached upon for years to lay authorities.

Now, lay patrons started dissolving chantries on their own and taking the proceeds. This served as the formal justification for the first Chantries Act's passing in 1545, which put the chantries and gilds—the last remaining collegiate churches in jeopardy. This measure also encompassed the colleges within universities. However, the universities had supporters at court even if no one had been ready to protect the monasteries, and no college foundation suffered when the act became void with the king's death. On the other hand, Oxford's Cardinal College finally became Christchurch, a cathedral body and college combined, while Cambridge had acquired Trinity College, which had a master selected by the Crown.

Other social and economic reforms of the time were strongly related to the creation of a recognisable educational system. A few of the commissioners who drafted Canterbury School's statutes in 1540 had maintained that grammar schools should primarily serve the sons of gentlemen. They contended that it was appropriate for the son of a ploughman to work on the land, the son of an artisan to follow in his father's trade, and the children of gentlemen to be

educated about the laws and regulations of the commonwealth. By the end of the sixteenth century, a system of education based on this framework was roughly in place. The countryman and his offspring were bound to the land by the Statute of Apprentices (1563), which established a seven-year apprenticeship programme for all crafts and trades in the towns. Within the bounds of the poor law Christ's, the poor laws strengthened this overall system of control and allowed pauper children to apprentice in uncontrolled trades beginning at the age of seven. In the provinces, hospitals and industrial "schools" modelled by the ones connected to the London Bridewell were established. Over the next century, this movement gained momentum and reached its zenith under the Commonwealth when parliament took over management of the educational institutions following the overthrow of the monarchy, episcopacy, deans, and chapters. Subsequently, there was another "reformation of schools" that started with the transfer of ecclesiastical revenues to education.

3.4 Reformation through the lens of Women

When discussing any major change in a particular society, the impact it has on and the changes it brings about in the lives of its women. Women play an underrated but central role in society, being the carer and giver as well as reformers. The English Reformation, not unlike other revolutions, played an integral role in changing women’s lives and vice versa. Often the role of women in the English Reformation have been discarded by historians citing the notion that women adhered to the Reformation in the same ways in which their husbands or fathers did, thus disregarding women’s opinions as a shadow of their men’s. In other cases, historians have studied the role of women through the eyes of men around them. Women’s own thoughts, expressions and identities have often been ignored or devalued.

In pre-Reformation England, aristocratic women had stronger ties with church convents, and were known to have an affinity towards leaving their material wealth to religious houses, not

just the convents but male houses as well. Very little is known of the personal relations between women and convents outside of religious exchanges. There is very little evidence of social or personal relationships between aristocratic ladies and convents that do not involve religious beneficences. Few nuns from noble and knightly families had close relatives living in nunneries, which discouraged the kinds of ties and connections that are so clear in contemporaneous Venetian documents. The early 1530s household accounts of Eleanor Manners[19], countess of Rutland, are unique in this regard and do disclose the following types of connections between the Manners family and Haliwell Priory in Middlesex: the countess gave the nuns regular payments in exchange for celebrating Saint Nicholas Day, her father-in- and law's brother-in-anniversaries, law's and keeping a lamp lit in the priory church all year long. She also paid the rent on a mansion that the nuns had leased to her husband, who served as the convent's senior steward. Two of her children were married in a triple ceremony at Haliwell in 1536, which was presumably one of the year's most social events. Even Henry VIII graced the occasion. The most that can be said is that the nobles and gentry gave in and hurriedly entered the race for the monastery plunder when the government took such decisive action between 1535 and 1540. Since the dissolution did not upend the aristocratic way of life like it would have in Renaissance Florence or Venice—where convents served as a vital outlet for the excess daughters of the patriciate—acquiescence was presumably simpler. In that narrow sense, the religious patterns discussed and examined in this essay did facilitate government policy implementation more so than it otherwise would have. According to the wills left by women from the period of Reformation it can be noted that a great majority of aristocratic women adhered to church dogma and trusted that the sacraments and institutions would guarantee their salvation. They don't appear to have questioned or rejected the idea of

[19] Historical Manuscripts Commission (HMC), Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutlandat Belvoir (London, 1905), 4:269-75; Victoria History of the Counties of England (VCH), Middlesex, 1:177

purgatory or the significance of offering prayers for the deceased. Furthermore, the prevailing religious order was not threatened by the individualism so apparent in their wills and bequests.

Before the Reformation, women looked up to female patron saints within the liturgy which hosted cults that were influenced and inspired by the female body and life cycle. This was based on the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary and the sufferings that she had to tolerate. These obstacles were then connected to the daily struggles faced by women. Medieval women seemed to gain comfort and strength from such manifestations. The Virgin Martyrs became the greatest role models for women. The said group consisted of young women, such as, Katherine, Apollonia, Dorothy, Cecilia and Barbara, who supposedly existed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries when being Christian was considered a sin. They were forced to marry pagan Romans and when they refused, were subjected to various forms of torture. Hence, they died defending their faith. The images of these women were put up in every church or parish in England before the Reformation. The Virgin Martyrs became role models especially for younger women as the moralists at the time co-related role model worship to a person's age group. Women also formed Maiden Groups which allowed them to mingle and associate with women from similar ranks and classes. Additionally, Maiden Groups ingrained ideas of right behaviour modelled after the lives of the virgin martyrs. Groups for maidens socialised single women by encouraging norms of activity and subordination. Within the parish-wide cult of St. Margaret, Westminster's single women had a unique role. Every year, they collaborated to gather funds for the purpose of increasing the devotion to St. Margaret. Additionally, they participated in the St. Margaret's Day parade together, donning distinctive garments. Back then, women's groups provided the parish with much more than just a source of cash. Maybe the maidens were able to attract spouses because of their visibility. The Maidens also hosted a dance annually in order to maintain the light dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The parish also hosted songs which portrayed three kinds of women: sensuous and lusty maidens, abandoned

women and survivors of sexual assault and rape. Fundamentally, the songs acted as warnings against sexual behaviour for unmarried maidens. With the coming of the Reformation, young women thus were ready to give up these archaic notions and gain free sexual license.

Women also formed guilds and took over the responsibility of generating income for the some of the parishes. For example, a women's guild in Devon, the men had run the guild for St Mary's Church till the 1500s, post which women took up leadership, expanding the sources of income. Such increase in income was quite stable until the onset of the Reformation. The reforms undertaken by Henry VIII tried to change local service styles. Moreover, the removal of the saints from the churches also led to a subsequent decline in the funds generated. This disposal of images led to a loss in the guild's interest, which is further indicative of how the devotion of disciples was dependent upon the visual imagery of their patron saints. However, instances such as the appearance of the Midwives Light in 1540 in Westminster is suggestive of the fact that efforts were being undertaken to maintain the associative nature of the guilds.

The Reformation also initiated changes in the methods of childbirth. One of the major tenets of Catholicism, as mentioned earlier, was transubstantiation, or the belief that the wine and bread turned into Jesus' blood and body respectively. This vision was forsaken by the heretics and independent thinkers, including women. They emphasized on the existence of God, whom they believed was much more powerful than any saint. Moreover, the belief that Jesus' conception was immaculate was also contested. With the dissolution of monasteries, many of the religious artifacts that had been given to women to assist during childbirth were also demolished. Baptism by midwives was considered as means to save a dying newborn. All women in labour were advised to keep a vessel of clean water in case of an emergency baptism. Moreover, the Evangelical bishops prescribed appropriate methods of childbirth. For instance, Bishop Nicholas Shaxton of Salisbury ordered that no images or statues could be decorated using gold or silver, neither should any clothes be on them, nor candles be offered to them in

cases of successful birth of a child. The midwives were taught the correct form of words adhering to the 'New Religion' to conduct emergency baptisms. The bishops also intervened more directly in the birthing process and were also present in the birthing chamber. No girdles of the Virgin Mary or promises to undertake pilgrimage were to be used during delivery, the mothers were asked to call upon God himself.

However, in 1539, to prevent further changes due to the Reformation, King Henry VIII issues Six Articles. The first article re-emphasized transubstantiation, claiming that the real body and blood of Jesus Christ was present in the bread and wine communion and that Mary had conceived and contained in her womb the real body of Christ. It was asserted that anyone who rejected this notion would be burnt on grounds of heresy. Generally, a heretic might avoid death by renunciating or repenting of their erroneous beliefs, but Henry forbade anybody who denied transubstantiation from having this kind of escape. Prominent reformers included Nicholas Shaxton and Hugh Latimer resigned their bishoprics, John Hooper escaped to the Continent, and over five hundred Londoners were arrested and interrogated. This also highlighted the idea that in the Middle Ages it was considered that the woman's womb was at all times ready to host a guest. This held true even in cases where women had never conceived or given birth, or even engaged in sexual relations. This idea was related to hospitality, which was shown even by the most impoverished of people. The year 1545 also saw a change in idea about menstrual blood. Earlier, menstrual blood was considered impure and even poisonous. However, during the Reformation, when newer ideas were emerging, English physician Raynalde inserted the idea that menstrual blood nourished the foetus, and was thus sacred, in his 1545 texts about female reproductive anatomy[20].

[20] The Byrthe of Mankynde (1540, 1545)

Women were also one of the pivotal contributors to the Reformation. For instance, when the Vestiarian Conformity was imposed in London in 1566, the females organized a riot. The Puritans, for instance, made use of their women to lead their revolt against the Reformation. Due to their "natural inclination unto pity," women were considered more generous with poor preachers than their spouses. Additionally, it was assumed that women would benefit from their propensity for gossiping because they took great pleasure in sharing detailed information on how everyone in their immediate vicinity was being impacted by the same issue.

There were two main reasons behind the bonding between Protestant divines and the high ranking women of the English society. The first reason was that these women had always been associated with the church or parish as mentioned before, and had only recently due to the Reformation abandoned the spiritual direction in their lives. This enabled them to be attracted to the reassurance provided by the Protestant priests. These ladies appear to have been especially confused by the church's emphasis on the doctrine of election which stated that no prior action could influence God’s will to choose man for salvation, and they turned to the preachers for clarification on this point, just as a Catholic may turn to a confessor for advice. These women corresponded with pastors like Thomas Wilcox and Thomas Cartwright, who urged them to keep going after virtue.

Secondly, women were drawn to the education and liberty, which was a notable aspect of the English society of the time. Women such as Lady Jane Grey, and others, enjoyed a good amount of personal freedom and would engage in social activities and would be out in public without having to seek permission from their spouses. This allowed them to make their choices and associate with Protestant preachers.

One such notable woman was Anne Locke. Locke’s father Stephen Vaughan was an entrepreneur and diplomat during the reign of Henry VIII. He was the son of a London mercer

and became an active Merchant Adventurer. He served as the governor of the Merchant Adventurers' factory at Antwerp from 1538 and acted as the permanent financial agent for the English government until 1546. Vaughan's religious views evolved towards Protestantism, although he was not strictly aligned with any particular theological faction. He supported William Tyndale and advocated for Cromwell's intervention to save Tyndale's life when he was arrested in 1535. By 1546, Vaughan's religious profession was clearly Protestant. Anne Locke's husband, Henry Locke, came from a long line of mercers. His father, Sir William Locke, was a friend of Henry VIII and a sheriff of London. Henry Locke himself was a mercer with interests in Antwerp and was Anne's neighbor in Cheapside. The Lockes were known to be Protestants, with connections to other notable figures such as Michael Lok, a famous traveler and early adventurer, and Julius Caesar, a successful Elizabethan official who was Anne's aunt by marriage.

While the Lockes were Protestants, Henry Locke seems to have been more formal in his religious views compared to his wife. The Lockes were also a cultivated family, with literary inclinations. Michael Lok, for instance, translated part of Peter Martyr's Historie of the West Indies. Henry Locke could write Latin in an elegant Italian hand, and their son, Henry Locke Jr., was a religious poet and courtier, though not particularly successful in the latter pursuit. Later in her life, Anne Locke joined the English Protestants in exile in Geneva, where she spent her time translating Calvins works along with Catherine Bertie who was the dowager duchess of Suffolk and was also in exile. From 1560-1570, Locke attained the position of a godly woman in London. Following her husband’s death, she married one of the most renowned, young Protestant leader Edward Dering. They led a married life where Anne Locke was more than willing to share the spiritual comforts obtained from her husband with other women. In 1576, Dering died of a consumptive disease. Anne Locke remarried and moved to Devon, where she spent the rest of her life contributing to the Reformation.

3.5 Public Reaction to the Reformation through Art and Literature

Through the promotion of English vernacular and the nurturing of political and religious discussion, the English Reformation had a tremendous impact on language and literature. In this sense, the English translation of the Bible was historic. The Tyndale Bible and the King James Version brought the scriptures into the reach of the English-speaking people while also improving the quality of the English language. Many of the new terms and phrases that were added to the language as a result of these translations are still in common usage today. Furthermore, these Bibles' elegant and poetic language had a big impact on English literature and established a high bar for literary style.

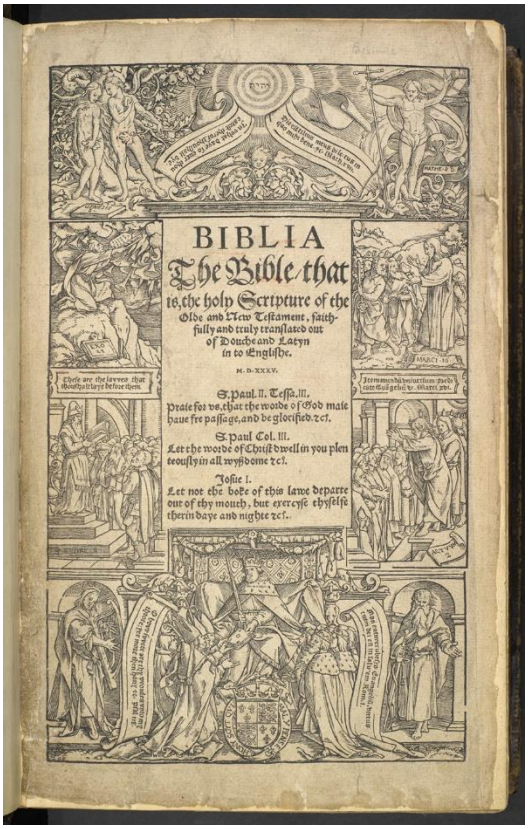

Fig 2: A 1535 copy of Miles Coverdale's translation of the Bible[21]

[21] A large lectern size Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments as well as the Apocrypha. Miles Coverdale [translator], *Biblia. The Bible, tha[t] is, the holy Scripture of t[he] Olde and New Testament, faithfully and truly translated out of Douche and Latyn in to Englishe [by Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. With woodcuts]. B.L.*, October 4, 1535 (The British Library)

Moreover, Thomas More's "Utopia" explored themes of politics and social structure based on a fictional island and its society. The text can be considered as a very ambiguous and paradoxical satire of the English society during the early 1500s. The book represented More's idea about what an ideal society should look like, with its norms and customs. The book was written in 1516 and preceded the Reformation period, providing suggestions as to how the period looked like.

Literature during the era reflected the culture of political and religious debate that the Reformation promoted. Pamphlets, sermons, and other literary works were used to vigorously dispute the divisive topics of the Reformation, including the Pope's power, the nature of the Eucharist, and the Church's place in society. Polemical writing flourished during this time, with Protestant and Catholic authors using the written word to make their points. English literature was significantly impacted by this debate and argumentation culture, which also helped to establish a history of persuasive writing and critical thought.

New genres of literature also emerged during the Protestant Reformation since people formed their own interpretation of the holy scriptures now. Numerous personal religious publications, including diaries, autobiographies, and spiritual guides, have emerged as a result of Protestant emphasis on individual interpretation of the scriptures and personal faith. These writings, which are frequently authored by common people rather than by nobles or members of the clergy, offer a distinctive perspective on the societal and religious shifts of the day.

Personal testimonies also rose during this time as people documented their experience adjusting with the changes that came about with the reforms. One such testimony was the Examinations of Anne Askew (1546). "The Examinations of Anne Askew" is a first-person narrative of her trial and interrogation for heresy in England during Henry VIII's reign. Askew was a Protestant who publicly opposed the transubstantiation theory of the Catholic Church and disregarded the

king's authority over religious matters. She was therefore taken into custody and questioned extensively by church officials. Bishop Nicholas Shaxton interrogates Askew about her views on the sacrament of the altar at the beginning of her story. Asserting that the bread and wine used in the Eucharist are symbols of Christ's body and blood rather than actually becoming his body and blood, Askew loudly proclaims her Protestant convictions.

The examination intensifies as Askew is later interrogated by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and other officials. Despite facing threats of torture and death, Askew remains steadfast in her beliefs and refuses to recant. She eloquently defends her faith and criticizes the corruption and hypocrisy she sees in the Catholic Church. Askew's account provides a vivid portrayal of her courage and conviction in the face of persecution. It highlights the religious turmoil of the English Reformation and the challenges faced by those who dared to defy the religious authorities of the time. Askew's steadfastness in the face of adversity made her a martyr for the Protestant cause and a symbol of resistance against religious tyranny.

A new genre called Martyrologies also came up during this period. Martyrologies were popular works of literature during the Reformation that recounted the lives of saints. These writings frequently aimed to inform and encourage readers about the religious heroes and heroines. John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" (1563) can be considered as an example of this genre. A foundational work of English literature and historiography, John Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," formally entitled "Actes and Monuments of these latter and perilous Days, touching Matters of the Church," During Queen Elizabeth I's reign, it was originally published in 1563. Later versions saw revisions and expansions. The book offers a history of Christian martyrs, with a primary focus on Protestant persecution under Queen Mary I (1553–1558), often known as "Bloody Mary." It gives thorough details of the lives, trials, and executions of those who faced religious persecution; frequently, it highlights these people's bravery and fortitude in the face of persecution.

Iconoclasm, the term describing the dramatic decline and destruction of religious art and imagery, was brought about by the English Reformation. This was motivated by the idea that these kinds of pictures were superstitious and idolatrous. Statues, stained glass, wall paintings, and other religious decorations were taken down from several churches. In addition to being a physical act of devastation, this also served as a symbolic act of rejection of the Catholic Church and its doctrines. The subject matter and style of religious art changed as a result of the Reformation. Religious art prior to the Reformation was frequently ornate and extremely ornamental, showcasing biblical subjects, saints, and the Virgin Mary. But there was a shift towards simpler, more austere styles after the Reformation. The emphasis moved to biblical scenes like the Last Supper and the Crucifixion that stressed Protestant church doctrine. The Protestant emphasis on the Bible was reflected in the rise in the use of text and scripture in artwork.

Moreover, due to the influence of the Renaissance, the paintings during the Reformation focussed more on human forms or anthropomorphic forms as compared to the pre-Rennaisance drawings which focussed more on images of saints and angels. Humanists believed that the individual is encompassed by “body, mind and soul) and “Man is the measure of all things” (Protagora, n.d), hence humanistic forms were concentrated on. For instance, the portraits of the Tudor monarchs, painted during the Reformation shows them in human like glory. It's crucial to remember that the Reformation had a different effect on religious art in different parts of England. Religious art was more completely destroyed in some places than others, especially in those with strong Protestant sympathies. Some religious imagery and art persisted in others, especially in the north and west of England where Catholicism was still prevalent.

Fig 3: Portrait of King Henry VIII made during the Reformation by Calvinist Artist Hans Holbein[22]

[22] alleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome, Italy
Courtesy of Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY

Fig 4: Portrait of Elizabeth I featuring intricate human like details[23]

[23] nknown continental artist
oil on panel, circa 1575
NPG 2082 https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/research/programmes/making-art-in-tudor-britain/case-studies/the-queens-likeness-portraits-of-elizabeth-i

CHAPTER- 4

Tudor Brexit, Neighbourly Ties and Future Rule

4.1 Reformation of Anglo-French Relations

A unique period in the lengthy history of England's intricate relationships with France occurred throughout the sixteenth century. Of the English Crown's formerly vast holdings across the Channel, only Calais survived at the turn of the century. Even though Henry VIII captured Boulogne in 1544 with the intention of reclaiming the lost lands, the English occupation of Boulogne lasted only until 1550, and Calais fell in 1558. Over the century, there was also a struggle for influence over Scotland on a diplomatic and sometimes military level. A true novelty emerged in the early 1560s when England acquired the Huguenots, or French Protestants, as ideological allies in France. England, the French Crown, the Huguenots, and Scotland had a quadrilateral connection throughout Elizabeth's reign.

Rivalry was only one factor; France continued to be the dominant foreign cultural influence on England, just as it had done for centuries prior. France was heavily influenced by the Renaissance, particularly at the court level. France has become even more important culturally as a result of the Reformation. Rome had served as Europe's diplomatic centre up until the sixteenth century, but after England broke its ties to the Pope, Paris emerged as the primary conduit for communication between the Catholic world and England, particularly under Elizabeth I.

Henry VIII and Francis I of France had a unique personal relationship that was a mixture of competition, mistrust, and friendship. As a sign of good will, they agreed in the London Treaty (4 October 1518) to assign one of their chamber gentlemen to serve as an ambassador resident at the other's court. This was the century's sole permanent English embassy and the first English

resident embassy created by treaty. The French embassies in Madrid, Rome, and London were ranked similarly. There were brief periods of time when war interrupted diplomatic relations (in the mid-1520s, 1544–1546, and 1557–1559), but it quickly resumed. An additional, equally important, provision in the treaty called for a meeting to be called as soon as possible. This was the source of the most famous royal assembly of the century, which took place in June 1520 on the edge of the Calais Pale at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. On the eve of Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn in late 1532, Henry and Francis I had another, less formal meeting. Henry's death in January 1547 was thought to have accelerated Francis's death two months later. Elizabeth I also placed a high value on building a close relationship with the French Crown. Despite the fact that Catherine de' Medici was viewed with great distrust by many of Elizabeth's subjects following the carnage on St. Bartholomew's Eve in 1572, the queen-mother and she shared an equally peculiar admiration for one another. Additionally, Elizabeth developed a more nuanced relationship with the mysterious Henry III, the third child of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici. The well-known "courtship" of Elizabeth by François, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, the younger brother of Henry III, from 1578 until his death in 1584, was more spectacular. She eventually found an open ally in the Protestant Henry IV, the erstwhile King of Navarre, who was also well regarded in England, after 1589.

Despite many demonstrations of interest on both sides, Elizabeth I never saw any member of the French royal family, with the exception of Anjou, who paid her visits in 1579 and 1581. Catherine de' Medici made a very serious, if strange, proposal that they meet on ships in the middle of the Channel in 1572. In 1573 Elizabeth travelled to the coast of Kent in case Anjou was ready to cross the Channel, and in 1591 she travelled to Portsmouth in anticipation of Henry IV's possible visit. Her most lavish court entertainments took place at the French Embassies in 1559, 1564, 1572, and, most notably, 1581. Elizabeth stole Philip Sidney's "The

Four Foster Children of Desire" tournament in 1581 to prove she could rival any show the French court could put on.

Commercial matters had little bearing on relations with France, in contrast to Anglo-Netherlands diplomatic relations; shipping seizures were the primary issue. Instead, the formal and ceremonial aspects of Anglo-French diplomacy predominated, such as the awarding of chivalric awards, the Garter or the St. Michael, or welcomes on accession, the birth and death of royals. Negotiations surrounding marriage were more complex since they involved sensitive topics. They were personally led by the monarchs and frequently started by unofficial emissaries. It was essentially up to the king to decide whether to negotiate through his own ambassador or the resident at his court because of how easy it was to communicate between London and Paris. The ambassador was rarely permitted to act independently. Too often, the number of resident ambassadors was decreased.

Compared to the relationships between Emperor Charles V or his son, Philip II of Spain, the Reformation had a far more unclear impact on England's relationship with the French Crown. This was first due to Francis I's focus on his competition with Charles V and the possibility that France would lose several allies due to the rise of Protestantism. Consequently, the French Crown adopted a foreign strategy that operated under the assumption that the Reformation had never taken place. This approach was firmly established by the seventeenth century, when Cardinal Richelieu justified it as the raison d'état. However, religion could not be disregarded completely, particularly in Scotland, where by the 1540s, France was identified with the Catholic Church and England with the Protestant one.

By 1500, the competition for control over Scotland was well-established, and James IV's dismal 1513 war at Flodden was the result of his allegiance to France. In his future attempts to maintain control over his nephew James V's minority, Henry VIII thought that Paris was the

most straightforward route to settlement in Scotland. His suspicion was what sparked the 1543–1544 conflict with France: Francis I had fostered James V's belligerent independence. Henry II of France intervened the following year and declared war in 1549 as a result of Edward VI's government's decision to resume "the rough wooing" in Scotland in 1547. Edward's government's terrible financial situation compelled a deal in 1550 that included both Boulogne's surrender and Scotland's withdrawal.

The French embassy in London unexpectedly rose to prominence in 1553 with the unexpected death of Edward VI and the coronation of Mary I. The French were left with no choice but to watch the Duke of Northumberland fall and then attempt to pick up the pieces in the wake of Mary's marriage to Prince Philip of Spain, despite speculations of significant concessions to France in exchange for aid (particularly with regard to Calais). Following England's complete integration into the Habsburg dynasty through the "Spanish marriage," Henry II courted English rebels despite their Protestant faith. In addition, he made an effort to keep Princess Elizabeth safe; the French embassy subsequently stated that he had barely succeeded in stopping Elizabeth from escaping to France at the start of 1557.

Due to Mary, Queen of Scots, who had become more significant in the English succession after Edward VI's death, Elizabeth's attempt to maintain the alliance had a difficult beginning to her reign. Elizabeth's assistance to the Scottish Protestants in 1559–1560 was motivated by suspicions that Henry II wanted to use Mary as a rival. One of the main objectives of her later foreign policy was to maintain an Anglophile administration in the face of the Queen of Scots' return in 1561 and the potential resurgence of French dominance.

4.2 A Failed Reformation in Ireland

England, Scotland and Ireland underwent a series of conflicts during the Reformation due to their shared borders. A portion of the issues facing the Crown in managing the northern frontier

were common to other border regions. Until 1534, the Tudors attempted to reduce costs in Ireland by entrusting the defence of the country to local magnates." Similar circumstances existed in the north. The Tudors relied on local magnates to fortify their borders against the Scots, despite the continual and menacing danger posed by Scotland. This was because maintaining an army in the north proved to be too costly. However, this dependency presented significant challenges because ties between England and Scotland had been tense for generations and only a small number of families could muster a strong enough defensive army.

During the Protestant reforms during Henry VIII's reign, a large number of Catholics had moved out of England to other parts of the continent, especially Scotland and Ireland. This led to creation of a minority faith in England, Scotland and Wales, and of a majority in Ireland. During Mary I's reign, many Catholics who were exiled in other parts of Europe returned to England and Ireland, setting up Catholic institutions. Following Mary's passing and Elizabeth's coronation in November 1558, there was yet another, more extensive wave of Catholic emigration. It was one that eventually underwent a complete institutionalisation with the founding of colleges for English, Irish, and Scots, the training of priests for use in missions, and the creation of convents for the daughters of English and Irish Catholic families.

How the English and Scottish came to be known as Protestants has been widely spoken about, but the Irish and their staunch stand for Catholicism remains not so well told in the pages of history. A significant attempt was made during Henry VIII's reign to bring the ecclesiastical reforms being implemented in England to Ireland, chief among them the severing of all connections with Rome. This endeavour was intermittently carried on until the mid-17th century, at which point it was widely acknowledged that the Reformed Church had failed to win over the majority of Irish people. Both Catholics and Protestants have assumed that Rome's victory was natural and inevitable in Irish historiography, practically a natural by-product of the people who lived on the western island's character, culture, or "conservatism." Protestants

have been more likely to see the development as a kind of archaic obduracy, while Catholics have tended to see it as heroic commitment to the pure religion. Given what was believed to be the character of Ireland and the Irish in the sixteenth century, neither has argued against its inevitable outcome. According to John Bossy, "Popular religion in Ireland on the eve of the reformation seems in most respects to have been in much the same condition as it was on the continent, only more so."[24] However, a "cancer of secularism" was spreading in Ireland[25]. Even if the Protestant movement had not emerged in England, there would have been endeavours to take action against the monastic rot in Ireland. Any secular power, English or elsewhere, would have been happy to contribute to the religious organisations' and their wealth's self-inflicted dissolution. The English government was more interested in getting in on the act than in starting the dissolution. When Henry VIII and Oliver Cromwell proposed a bill in the Irish Parliament in 1536 for the suppression of nine monasteries, they intended nothing more than this kind of pruning. The initial confiscations contained a relatively minor amount of money, but when combined with the assets that came from the Fitzgerald rebels' attainder and the Irish Act of Absentees, they formed a sizable source of government patronage. To "refurbish the Irish administration" and, at the same time, establishing a "Cromwellian group" there, these riches was apportioned systematically. [26] There has been a long-standing and widely held belief that there was a Henrician attack against Irish artefacts and pictures, to which there was loud opposition. Undoubtedly, in the winter of 1538–1539, a commission was established to look into the usage of pictures. In most cases this was done by the leading members of the Cromwellian party. In other instances, the villagers successfully erased and concealed the images, sometimes to the point that they were not found again for centuries. The fabled attack

[24] "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Ireland, 1596-1641," Historical Studies, VIII (Dublin, 1971), 157.
[25] Bradshaw, The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII, (hereafter cited as Bradshaw), p. 35.
[26] Bradshaw, p. 74.

on pictures is shown as far less egregious and more in line with the late 1530s Henrician religious orthodoxy, which was still mostly sacramental. Conversely, local response was far less concentrated, and the early campaign against images was not depicted as a stark and severe act of disrespect until much later, after a doctrinal antithesis had emerged.

The dissolution of the Irish religious buildings was carried out with increasing thoroughness, starting in the Pale and Ormond in 1539, in contrast to the early assault on oil paintings. Without any particular form of pressure being brought to endure, the majority of the houses gave in. A small number made it through. Despite the fact that mendicant orders—particularly the Franciscans—proved to be very hard to disperse, Bradshaw argues that the property they did hold was successfully secularised. In many cases, however, "the monastic church served as the parish church," creating just the illusion of survival.9. In these situations, the monks either assumed control or continued to provide long-term care for rural cures. Ten of the twenty-six monasteries that were suppressed in the Pale in 1539–1540 fit this description.

In Ireland, the Henrician dissolution affected about 40% of mendicant orders and about 140 monastic foundations, or 55% of both. However, neither the attempt to dissolve the monasteries, nor its assumed failure was the reason behind the failure of the spread of Reformation in Ireland. Political, social, and theological factors were among the many interrelated reasons why the Reformation in Ireland was not successful. The Gaelic Irish and Old English communities' fierce resistance, which upheld their Catholic faith as a symbol of their identity and resistance to English control, was a major contributing factor. A deep-rooted hostility to Protestantism resulted from their perception of the Reformation as a threat to their political and cultural autonomy.

The absence of strong English rule over Ireland in the early phases of the Reformation was another important element. It was challenging to impose religious reforms across the nation

since the English Crown's power was limited outside of the Pale, the region under English rule that included Dublin. Furthermore, Irish clergy and bishops resisted efforts to spread Protestantism and mostly stayed faithful to Rome. The Irish socioeconomic system contributed to the Reformation's downfall as well. Because of its ownership of resources and property, the Catholic Church possessed a great deal of power and influence. Since Catholicism allowed them to preserve their money and legitimise their power, many aristocrats and landowners had a stake in seeing it through. In addition, the competition between England and Spain, as well as other broader political and religious disputes of the era, had a bearing on the Reformation in Ireland. Spain was a deeply Catholic country that supported Irish opposition to English authority, therefore its encouragement of Protestantism in Ireland was met with mistrust and animosity. Understanding of the subject is advanced by the perception of Irish religion in the 16th and 17th centuries as a process rather than as a miracle or a contumacy.

4.3 England and Rome after the Breakaway

England’s relations with Rome became strained even before the Reformation came in. this happened during Henry VIII’s divorce proceedings with Catherine of Aragon. The Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, was Catherine’s nephew. Many efforts were made by Charles V to defuse the situation and stop the passage of the papal discretion in order to prevent the divorce. However, this caused England’s breakaway with Rome and the eventual Reformation in England.

England's separation from the Catholic Church marked it as a Protestant entity in a predominantly Catholic continent. This division was not limited to theological differences but was deeply intertwined with political and diplomatic considerations. England found itself in a challenging position. It sought alliances with other Protestant states, such as the German princes of the Schmalkaldic League, to counter the Catholic alliance led by Charles V.

However, these alliances were often tenuous and driven by the immediate political and military realities rather than shared religious convictions.

The reign of Edward VI (1547-1553) saw England become more firmly Protestant, with the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer and further reforms to the Church of England. Relations with Rome remained strained during this time, as Edward's government continued to assert the independence of the English Church from papal authority.

The accession of Mary I (1553-1558) marked a brief period of reconciliation with Rome. Mary, a devout Catholic, sought to restore Catholicism in England and reconcile with the Pope. She repealed the laws establishing the Church of England and restored papal authority, leading to the resumption of ties with Rome. However, Mary's reign was short-lived, and her efforts to restore Catholicism were met with resistance, particularly from Protestant factions.

The early years of Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603) saw a return to Protestantism and a further break with Rome. Elizabeth reestablished the Church of England as the state church and asserted her authority over religious matters. This led to a period of conflict with Rome, as the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth and encouraged Catholic powers to oppose her rule.

Overall, the period from 1540 to 1570 was marked by ongoing tension and conflict between England and Rome. The English Reformation had firmly established the Church of England as separate from the Roman Catholic Church, and subsequent monarchs continued to assert their independence from papal authority. This period laid the groundwork for the further development of the Church of England and the continued divergence of English religious practices from those of Rome.

4.4 England, Spain and Scotland

The English Reformation significantly impacted England's relations with Scotland and Spain, highlighting the religious and political tensions of the time. Scotland, predominantly Catholic

while England embraced Protestantism, found itself at odds with its southern neighbour. The reign of Mary, Queen of Scots, added fuel to the fire, as her Catholicism and claim to the English throne threatened Protestant England, leading to hostilities that culminated in her imprisonment and execution by Elizabeth I. The Scottish Reformation, led by influential figures such as John Knox, further deepened the rift, establishing the Church of Scotland as a Presbyterian church independent of English control.

In Spain, ruled by the Catholic Habsburgs, the English break with Rome was viewed with great concern. Spain staunchly defended Catholicism during the Reformation, making it a natural adversary to Protestant England. The marriage of Mary I of England to Philip II of Spain briefly improved relations, but Philip's attempts to restore Catholicism in England were met with resistance. The failed Spanish Armada invasion of England in 1588, launched by Philip II, was a direct result of these tensions, marking a significant event in the conflict between the two nations and the decline of Spanish naval power.

Overall, the English Reformation strained relations between England and Catholic nations like Scotland and Spain, highlighting the religious differences and political ambitions that fueled conflict and hostility during this period. The legacy of these tensions would continue to shape the relations between these nations for years to come.

4.5 Edward VI (1547-1553) and New Heights in Reformation

During Edward VI's reign, England saw a rise in belligerent evangelicalism. The most obvious explanation for Protestantism's inability to expand throughout the mid-Tudor period is the regularity with which new religious movements were formed and abandoned. It was hardly until the persecution under the Act of the Six Articles signalled the conservative response of the 1540s that Cromwell's Erasmian injunctions of 1536–8 had been issued. Conservatives

continued to control the episcopal bench, and Henry VIII himself remained steadfastly opposed to doctrinal reform.

The three reforms came together for a short while during the Edwardian era. The Edwardian Protestant experiment was not long enough to accomplish its goal, yet it was worthwhile and important for the future. The greatest failure of this era was the incapacity to launch a missionary effort akin to that of the Elizabethan Apostle of the North, Bernard Gilpin, or the Puritan extra-parochial lectures founded in the Elizabethan England's market towns by London merchants. The Edwardian reformers' affiliation with dishonest and predatory statesmen and their consent to the plunder of local endowments caused further harm to their cause.

The Edwardian government had little trouble getting even conservative clergy to publish the royal and episcopal injunctions containing the new programme of reforms, or getting the churchwardens to carry out the task of removing altars and destroying images, according to studies of the dioceses of York, Gloucester, and the archdeaconry of Essex. However, the clergy and churchwardens followed the reactionary orders and quickly re-erected the altars when the Marian restoration arrived in 1553.

The issue during the Edwardian era extended beyond a dearth of sermons. The clergy that the reforming bishops had to deal with was completely unquestioning in their obedience to every new religious agreement and uninformed even by the standards of ordinary society. Ex-monks, friars, and former church priests made up a large portion of the parish clergy. Until the Statute of 1571, also known as the "Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion," was passed, all ministers who had not been ordained under Edward VI or Elizabeth were required to subscribe to the doctrinal provisions of the Articles of 1563.

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and other Protestant reformers benefited from the backing of Parliament and the king's administration during Edward VI's reign. The legislation that

converted the Henrician church into a Protestant church was made possible by this political backing, but the legislation that established the Book of Common Prayer needed to be enforced and did not establish a Protestant parish clergy to teach the reformed doctrines to the laypeople. Because new parish clergy could not be appointed until vacancies occurred, reformers were forced to wait for the deaths of rectors and vicars or remove conservative Henrician incumbents. Henry VIII did not impose any deprivations in London, and there is no proof that the Edwardian reformers took advantage of the new Acts of Uniformity to deny the benevolent clergy. Parish clergy purges, such as those that occurred in 1553 following Mary's accession and, to a lesser extent, after 1558, were not included in the Edwardian reformers' agenda. Sufficient vacancies among parish clergy would only arise over an extended period of time in the absence of severe deprivations. As time was not on the Edwardians' side, parochial reform would therefore progress extremely slowly, and it is now obvious that they could not afford to do it. June 1549 saw the introduction of the first prayer book, and it wasn't until 1552 that the second prayer book appeared. About 110 parish churches were distributed across the 26 wards of the City of London in the middle of the sixteenth century. Based on John Stow's inventory from the Survey of London, this number leaves out the parish of St. Anne, which wasn't established until 1597, and four Southwark parish churches that belonged to the Winchester Bishop's jurisdiction. Included in it is the parish of St. Mary at the Axe, which merged with another church in 1565. Forty-eight London parishes, or 44% of the total, had at least one vacancy during the reign of Edward VI. There were sixty-six parochial appointments throughout the reign as a result of thirteen parishes having two or more vacancies.

Thirty parish appointments in London, or twenty percent of all presentations, were made possible by crown support under Edward VI. In her analysis of crown patronage from Elizabeth's coronation until 1642, Rosemary O'Day has demonstrated that the lord chancellor

or lord keeper "usually held in his gift all crown livings below twenty pounds in value."[27] Furthermore, the crown was permitted to present livings that had lapsed for a period of twelve months or more, as well as livings under twenty pounds in value in the gift of crown wards. The Earl of Oxford, Sir Martin Bowes, Nicasius Yetswert, Thomas Aldred, Thomas Barber, Humphrey Welles, the company of grocers, and the company of merchant tailors, each of whom made one parochial appointment, were among the five people appointed by the mayor of London to exercise lay patronage in addition to the crown. Despite the fact that no single church patron used their influence as much as the crown did, overall church sponsorship accounted for the greatest number of presentations—31, or 46% of the total. The dean and chapter of St. Paul's, who made 10 collations, was the biggest patron. Although the dean, William May, was a reformer, the canons included men who were devoted to the Henrician church. Nicholas Ridley, the Bishop of London, appointed three people and Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, made four. The deans and chapters of Canterbury and Westminster, who made five and two collations, respectively, exercised the remaining ecclesiastical patronage. One appointment each from Balliol College, Oxford, and the Provost and Fellows of Eton College were also part of the Edwardian patronage in London.

It is vital to find out how many university graduates were appointed to London benefices since it may be inferred that these clergy members were more likely to carry out the educational ministry and preach the sermons required by the Protestant church. Compilations of Oxford and Cambridge grads as well as additional sources suggest that 41 out of the 63 appointees, or 65%, had a university degree. Nine clergy members could not be identified as having attended any of the universities; seventeen had attended Cambridge, thirteen Oxford, and two both.

[27] 2Rosemary O'Day, "The Ecclesiastical Patronage of the Lord Keeper, 1558-1642," Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 23 (1973): 90.

Reform-minded clergy had many opportunities during Edward VI's reign, both inside parishes and outside, where there were great opportunities for advancement. However, the Protestant experiment came to an abrupt end when the king unexpectedly died in 1553 and Queen Mary quickly took over. Even though the majority of Edwardian appointees—particularly those with strong Protestant beliefs and those who had benefited from marriage-permitting legislation—were going to suffer as a result of the events of 1553, twenty of the sixty-three served under Mary, five of whom were genuinely rewarded, and nine whose identities are unknown.

Another significant aspect of the Reformation under the reign of Edward VI was the passage of the Chantries Act, 1547. The Act was a reaction to the spiritual activities surrounding chantries, which were places inside of churches where prayers were offered up for the deceased. These customs were viewed as superstitious and at odds with Protestant doctrine. The Chantries Act abolished these chantries and seized their property, income, and structures. The Act's goals were to curb "popish superstition" and transfer chantry income to finance the government and the Protestant Church. Additionally, the Act aided in the Protestant Reformation in England and lessened the power of the Catholic Church. The first Chantries Act passed in 1545 during the reign of Henry VIII had threatened to abolish guilds and chantries. This measure also encompassed the colleges within universities. However, the universities had supporters at court even though no one had been ready to protect the monasteries, and no college foundation suffered when the act became void with the king's death. On the other hand, Oxford's Cardinal College finally became Christchurch, a cathedral body and college combined, while Cambridge had acquired Trinity College, which had a master selected by the Crown.

In the first year of Edward VI's reign, the second Chantry Act was passed, which ultimately resulted in the dissolution of the chantries and gilds. The consequences of this measure were unavoidably greater than the breakup of relatively isolated religious congregations. Numerous gilds that fell under its purview carried out the duties of local government; they managed

monies for endowments for underprivileged students and schools, as well as for the maintenance of roads, bridges, and sea walls and the relief of the impoverished. Newly incorporated boroughs and grammar school foundations sprang from their ruins, and a regionally managed system of poor relief was established under national guidance. This was an inevitable side effect of the church's reform and governmental subordination, as well as the secularisation of ecclesiastical territories; the reconstruction of the schools is but one facet of a protracted process whose history has not yet been recorded. However, the overall development trend is rather evident.

In actuality, before Edward VI's reign came to an end, schools were refounded in a number of ways. The urban businesses and university colleges succeeded in keeping their schools or getting their money back in the form of restored endowments. Local initiative led to the reopening of schools in several towns under newly formed governing bodies; in other towns, such as Stratford-upon-Avon, where the historic gilds were recreated as corporations, schools reopened under borough management. In smaller communities, schools frequently bought back gilded or chantry lands without applying for an official refoundation, and some whole new schools were established. Following Edward VI's death, the Chantries Act was void, but Mary lost all chance of reclaiming her chantry lands, and laws permitting the ongoing relocation of schools were passed.

Edward VI’s reign was cut short by his untimely death in 1553 leading to a brief period of Catholic restoration during the reign of Mary I.

4.6 Mary I (1553-1558) and the Counter-Reformation

Mary I's reinstatement of Roman Catholicism as the official state religion was a major contribution to the Counter-Reformation in England. The first queen regnant of England and Ireland, Mary I (sometimes called Mary Tudor or "Bloody Mary") ruled from 1553 until her

death in 1558. She was the only child of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, his first spouse, to reach adulthood. The main reason for the notoriety of Mary's reign is her attempts to undo her father's English Reformation. In England, this time of religious reversal is frequently referred to as the Counter-Reformation. In reaction to the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Church underwent a period of resurgence known as the Counter-Reformation. It started with the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and came to an end in major part in 1648 with the end of the European Wars of Religion. The Counter-Reformation occurred in England under Mary I's rule. As a devoted Catholic, she worked to bring Roman Catholicism back to England following her father's disassociation from the church.

Due to her belief in providing 'salvation' to her people and converting them back to Catholicism, Mary I undertook several extreme measures such as burning of heretics. She has often been described as 'Bloody Mary' due to the number of Protestants that she executed. Mary's attempts to convert England back to Catholicism really had the opposite effect of what was intended, persuading the great majority of Englishmen that they would never again submit to such oppression, superstition, intolerance, or folly. Bloody Mary's attempt to destroy the Reformation instead succeeded in solidifying it.

Mary's government tried to monopolise and spread images of the queen as a devout Catholic and faithful Habsburg wife[28], but there was disagreement among the queen and her foreign and domestic advisors on many important matters at the same time. Consequently, the administration was unable to keep control of the Marian images that were creeping into English popular culture and failed to put up a united front on important domestic matters. Due to the English government's inability to maintain exclusive control over the queen's persona or

[28] Mary I was married to King Phillip II of Spain

likeness, conflicting portrayals of Mary as a merciless Jezebel[29] and a Catholic saviour began to circulate in society.

Despite efforts by her Protestant enemies to block her succession, Mary I was recognised as the rightful ruler of England by the summer of 1553. According to records at the time, there were tales of huge celebrations and joy for Mary's bloodless victory and throne ascension, suggesting that the public backed her ascendancy. Although it appeared that Mary's rule was stable, she and her government would later engage in divisive religious practices and a foreign marriage that would cause her subjects to lose faith in her authority. It was clear from the beginning of Mary's rule that her first priority was the restoration of the Catholic Church. A few days after Mary's ascension, Charles V wrote to his English envoy, "As for the re-establishment of religion in England, you may tell the Queen that we greatly praise her zeal and desire to do her duty in that respect and to how her gratitude to God for the success He has given her." (V, June 1553)[30]

Mary was very emphatic in saying that she had remained faithful to the Catholic faith and had never wavered. She added that her main goal was for her subjects to return to the real faith using ways that seemed to be moderately and amicably led. However, Mary conveyed the impression that she did not intend to force her subjects to convert to Catholicism, even though she intended for them to do so. But by adding the phrase "or until by common consent a new determination shall be come to,"(Mary I, 1553) Mary made a significant proclamation. The proclamation's reference to "common consent" can be taken to signify Parliament's agreement to uphold the authority of the Pope and the restoration of Catholicism in England. Mary intended to employ the same legislative processes that had been used by her father and brother

[29] an immoral woman who deceives people in order to get what she wants
[30] Letter from Jehan Scheyfve to Charles V. (June 11, 1553). From: 'Spain: June 1553, 1-15', Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 11: 1553 (1916), pp. 48-56. URL: http://www.britishhistory.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=88481

to legitimise the Protestant changes in order to justify her own religious initiatives. Mary's final proclamation ordered her citizens not to incite insurrection or sedition within the kingdom, or face legal repercussions. This included calling them "heretics" and "papists."

Mary also mandated that anyone teaching English must have received university training before preaching, teaching, or interpreting the Bible. Protestantism encouraged laymen to read and teach the Scriptures, therefore this education was crucial. But according to Catholic doctrine, only males who had received training and ordination were qualified to correctly interpret the Bible. "Neither shall they print any book, treatise, dialogue, rhyme, ballad, comedy, or argument except by special, written command of her Majesty, under pain of her displeasure,[31]" the proclamation concluded.

By giving her subjects these instructions, Mary made it plain that although she would not compel them to practise her faith, she would not put up with the dissemination of seditious material or the publication of unapproved theological interpretations. Mary's proclamation thus made it apparent that she supported toleration in England, but it also made it plain what her religious goals were for the nation.

In addition to promoting Mary's religious reforms and intentions through sermons and orations, Mary's Lord Chancellor and priests initiated the process of acclimating the English populace to Catholic customs and rituals, including the Mass. Reintroducing customs that had been outlawed during earlier reigns was one of Mary's main strategies for ensuring the success of her government's Catholic goals and giving her citizens a sense of security and welcome in the new order.

Emperor Charles V and Pope Julius III received reports praising her religious programmes' success and advancement across the kingdom, particularly with reference to the Mass's revival.

[31] “The Queen’s pronouncement on religion”

Although the resumption of mass in England appeared to indicate popular support for her general religious policy, many believed that these actions marked the start of a general Roman Catholic takeover. Throughout her five-year reign, Mary controlled the public's perception of her by using sermons, prayer books, pamphlets, legislation, the writings of her Catholic supporters, and woodcuts to demonstrate to all of her subjects—Protestant and Catholic alike—her divine right as ruler and her devotion to the Catholic faith. Mary I was a true Tudor monarch in this sense. The Tudor rulers placed great emphasis on utilising religious and symbolic imagery to depict themselves in order to legitimise their rule, particularly with regard to the Church of England following the break with Rome in 1529.

Sponsorship and distribution of pamphlets and liturgical materials was one of the most efficient ways to propagate the image of Mary as a devout, Catholic woman and Queen. One tactic Mary used was to put little pictures of herself in prayer books and religious booklets, encouraging various types of public devotion. Mary tried to present herself as the English people' champion of the Catholic faith, but she also tried to present a more favourable picture of herself as a prince of the Counter-Reformation. Mary had to depict herself as a monarch who was fervently working to rid England of the horrors of Protestant reform if she was to be a "Counter-Reformation prince" and effectively embody this image.

The Counter-Reformation was a time of Catholic resurgence and attempts to stop the Protestant Reformation from spreading by nations with a large Catholic population. The Council of Trent marks the start of the Counter-Reformation, which is usually dated from 1545 to 1648 and ends with the Thirty Years' War. The Council of Trent was an ecumenical council of the Catholic Church that condemned Protestant heresy according to its definition and established the Church's lessons. In actuality, the Counter-Reformation was a counteroffensive that declared all Protestants to be heretics and any doctrine they may have held to be false. Under the guidance of Popes such as Paul III, Pius IV, Julius III, and Paul IV convened at the Council of

Trent, a significant reform conference that represented the Counter-Reformation. Although Mary did not participate in the Council of Trent planning, her reign is regarded by many historians as an effective example of a Counter-Reformation monarchy because of the reforms she brought about in the seminaries and in the educational programmes for the Catholic clergy, who continued to follow her teachings even during Elizabeth's reign.

Mary I also revived the ritual of curing the ‘King’s evil’ or the ‘scrofula’ which had been started by Henry VI in order to legitimize his reign. During the mediaeval and early modern eras, the touch of royalty was believed to be a cure for The King's Evil, a swelling of the lymph glands due to the onset of Tuberculosis. Henry VI had a clear political objective when he came to the throne, which was to use the practice of treating the King's Evil to justify his sovereign authority and power by appealing to divine sanction.

Mary and her government achieved significant progress in creating and promoting these images, but the image of Mary as a Catholic monarch, healer, and restorer was undermined when she took strategic decisions to allow foreign influence into the nation. Mary's choice to wed Philip of Spain, the heir apparent to the Habsburg throne, cast doubt on the future of her reign and the advancement of Catholic reforms. In order to win her subjects' support and allegiance, Mary had to make yet another unpopular policy decision with the English people. This time, she needed to further harmonise her image with that of her Spanish spouse.

Mary's reputation and her religious policies plummeted as a result of the Habsburg marriage, the official reunion with Rome, and the resuscitation of the heresy laws. Many in England associated Catholicism with brutality and foreignness due to her marriage to Philip of Spain and her adoption of these "radical" religious policies. Because Mary's subjects saw their English queen as a stand-in for Spanish and Popish power and influence, the Catholic laws she imposed following her marriage were met with fierce opposition from the general public.

Executing the main Protestant leaders, including Thomas Cranmer, John Hooper, and John Rogers, was one of the goals of the heresy legislation, which were put into effect in February 1555, with the intention of depressing and weakening the Protestant movement in England. However, the laws gradually started to target common people, undermining the policy's efficacy. Furthermore, Stephen Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, expressed his belief that the revival of the heresy legislation was merely a scare tactic used to drive away Protestantism, with the expectation that those facing burning would confess and return to the true faith. This might have worked for some people, but Mary and Gardiner's intended outcome was not achieved by the murders of others who refused to repent. Moreover, in public, Mary I agreed that her government should proceed with caution in terms of carrying out executions.

The English people's discontent with Mary and Catholicism grew as the Marian authority persisted in pursuing Protestant factions. Instead of seeing the burning of heretics as a way to eliminate a grave threat to the nation, they started to see it as a harsh and vengeful way to force the populace to adhere to the Catholic faith. Furthermore, the Marian government's strategy of carrying out executions by using local authorities' rulings was a major factor in the heresy laws' unpopularity. The local populace in the areas where these killings occurred perceived them not as royal capital penalties but rather as personal grudges.

Despite her good intentions and some early success, Mary's refusal to back down from burning nearly three hundred martyrs in order to eliminate the Protestant threat when the Pope re-established his authority in England caused her image to be defaced and damaged by the time of her death in 1558. Her Catholic policies were alien and thus hated by the English as a result of these regrettable choices. In order to get Philip's assistance and support for such policies to be passed to Parliament, Mary had waited until after Philip arrived in England to restore Papal authority and to start persecuting Protestant heretics. Regretfully, Mary made a grave error that affected both her reputation and her policies.

4.7 Elizabeth I (1558-1603) and the Religious Settlement

Although Elizabeth I reigned in England from 1558-1603, this dissertation will only cover her reign until 1570, the year in which she was excommunicated by Pope Pius V due to her re-establishment of Protestantism in England and the growth of Anti-Christ movements in the country. Elizabeth I, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, acceded the throne in 1558. To the dismay of her Catholic bishops, England formally reverted to the Protestant fold in May 1559, six months after Elizabeth I had taken the crown.

On May 8, 1559, the last day of Elizabeth's first Parliament, two significant bills were approved by the Royal Assent: the Act of Uniformity, which forbade Catholic liturgy and mandated that all clergy use the new Book of Common Prayer in its place; and the Act of Supremacy, which abolished all foreign jurisdiction over the Church and recognised the Queen as its supreme governor. Even with this legislation, the English Church took some time to convert to Protestantism. However, the new Acts specified two significant deadlines that aided in determining the rate of change. The first was on June 7, 1559, which was thirty days after Parliament was dissolved. No one residing in the Queen's lands would have the legal right to assert that "any foreign prince, prelate, person, state, or potentate" held control over the English Church after that date, according to the Act of Supremacy. In an era where horses were the fastest way to spread news, this grace period was perhaps the smallest that made sense. The Act of Uniformity, which stated that the Marian statute that had abolished Protestant forms of worship would itself become void on the following Feast of St. John the Baptist, 24 June 1559, was the second deadline that contributed to the foundation of the Elizabethan Protestant state.

As a compromise to the more conservative members of Parliament, Elizabeth also adopted the title of "Supreme Governor of the Church" rather than "Supreme Head," which had been the title held by her father and brother. Despite being the monarch, she was unable to lead the

Church due to her gender, which made this necessary. For this reason, Parliament would not have permitted Elizabeth to ascend to the position of Supreme Head, and Elizabeth need this authority over the Church in order to impose the changes she desired. As she did not wish to force her people to choose between their Queen and their religion, she also did not require the populace to swear loyalty to the Supreme Governor—only Church and government officials were subject to this requirement. The thirty-nine Articles, which were mainly Protestant with some well-placed ambiguity in places that may have otherwise entirely rejected some Catholic concepts, such transubstantiation, were finally passed by the Convocation under Elizabeth's command. Because transubstantiation was rejected, it was replaced with a different, just as meaningful ceremony. These uncertainties gave the clergy and the general public a justifiable means of continuing to hold to certain more Catholic points of view.

The Puritans presented Elizabeth with the greatest challenge to her reform programme. Radical Protestants who were committed to cleansing the Church made comprised this sect. Their goal was to abolish the superstitions of the Catholic Church and restore the church to its original form as the apostolic church, based solely on the Bible.

Elizabeth's Church reforms were contested by them on the grounds that they contained an excessive amount of superstition and ceremony. Elizabeth first attempted to appease the Puritans by offering them Scriptural purity in the Thirty-Nine Articles while preserving the Catholic framework. However, the Puritans stuck to their name and their goal of ridding the Church of all non-Scriptural teachings. Then, following a protracted period of suspension following the death of Archbishop Edmund Grindal in 1583, Elizabeth named John Whitgift, a Protestant who was anti-Puritan. Whitgift punished the clergy for not following the rules of the English Church and dealt with the Puritans with an iron hand. It was more difficult to deal with the Catholics than the Puritans.

Elizabeth had to be able to control the Catholics without endangering the interests of France and Spain, the two Catholic giants. She never made any of the laypeople swear to adhere to her religion, and instead permitted them to follow Catholic tradition in secret. The majority of English Catholics did, however, choose England over the Catholic Church when the Pope forced them to make that decision in 1566. Elizabeth still had to tread carefully when it came to her religious beliefs, though, since if she leaned too much towards the Protestant and Puritan side, France and Spain, the Catholic nations that bordered her, would attack her and try to forcefully convert her and her people back to Catholicism.

According to Susan Doran, the Elizabethan Church represented a compromising ground between Protestantism and Catholicism (Doran, 1993)[32]. It possessed the Catholic discipline but the theology of the Protestant churches. She does, however, assert that this was essentially an accident rather than the product of meticulous preparation. Because of the political decisions made during their many theological disagreements, Elizabeth and her bishops left the Elizabethan Church caught between two opposing faiths.

The Church Reform of Elizabeth I was a convoluted matter. As was already established, Elizabeth had to be cautious and circumspect when repairing her father's church because of the religious mood in the nation when she ascended to the throne. She was not, however, a meek revivalist. She mixed Catholic structure and Protestant theology to create a whole new kind of church. Although her policies officially demanded a nation devoted exclusively to Protestantism, she was not one to "make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts.[33]" "The clerical hierarchy and the Prayer Book, which are external indicators of the Elizabethan church (the via media), are Catholic, while the doctrine, which is an internal component, is

[32] Doran, Elizabeth I and Religion, 20-21.
[33] 4 Ibid., 42.

Protestant.[34]" She might not have taken the ideal middle route as she had promised, but she was nevertheless able to establish equilibrium for her country.

4.8 Legacy

The Reformation of the English Church under the reign of King Henry VIII followed by his successors left an everlasting impact on English society in cultural aspects. It is till date depicted in movies, read as part of literary texts and discussed vividly.

The Reformation was vividly described in literature. One such canonical literary text is Shakespeare and Fletcher's Henry VIII, written in 1613. The text gives a vivid description of the divorce trial of King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Shakespeare describes Catherine's defence as 'patient' and 'virtuous'. After all, there are more overtly sectarian parts in the drama. One clear example is Cranmer's prophecy in Act 5, which was greatly influenced by Foxe's Acts and Monuments. Similar to other plays about the Reformation, such as Thomas, Lord Cromwell (1602), Thomas Heywood's I If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody (1605), Samuel Rowley's When You See Me, You Know Me (1605), and Thomas Wyatt (1607), Stephen Gardiner is also portrayed in the play as a vicious persecutory villain. There is also an attempt to position Henry as an anti-papal character in his brief 'I loathe / This dilatory sloth and trickery of Rome' (2.4.233–4). Nonetheless, Katherine rules the action in a lot of ways.

Another canonical texts written as a narrative of the Reformation was Felix Insidiae: Bernadino Ochino's A tragoedie, or Dyaloge (1549). The text is a series of dialogues that depict the rise and fall of the papacy as a satanic plot. It begins with dialogue 1 and is sparked by Boniface III's actions in dialogues 2–5. After that, dialogues 6-7 return to the cosmological framework and discuss the Satanic and Christie arguments. Finally, dialogues 8–9 tell the story of the

[34]Prall, Church and State, 81

English victory over the papacy through the actions of Henry VIII, Cranmer, and Edward VI. The text is clearly directed very overtly towards the Cranmer family, given its highly publicised internationalionism and its provenance (from an Italian writing in Latin to English). It is also closely associated with an innovative and ambitious period of religious and cultural patronage on the part of Cranmer during the Edwardian period.

The Reformation under Henry VIII has been portrayed in various movies and television shows, often focusing on the political and personal aspects of this tumultuous period in English history. One of the most notable portrayals is in the television series "The Tudors," which aired from 2007 to 2010. The series offers a dramatic retelling of Henry VIII's reign, with a particular emphasis on his efforts to divorce Catherine of Aragon and marry Anne Boleyn.

"The Tudors" depicts Henry VIII's break with the Catholic Church and the establishment of the Church of England, portraying the king as a complex and often contradictory figure. The series highlights the political motivations behind Henry's actions, including his desire for a male heir and his quest for personal and political power. The show also explores the religious turmoil of the period, showing the conflict between Catholics and Protestants and the persecution of those who opposed the king's religious reforms.

Another portrayal of the Reformation under Henry VIII can be seen in the movie "Anne of the Thousand Days" (1969), which focuses on Henry's relationship with Anne Boleyn. The film portrays Henry as a passionate and impulsive ruler, driven by his desire for Anne and his quest for a male heir. The movie also depicts the political machinations of the court and the religious upheaval of the period, showing the tensions between Catholics and Protestants and the impact of Henry's break with Rome.

In addition to these fictional portrayals, there are also documentaries and historical dramas that offer a more factual look at the Reformation under Henry VIII. For example, the documentary

series "The Six Wives of Henry VIII" (2001) explores Henry's relationships with his six wives and the political and religious implications of these marriages. The series provides a detailed and historically accurate account of Henry's reign and his role in the English Reformation.

CHAPTER- 5

Conclusion

The research made an attempt to understand, identify and examine the socio-cultural impact of the Reformation in England under the reign of Henry VIII, the reaction of the public, England's foreign affairs and the legacy it left on the Tudor successors.

As mentioned in the objectives, it has been inferred in the course of the study that Henry VIII's England during English Reformation, remained more or less a Catholic State without the Pope. Although certain changes were brought about by the Reformation such as the Dissolution of Monasteries, the transfer of ecclesiastical funds towards education, banning of Catholic festival celebrations and the destruction of the images of saints (evangelism), the basic foundation of the Church remained Catholic.

Henry VIII stood up for the fundamental Catholic idea of transubstantiation. During the Reformation, when the youth of the country went against the idea that the wine and bread transformed into Jesus' blood and body respectively, during communion, the monarch termed them to be heretics and made arrangements for their punishment, including execution. Moreover, attackers of the sacrament of the altars were also executed and became Protestant martyrs.

The Treason Acts and Heresy Laws introduced by the Henrician government aimed at punishing those who went against the monarch and his legitimacy and authority. In its actuality, the punishments did not persecute those who were pro-Catholicism, but more so those who did not recognize Henry VIII as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. This way, Henry VIII set the tone for the successive Tudors, all of whom used symbolic imagery to legitimize their rule. The destruction of the images of saints and angels was less to do with its Catholic

context but more so that people only recognized the symbolic imagery of Henry VIII as the supreme commander, guide and saint.

Moreover, for the same reasons, Henry VIII rejected the teachings of Martin Luther and John Calvin. Calvinists went into exile, including Anne Locke and John Foxe, to other parts of Europe. Only during the reign of Edward VI could the Calvinists rise again. Henry VIII's reformation can be hence viewed as a simple struggle for control, power and authority.

The research has also helped reveal the role played by women in parishes and the church. Women were involved in fundraising activities, something that was fundamental for the efficient working of the religious houses. With the coming of the Reformation, this fundraising success reached a low due to the destruction of religious houses and the imagery of saints. Hence, women's religious roles also suffered. High ranking women of the society kept their connection to the church, convents and nunneries by making donations and indulging in charity. However, with the dissolution of monasteries, the workings of these religious associations also altered. The links between religion and women's reproductive cycles were also revealed as part of this research. With the changes in the conception of the immaculate conception of Jesus, women's reproductive system's information was also altered. Changes took place in the methods of delivery of a child, where before the Reformation imagery and artifacts relating to saints was a must, post Reformation such items were banned. Prayers uttered by midwives were also altered by Protestant priests. An evolving relationship between Protestant clergy and women of higher ranking families was also seen due to the latter having lost their sense of direction that was earlier found in the activities of the parish and church. It was also revealed how women of the middle ages were eager for liberty and were provided so by the society, at least, in the higher ends of society.

The Dissolution of Monasteries transferred the economic control from the hands of the Church into the hands of the monarchy, making the latter stronger. The redistribution of land also created more landed gentry and made the rich even richer. The Reformation helped set up a more feudalistic and capitalist society in England.

England's position in the International arena was also examined as part of this research. England failed to gain control and spread Reformation in Ireland and Scotland, the latter of which went into a series of conflicts with England due to the divide fuelled by Mary Queen of Scots and the establishment of the Scottish Presbyterian Church. In Ireland, the Reformation failed due to the Irish Gaelic and Old English Communities regarding Catholicism as their identity, the lack of proper English rule over Ireland during the initial phases of the Reformation and the socio-economic power held by Catholic churches. France emerged as the cultural epicentre of Europe after England's breakaway with Rome, prior to which England held the position of the same. Moreover, the Spanish Habsburgs also did not maintain alliances with England, wanting the latter to join back with Rome. Ties were strengthened to some extent due to the marriage between Mary I and Phillip II of Spain, however, with the coming of Elizabeth I, ties with Spain severed again, leading to the Spanish acquisition and assassination attempts on the Queen during the Spanish Armada of 1588. England's Northern border was the most conflict inflicted zone due to the rebellions organised by the Scottish.

The research helped reveal the passion of Mary I to provide salvation, as she considered it to be, to her Catholic subjects by overturning her father's reforms. The Counter-Reformation under her failed due to her untimely death, but had drastic effects. Many of her counter-reforms had to be gradually and strenuously removed by Elizabeth I. Finally, true Protestantism was only established in England during the rule of Elizabeth I with the help of her Religious Settlement.

The Reformation remains, to this day, one of the most significant events in English history, one that introduced many alterations to the English socio-economic and political structure. Many changes came along with the Reformation, such as, a fall in political authority followed the Church's loss of economic dominance. The clergy vote in the House of Lords became a minority in Parliament once abbots were removed from their positions. Bishops were even more reliant on the Crown and lost their status as powerful feudal rulers. Convocation's autonomy from the law was taken away. With regard to monastic property, the Church lost to laypeople the ability to present roughly two-fifths of the kingdom's benefices; this would have far-reaching effects. Additionally, the Church lost a great deal of its extensive patronage system, which included jobs for laypeople as well as for clerics. At the end of the sixteenth century, one astute observer identified this system as one of the primary sources of strength for the Roman Catholic Church on the continent. Furthermore, the Church lost more than £4,00,000 year in judicial profits (restriction of appeals to Rome) and first-fruits and tenths. Since these monies were taken out of the kingdom, they did not immediately benefit the English hierarchy, but they did increase the international Church's riches, influence, and stature and helped to create a fund that even the most powerful members of the English Church were able to draw from.

It has shaped the dynamics of the modern English society and the rules and orders of the British Royal Family today. The British monarch remains the Supreme Head of the Church of England till this day and the Archbishop of Canterbury remains the most influential bishop of England. The three powerful emblems of the Reformation, namely The Book of Common Prayer, the Bible in English and the English Hymnal remain objects of extreme religious importance in England and shapes the religious dynamics even in contemporary times. One of the main products of the Protestant Reformation is the Bible in common tongues. Despite their differing theological perspectives, the main reformers aimed to translate the Bible into a language that

the uneducated could understand and read by the literate laity. One symbol of the Protestant Reformation is the common Bible. The Bible in the King James Version serves as a symbol of the English Reformation. England was conformed to a Protestant idea of Catholicism as idolatry by Henry VIII's destruction of the monasteries and the visual monuments of Catholicism that dot the landscape of mediaeval England. His son Edward also destroyed centuries' worth of English Catholic art, including paintings and sculptures, and whitewashed church interiors. It also shifted the focus of English worship from the visual to the auditory. It was mandated that the Bible be read, preached, and listened. During this time, liturgical music was highly valued in England, particularly in the compositions of William Byrd and Thomas Tallis. However, there is no monumental church building or art during this time.

Several limitations were faced in the course of the study, such as the inability to conduct fieldwork and the inaccessibility of some of the required documents. This study can be useful for future research in the fields of understanding the role of women in Medieval England, the international position of England during the 16th century and comparing the reigns of Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I.

REFERENCES

1. Marshall, P. (2009). (Re)defining the English Reformation. *Journal of British Studies*, *48*(3), 564–586. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27752571
2. HAIGH, C. (1983). ANTICLERICALISM AND THE ENGLISH REFORMATION. *History*, *68*(224), 391–407. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24417597
3. Haigh, C. (2001). Success and Failure in the English Reformation. *Past & Present*, *173*, 28–49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3600839
4. Brigden, S. (1982). Youth and the English Reformation. *Past & Present*, *95*, 37–67. http://www.jstor.org/stable/650732
5. MacDonald, W. W. (1973). Anticlericalism, Protestantism, and the English Reformation. *Journal of Church and State*, *15*(1), 21–32. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23914972
6. FISSELL, M. E. (2004). The Politics of Reproduction in the English Reformation. *Representations*, *87*(1), 43–81. https://doi.org/10.1525/rep.2004.87.1.43
7. Lehmberg, S. E. (1986). Henry VIII, the Reformation, and the Cathedrals. *Huntington Library Quarterly*, *49*(3), 261–270. https://doi.org/10.2307/3817124
8. Bernard, G. W. (1998). The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way. *The Historical Journal*, *41*(2), 321–349. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2640109
9. REX, R. (2014). THE RELIGION OF HENRY VIII. *The Historical Journal*, *57*(1), 1–32. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24528908
10. LEHMBERG, S. E. (1988). HENRY VIII: THE REFORMATION BEGINS. In *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society* (pp. 67–100). Princeton University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvtdv.10

11. Gunther, K., & Shagan, E. H. (2007). Protestant Radicalism and Political thought in the Reign of Henry VIII. *Past & Present*, *194*, 35–74. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25096659
12. BERNARD, G. W. (2011). The Dissolution of the Monasteries. *History*, *96*(4 (324)), 390–409. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24429244
13. Murphy, N. (2022). Conquest, Cartography and the Development of Linear Frontiers during Henry VIII's Invasion of France in 1544-1546. In M. Damen & K. Overlaet (Eds.), *Constructing and Representing Territory in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (pp. 201–218). Amsterdam University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv25wxbh8.12
14. OZMENT, S., EIRE, C., & RITTGERS, R. K. (2020). On the Eve of the Reformation. In *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (pp. 182–222). Yale University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv14rmq6h.10
15. RANKIN, M. (2011). Henry VIII, Shakespeare, and the Jacobean Royal Court. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, *51*(2), 349–366. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23028079
16. WARNER, J. C. (1996). Sir Thomas More, "Utopia", and the Representation of Henry VIII, 1529-1533. *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, *20*(4), 59–72. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43445124
17. Manning, R. B. (1970). The Spread of the Popular Reformation in England. *Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies*, *1*, 35–52. https://doi.org/10.2307/3003684

18. *Calendar of state papers relating to English affairs in the Vatican Archives, volume 1, 1558-1571*. Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs in the Vatican Archives | British History Online. (n.d.). https://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/vatican/vol1

19. *Details for: Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office / › The National Archives Library catalog*. (n.d.). https://tna.koha-ptfs.co.uk/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=4217

20. Ekelund, Jr., R. B., Hébert, R. F., & Tollison, R. D. (2002). An Economic Analysis of the Protestant Reformation. *Journal of Political Economy*, *110*(3), 646–671. https://doi.org/10.1086/339721

21. Colby, C. (1899). ALLEGIANCE TO HENRY VIII (1534). In *Selections From the Sources of English History*. Longmans, Greek & Co. https://media.bloomsbury.com/rep/files/primary-source-76-oath-of-allegiance-to-henry-viii.pdf

22. Loach, J. (1994). THE FUNCTION OF CEREMONIAL IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII. *Past & Present*, *142*(1), 43–68. https://doi.org/10.1093/past/142.1.43

23. Nendza, J. (1984). Political Idealism in More's "Utopia." *The Review of Politics*, *46*(3), 428–451. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1407223

24. Cranmer, T. (1551). *42 Articles of Religion*.

25. Hunt, A. (2009). The Monarchical Republic of Mary I. *The Historical Journal*, *52*(3), 557–572. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40264190

26. Jefferies, H. A. (2018). The Reformation Ireland 'With the Religion Left Out': *Une Paradigme Erronée*? *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, *107*(426), 185–198. https://www.jstor.org/stable/90021948

27. Strong, R. C. (1960). Edward VI and the Pope. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, *23*(3/4), 311–313. https://doi.org/10.2307/750601

28. Lyon, B. (1976). Edward IV. *Journal of British Studies*, *16*(1), 178–186. http://www.jstor.org/stable/175289

29. Ford, E. A., & Mitchell, D. C. (2009). Queen Elizabeth I. In *Royal Portraits in Hollywood: Filming the Lives of Queens* (pp. 226–294). University Press of Kentucky. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2jcgw2.11

30. Heisch, A. (1975). Queen Elizabeth I: Parliamentary Rhetoric and the Exercise of Power. *Signs*, *1*(1), 31–55. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3172965

31. Neale, J. E. (1943). France and England, 1540-1640 [Review of *Industry and Government in France and England, 1540-1640.*, by J. U. Nef]. *The Economic History Review*, *13*(1/2), 119–120. https://doi.org/10.2307/2590523

32. Ford, A. (2017). The Protestant History of the Irish Reformation. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, *106*(424), 448–455. https://www.jstor.org/stable/90015890

33. Reid, W. S. (1945). The Scottish Counter-Reformation before 1560. *Church History*, *14*(2), 104–125. https://doi.org/10.2307/3160932

34. Mason, R. A. (1997). Usable Pasts: History and Identity in Reformation Scotland. *The Scottish Historical Review*, *76*(201), 54–68. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25530738

35. Mitchell, M. (1971). Works of Art from Rome for Henry VIII: A Study of Anglo-Papal Relations as Reflected in Papal Gifts to the English King. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, *34*(1), 178–203. https://doi.org/10.2307/751020

36. Shore, M. F. (1972). Henry VIII and the crisis of Generativity. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *2*(4), 359. https://doi.org/10.2307/202310

37. Mattingly, Catherine, 306; Friedmann, Anne Boleyn, I, I2; Smith, "A Matter of Conscience," 41.

38. The divorce of Henry VIII on JSTOR. (n.d.). www.jstor.org. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30094870

39. See the letter of John Casale to Wolsey, Letters and Papers, Vol. IV, No. 5038, p. 2186.

40. BERNARD, G. W. (2011). The Dissolution of the Monasteries. History, 96(4 (324)), 390–409. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24429244