The Social Background of Renaissance England as Reflected in the Diaries of the Period

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THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF RENAISSANCE ENGLAND

AS REFLECTED IN THE DIARIES

OF THE PERIOD

A Thesis

Presented in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

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by

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INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this study to present a synthesis of the characteristics which made up the social background of Renaissance England, as they were reflected in the diaries of the period. Since the many phases of the movement are so inextricably woven with each other, it is difficult to present each aspect as a distinct unit. Each manifestation of the Renaissance spirit must be considered in relation to the whole movement.

This is not a history of the period nor of any of the aspects suggested; the scattered recordings of the diarists serve to create an impression of Renaissance traits which is fresh and unique. While the diaries are almost negligible in literary value, as human documents they are inimitable, and as a form of writing, they are typical expressions of the Renaissance spirit, showing, as they do, the awakening traits of observation and comparison and the desire to capture and hold with some degree of permanence the evanescent pleasures of the day.

Most of the diarists wrote without formulating their purpose but their records follow the style of Henry Slingsby, who definitely acknowledges his indebtedness:

Hereupon I follow'd the advise of Michael de Montaigne to sett down in this Book such accidents as befall me, not yt I make my study of it, but rather a recreation at vacant times, without observing any time, method, or order in my wrighting or rather scribbling.¹

¹Henry Slingsby, Diary, p. 55.
CHAPTER I

THE NEW SPIRIT

The New Spirit of the Renaissance may be likened to a young lad just released from school for the holidays. Freed from compulsory reading, his use of books, if any, tends to gratify his curiosity, to promote his hobbies, to supplement geographical information, to increase a thirst for adventure, and, above all, to awaken a desire for personal prowess and renown. The chance remark, or even jesting criticism of a newcomer may brightly, though briefly, illuminate the suddenly intolerable scene of custom, and individualism claims its own. For a while, absence of supervision breeds a sort of wild exuberance, and sometimes a defiance against authority hitherto taken for granted. Home times are frequently found irksome, familiar friends seem dull, routine oppresses.

The desire to be somebody, to scintillate before new acquaintances and friends, to have a good time, to boast of achievements, to be a law unto oneself—all characteristic of youth—showed the awakening Renaissance consciousness of individuality and nationalism. There was, too, the childish wish to make fairy tales come true: to transform a gawky, stammering youth into a charming, accomplished prince. Youth would sooner die than be behind the times; it will follow a leader—but it wants to choose its own way.
The New Spirit in Literature and Revival of the Classics

Because the best works of Italian Renaissance literature reached England at almost the same time as the newly revived classics, English readers were placed simultaneously in possession of the most eminent and representative works of Greece, Rome and Italy. At the high tide of the Renaissance, Spanish, French and German influences also reached England in drama, romance and legend. Contemporaneous versions of the Bible in the vernacular were issued "so that almost at the same period of time England obtained . . . an extensive library of ancient and modern authors."¹ Lady Anne Clifford's diary shows evidence of the varied choice in reading matter available. While she "sat at . . . work" she heard read "a great part of the History of the Netherlands," "a book on the government of the Turks," "Chaucer," "Ovid's Metamorphoses," and "St. Augustine's City of God."² Studying the works of Josephus" occupied some of her leisure hours. She read The Faerie Queene, and Sidney's Arcadia, perhaps to keep abreast of current trends of her day, but there is no mention of her personal reaction to their perusal. While both Lady Anne Clifford and Lady Margaret Hoby did regular "reading in the Bible," Lady Hoby, of a more serious temperament, preferred such uplifting material as "a sermon of Udale" and "The Book of Martyrs"³ instead of the more frivolous matter of Lady Anne's choice. She "heard Rivers and Marsh [probably

¹Preserved Smith, "Renaissance," Encyclopedia Britannica, XIX, p. 132.
²Ann (Clifford) Herbert Pembroke, Diary, pp. 41, 55.
³Margaret Hoby, Diary, pp. 163, 117, 175.
her maids,] read Montaigne's Essays which book they [had] read almost [a] fortnight." These Essays definitely influenced English literature, since they bore Bacon's Essays [as their] finest fruit . . . . The word "Essays" in the sense of informal comments on things at large, was first introduced by Bacon into the English language, and came direct from Montaigne, [whose] topics are often borrowed by Bacon. 5

Their first English translator was John Florio, famous for his Italian-English dictionary.

Tudor England early showed a practical interest in French grammars, and Crosfield's choice of a book to try newly acquired linguistic skill is typical of the period. He "bought [a] French Bible," but also showed determination to explore a new field by the purchase of "Florio's Dictionary Italian." At the same time he listened with interest to news "of a Spanish history the first copy describing the series of ye popes, wch presently after was reprinted & altered." 6 Beginners of Spanish like Mr. Barlow's "sonne" had a problem to handle "a Spanish grammer in 8 vo. printed at Lovayn in anno 1555 by Bartholomaeus Gravay in Spanish, French, and Latin." 7

As young Thomas Hoby traveled over the continent, at various stopping placed he "settled . . . sumwhat to [his] book" but it was not until he "had conveyed [his] stuff to Paris and settled [himself] there," that

4 Pembroke, loc. cit.
6 Thomas Crosfield, Diary, pp. 10; 33-34.
7 John Dee, Diary, p. 60.
he "translate[d] into Englishe the third booke of the 'Cowrtisan.'" From Paris, also, he "sent unto Sir Henry Sidney the epitome of the Italian tung which [he] drue out there for him."8 While at Augsburg, he "translated into Englishe the Tragedie of Free Will, . . . afterward . . . dedicated to my Lord Marquess of Northampton."9 Consciousness of the newly revived interest in the classics showed in frequent comments made by the young traveller, "as Vergel says" or "as Ovid says." A man who received "the impress of classical culture in his youth, was never able, altogether, to forget this."10 Even in the English Court of Requests, where Dr. Cesar was Master, classical allusion and characteristic play on words were introduced in the case of "Robbin Snig . . ." who was told, "Nowe thou canst be heard in noe other Court thou appealest to Caesar."11

Occasional, casual entries betrayed the passion for puns, even in the precincts of the law court:

There was an action brought to trie the title of one Rooke an infant for a house and certaines land. "All this controversy," said the attornay, "is but for a little rookes nest."

[One] Booth being indited of felony for forgery the second time, desyred a day to answere till Easter terme; "Oh!" said the Attorney, "you would have a spring; you shall, but in a halter."12

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8 Thomas Hoby, A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me, Thomas Hoby, p. 78.
9 Ibid., p. 63.
10 Lewis Einstein, Tudor Ideals, p. 164.
11 John Manningham, Diary, p. 129.
12 Ibid., pp. 63; 84.
With so much attention concentrated on the Bible in translation, in preaching, in private study and interpretation, a popular tendency to use Scriptural allusions showed itself in occasional anecdote:

A gentlewoman which had bin to see a child that was sayd to be possessed with the diwel, told howe she had lost hir purse while they were at prayer. "Oh," said a gentleman, "not unlikely, for you forgott halfe your lesson; Christ bad you watch and pray, and you prayed onely; but had you watched as you prayed, you might have kept your purse still."\(^\text{13}\)

A shrewd observer with indications of the new spirit of criticism remarked, "Though a fashion of witt in writing may last longer then a fashion in a sute of clothes, yet yt a writer live long, and change not his fashion, he may perhaps outlive his best credit. It were good for such a man to dy quickly."\(^\text{14}\)

Among gentlemen with a common classical interest, some reference to the notables of antiquity seemed part of a code. "The Attorney said he could make a lamentable argument . . . but it would be said of him as of Cassandra, when he had spoken much he should not be believed."\(^\text{15}\)

Occasions of strong national feeling evoked expressions of emotion, which the artificiality of the time twisted to conceit. At the time of Elizabeth's death, Manningham observed "Hir Majestie departed this lyfe, mildly like a lambe, easily like a ripe apple from the tree."\(^\text{16}\) The nearness of the sky, if not of heaven, approached through the growing interest in astronomy,

\(^{13}\) Ibid., p. 79.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., p. 85.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., p. 82.

\(^{16}\) Ibid., p. 146.
was felt and expressed in references like that of Bacon, who said that the generall rules of the lawe were like cometes, and wandring stars. Mr Attorney [Coke] said rather they were like the sunne; they have light in themselves, and give light to others, whereas the starrs are but corpora opaca.\textsuperscript{17}

The growing passion for books communicated itself even to sleeping biblipohiles, who "had the vision and shew of many bokes in ... dreams; ... one great volume thik in large quarto, new printed "Notus in Judaea Deus."\textsuperscript{18} Ready sympathy and understanding was given to one in prison, who would tell "they had broken his heart, that had locked up his library from him." A man who feared he loved his books too well, having read in the great and most elegant Latine Historie of Mons. James de Thou, of some learned men who deceased with greif [sic] after their libraries had been pillaged and spoiled by the violence of war ... [felt that] it might well induce [him] often to pray, that if by tyranny or injustice [his] library should be wrested from [him, he] might account it but a creature comfort, and so submit to God's willwith patience and humility.\textsuperscript{19}

The culmination of Renaissance literary genius occurred at the end of the sixteenth century. While it had absorbed within itself all the volatile elements of foreign influences, the near-explosive concoction of genius was tempered in the crucible of creation by the cooling dash of English calm. The seething ferment of foreign forces boiled and bubbled below the surface, here and there oozing through the outer filament of

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 82.
\textsuperscript{18}Dee, op. cit., p. 59.
\textsuperscript{19}Simonds D'Ewes, Extracts from the MS Journal, p. 47.
prosaic matter-of-factness. With the repressed excitement of a laboratory technician, Francis Bacon distilled his thought processes; with the ordered beauty and colorful pageant of tapestry, Spenser presented the Faerie Queene and although

hir Majestie had given order that Spenser should have a reward for his poems, ... Spenser could have nothing, [so] he presented her with these verses:

It pleased your Grace upon a tyme
To graunt me reason for my ryme,
But from that tyme untill this season
I heard of neither ryme nor reason.20

The literary world fairly vibrated with the tread of giants, but there are but faint echoes in the day-by-day recordings of their contemporaries. Perhaps a series of preliminary shocks at the magnetic richness of the age left them immune, or, perhaps, being so close to the scene, they were unaware of the marvels transpiring. At any rate, life was too busy to be dull: with something to do, something to see, something to read, something to talk about, no one was a loss for amusement, for occupation, for knowledge, for words. Word-plays tumbled over each other in nimbleness of wits, in an eagerness to be "quick on the draw" with the rapier of repartee. It was a passion for the new which stirred England--the ever-driving urge of youth to see how far it can go without being caught or hurt.

Geographical Expansion

With the consciousness of "being embarked on a new enterprise, patriotism was exalted, greed was awakened by the hope of wealth, a new

world without ownership was open to whoever dared, and Englishmen dared
the venture."\textsuperscript{21}

Men of science were interested in assisting geographical expansion
and frequently would-be explorers came for consultations or assistance.
Dr. Dee, "often professionally consulted as an astrologer, . . . was wel
beloved and respected of . . . persons of quality . . . who very often
invited him to their houses or came to his." In November, 1577, "Sir
Umfrey Gilbert cam . . . to Mortlak" and three years later the same
explorer "granted [Dee's] request to him . . . for the royalties of
discovery all to the North above the parallel of the 50 degree of latitude."
The doctor's services were also enlisted on behalf of the royal titles,
and he "declared to the Queene her title to Greenland, Estetiland and
Friseland."\textsuperscript{22} "The trade in African negroes was fathered by the English
captain Hawkins."\textsuperscript{23} He, "who had been with Sir Francis Drake, [also] cam
to . . . Mortlake."\textsuperscript{24}

The philosopher understood the workings of scientific instruments
and was able to give aid to foreigners as well as his own countrymen:

June 30, 1581, Mr. John Leonard Haller, of Hallerstein,
by Worms in Germany, receyved his instructions manifold
for his jornay to Qunisay, which jornay I moved him unto,
and instructed him plentifully for the variation of the
compas, observing in all places as he passed.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{21}Einstein, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{22}Dee, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 3, 8, 4.
\textsuperscript{23}Carlton J.H. Hayes, \textit{A Political and Social History
of Modern Europe}, I, p. 67.
\textsuperscript{24}Dee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{25}Loc. cit.
Apparently, he was generous with the loan of his own equipment but regrettably, the borrowers were not always careful to return his property undamaged. "... Mr. Saunders of Ewell sent home my great sea compass, but without a needle; it came in the night by water." 26

Travelers of note came to visit Mortlake and its scientist-philosopher.

... came the Polish Prince Lord Albert Lasky ... being returned from Oxford ... when he was very honorably used and entertained. He had in his company Lord Russell, Sir Philip Sydney, and other gentlemen: he was rowed by the Queen's men, he had the barge covered with the Queen's cloth, the Queen's trumpeters, &c. He came of purpose to do me honor.

"Mr. Hakluyt" of "Voyages" fame also came; so did "the most famous Mr. Thomas Candish, who had sailed round about the world." 27

Those who had no contact with actual travel or explorers tried to content themselves with such devices as "a little globe, a dyal, a pair of compasses," or read such accounts as

Captaine Whitbourne's book of ye newe-found-land dedicated to King James 1623 wherein he shewes some motives for ye encouragement of his subjects to undertake a plantation of sundry Colonyes therein; it lying about ye middle way betwixt Ireland & America. 28

The world beckoned; those who could, explored its wonders; those whom duty, poverty, or timidity detained at home sailed with the wings of thought to distant shores.

26Ibid., p. 39.
27Ibid., pp. 20; 4, 33.
28Crosfield, op. cit., pp. 5, 22.
Travel

The spirit of restlessness traversed Renaissance England. The world was exciting, changing so constantly one hated to stay at home for fear of missing anything. With the constant interchange of ideas between nations as well as individuals, there were fluctuations of interest. Whatever was different or exciting imparted to life the spice of which the people of the Renaissance were so fond. One had to have ordinary bread and meat and ale, but a bit of spice changed the flavor entirely.

It was [the] charm of intellectual championship which started the whole stream of travel . . . . Whoever had keen wits, an agile mind, imagination, yearned for Italy. There enlightened spirits struck sparks from one another. Young and ardent minds in England and Germany found an escape from the dull and melancholy grimness of their uneducated elders—purely practical fighting-men whose ideals were fixed on a petrified code of life.29

The decisive change in their religious viewpoint of Henry VIII influenced his political policy, and there was need of a new type of minister to carry out the royal wishes. Training was necessary, and an ambassador to a foreign country frequently had a mission which was never included in an official portfolio—charge of a group of young gentlemen pressed into his train to see the world and acquire foreign graces. This mission presumably conferred luster on the ambassador's name, but hardly additional funds, though he had to provide food and lodging for his understudies. It was no wonder that "Sir Henry Wotton 9 yeares ambassador in Venice by great expence run into debt."30

29 Clare Howard, English Travellers of the Renaissance, p. 9.
30 Crosfield, op. cit., p. 67.
The ambassadorial residence at Venice was also a good gathering place "where [one] found ... diverse other Englishmen,"\(^{31}\) although Padua was also a point of national social contact. Upon Hoby's arrival there, he met with Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Jhon Cheeke, Sir Henry Nevell, [and many others and] ... shortly after ... arrived Sir Anthonye Cooke.\(^{32}\)

In many cases, parental chairmanship of what constituted a "ways and means committee" safeguarded the morals of the prospective public servant. It was the custom for a young gentleman to have a tutor or governor appointed by the father, into whose keeping the finances of the journey were entrusted, and from whom the father exacted frequent, detailed reports of progress accomplished for outlay expended. The young gentleman, too, had his share of responsibility--a "relation" was incumbent upon him, furnishing satisfactory evidence of visitation in cities, states, or countries, with information concerning customs, language, assimilation of cultural habits, observation of conduct, both private and national--all with an eye to incorporation in a future career. Cultivation of linguistic skill was important, and to insure proficiency, isolation from fellow-countrymen was recognized as essential, even by the victim himself:

I thought ut behouffull to travaile into the middes of Italye ... to have better knowleg in the tung, as to see the countrey of Tuscane, so much renowned in all places.

... Went to Sicily both to have a sight of the country and also to absent myself for a while out of Englishmenne's companie for the tung's sake.\(^{33}\)

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\(^{31}\)Thomas Hoby, *op. cit.*, p. 8

\(^{32}\)Ibid., pp. 116-117.

\(^{33}\)Ibid., pp. 18, 37.
In Renaissance times, the first-hand observation of travel provided a working knowledge of political economy, of modern history or modern languages. Travel also was a good "finishing school" since it provided substitutes for the knightly trials of yore. There were dangers and discomforts in the way of brigands, plague, inadequate accommodations.

When we wold have anie victualles or anie thing elles we had neede of, there were certain of the shipp appointed to go to the verie edge of the shore, and there to call on[e] that is appointed therefor that onlie purpose, who causeth it to bee brought thither ymmediatlie, and after the bargain is made, the victualles are laide downe upon some stone, and the bringer goethe from yt. Thin goethe on[e] of the shippe to receave yt and laethe downe so much monie for yt, as their covenant was betwext them, and so convayethe it to the shippe. . . . This is because the plague rayneth so much . . . . 34

There were, however, pleasant aspects, as well: "Within . . . Naples . . . a very bewtiful and large hospitall . . . with a good order and cumlie to behold." The profusion of fruits was worthy of nothing:

Catona . . . beset in everie place with pleasant gardines replenisshed with all kinds of frutes, and in exspecialie aranges, [oranges] which are so plentifull there and of suche a biggnes that they are most desired . . . for a great delicasie . . . . By yonde [Syracuse] are growing a great number of canes of suger called cannemele.35

The institutions of learning also merited respect: "Bologna is a verie famous Universitie throwhe owt Italuye bothe for the lawe and other sciences, frequented with scolars from all places."36 The young traveler might be learning on his way, but he was entitled to special

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34Ibid., p. 51.
36Loc. cit.
pretensions to the name of "scholar" if he were fortunate enough to live for a time in the household of a learned foreigner, as did young Hoby at Strasburg, where he "remayned in Mr. Martin Bucer's house."37

English objections to continental travel arose from a variety of motives. Prejudice and jealousy, somewhat fostered by insularity, were fanned into fear of religious perversion, as hatred of Roman Catholicism grew in England. Especially terrifying aspects of the "perversion" were the rumored possibilities of falling into the Scylla of the Inquisition or the Charybdis of supposed Jesuit intrigue, a myth manufactured from the Society's zeal for the conversion of England.

With the early seventeenth century, Italy lost prestige as the promised land of English travellers. Besides the fear of capture by "popish" pirates, there was lack of interest. Learning was no longer confined there, and a change had come over the ideal of a gentleman--a reaction from the Tudor enthusiasm for letters, so that "the Jacobean gallant was hardly more intellectual than the mediaeval page." The influence swung to France, whose gentlemen were "brave, gallant, and magnificent ... but not learned ... With the Stuarts, who had inherited French ways, the English Court was open to French ideals ... and the easy manners of the cavalier."38

Passionate admiration for the treasures of antiquity stimulated

37Ibid., p. 4.
the desire for broadening individual and national horizons by contact with the shrines of inspiration. While travel at first resulted in an importation of foreign cultural ways as well as an increasing familiarity with the erudition of the ancients, gradually the New Spirit became part of the national genius and materialized in the brilliant literary expressions of Elizabethan England.
CHAPTER II

HUMANISM

Intellectual teasers have had vogues in almost every age; the unraveling of the mysteries of ancient Greece and Rome was a prod to the curiosity of the Renaissance. Its spring-like harbinger, the thirteenth century, was "a season of great mental stir and eagerness: the age of Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lully, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus . . . Dante; architecture flourished, great universities were founded--all this was a token of widespread enthusiasm for intellectual things."

In Italy, the fourteenth century took up the work of the preceding; north of the Alps the intellectual impulse was not felt till the century following. There, with the growth of the city states, the broadening of civic liberty and the increase of wealth, a revival of interest in classical culture quickly spread. The roots of the ancient Roman culture lay in the native soil, and the national temperament responded to it sympathetically. With wealth came leisure, and a corresponding interest in pleasure. The pagan ideas of nature and man were brought into prominence, stimulated by the discovery of classical works of art, and the ideals of beauty and pleasure were pursued. Accompanying

2Loc. cit.
the native culture of Rome was that of ancient Greece. With enthusiasm, even abandon, the charms of the world and the capabilities of man were extolled. Virtue was admired merely as a perfection of the human rather than a striving for the divine. The protection and assistance of civic leaders was enlisted and insured through an imitation of the civic pride and valor of ancient patriots. The state represented civic good, and was therefore to be served with fidelity and honor. There was no thought of the elimination of self in the service of a greater good.

The term "Humanism" identifies that "intellectual, literary, and scientific movement of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries," which "aimed at basing every branch of learning on the literature and culture of classical antiquity. Believing that a classical training alone could form a perfect man, the Humanists so called themselves in opposition to the Scholastics, and adopted the term humaniora (the humanities) as signifying the scholarship of the ancients."3

In the early years of the fifteenth century, when Italy was the intellectual center of Europe, the beginnings of Humanism were brought into England by the far-seeing Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, son of Henry IV, who, in gratifying his own cultivated taste, was introducing Italian scholars and scholarship into England at a time when war with France as well as civil struggles had left learning in a retarded state. Through helpful advice advocating scholastic reforms at his own university, Oxford, and also through gifts of books, the Duke provided a foundation on which succeeding generations might build, and although for a time after

his death the growth of learning was slow, there was constant and steady progression. With the nucleus of encouragement afforded by Duke Humphrey's library, the more avid among Oxford scholars, conscious of Italian progress, sought the new learning at its source, where outstanding instruction was given not only in the classics as literary studies, but also in philosophy, natural science, medicine, civil law and Greek. Although such men as William Grey, John Free, John Gunthorpe, and Robert Flemming enriched the quality of English scholarship in their own lives, their influence on other scholars of their nation was a continuance of the passive one of the past. By not returning to "Oxford, where alone in England their work might have borne fruit," the germs of Renaissance learning which they had absorbed remained sterile. They, as it were, represented signposts, planted on their native soil, as an assurance that what they had sought was within reach of others; but that others, like them, had to seek ultimate guidance in Italy itself.

"Modern English scholarship really began with the work of three Oxford friends, Thomas Linacre, William Grocyn and William Latimer," who, in centering their work at Oxford and teaching what they had themselves learned across the Alps "succeeded at last in firmly establishing the new learning at Oxford." With the first of the Tudors on the throne, order and comparative peace were established, insuring an atmosphere of tranquillity favorable to the germination of the seeds of humanism sown so long before. During the sixteenth century the growth was to spread

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5 Ibid., p. 30.
beyond this narrow field. The influence of Italy, which heretofore had held single sway, declined, and the prestige of Grocyn and Linacre caused them to be regarded even by the Italians themselves as the successors to their own great humanists. Foreign scholars who had received their training in the great Italian universities carried the fruit of their instruction to their own countries, and aided the dissemination of that learning.6

The chief merit of Italian Humanism, as indeed of Humanism in general, was that it opened up the real sources of ancient culture and drew from these, as a subject of study for its own sake, the classic literature which till then had been used in a merely fragmentary way. Philological and scientific criticism was inaugurated, and historical research advanced.7

St. Thomas Aquinas had given sublime expression to the thought of the Middle Ages, but this solution, though entirely adequate on the points it had established, was no longer satisfactory in the fifteenth century in the face of so many scientific discoveries and such profound changes in the political and social order. The Renaissance therefore, set itself to find a more complete solution . . . . [Those who sought sincerely] found out how to blend the Christian and the ancient spirits in all harmony; from this union was born the modern spirit in so far as it is good.8

In some quarters, however, an intolerant disdain for Scholasticism grew with modern progression, so that some considered it "more piety to read Tully, Seneca or Aristotle upon ye Sabbath then the bold questions and vaine speculations of Schoolemen."9

6 Ibid., pp. 41-42.
7 Löffler, op. cit., p. 540.
8 Alfred Baudrillart, The Catholic Church, the Renaissance and Protestantism, p. 75.
9 Thomas Grosfield, Diary, p. 78.
In their lack of desire for personal renown, the early English humanists differed from those of the continent. They retained an element of medieval scholasticism. While extolling the development of the humanities, it was rather with the idea of spreading truth and beauty, rather than the pursuit of knowledge for itself or for the greater glory of man. Perhaps that is one reason why there is no available diary written by an English humanist. The lack is regrettable; even one such document might give a very illuminating glimpse of an intricate subject.

Although regarded by the leaders of the English Renaissance as their patriarch, William Grocyn left but little literature. Of keen intellectual vision, he was physically weak-sighted, and preferred to write nothing than to lose his sight. However, there survives a letter which he wrote to Aldus Manutius, Venetian publisher of note, which is a witness of his humanistic sympathy, and an indication that in him, and Linacre, too, the traits of humanism blended with strong Christianity:

Our Linacre tells me you are contemplating a still more remarkable work, and have already set it on foot,—the printing of the Old Testament in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and of the New in Greek and Latin—a most arduous work and one most worthy of a Christian man.10

In his public work as an educator, Grocyn united two supposedly inseparable attitudes, since he was "the Oxford teacher of Greek, who had also been Divinity Reader at Magdalen, a church dignitary and a parish priest."11 His character is portrayed in his library, which

10William Grocyn, Memoir, p. 352.

11Loc. cit.
also is an index to English humanistic standards of reading:

About half the books are either distinctly theological, or covered that field of theology and philosophy in which so many of the Medieval Doctors displayed their talents. . . . The Bible itself is only represented by the Greek- and Latin New Testament, the Concordantiae Biblili, and some Commentaries on the Psalms; Liturgical Books by the Sarum Breviary alone.

. . . Some works of the early Fathers, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory the Great; of the Medieval Doctors, those of Anselm, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, . . . Bonaventure.

In Latin classics, Cicero takes the place (judging by the number of his works) of Augustine in Divinity; 3 volumes of Seneca; Plautus, Lucretius, Caesar, Livy, Virgil, Tacitus, Juvenal, Persius, . . . Boethius & Cassiodorus. Aristotle and Plutarch are the only representatives of Greek classics.

Natural Philosophy with Pliny at its head and Astronomy are strongly represented. . . . Many of the chief writers of the Italian Renaissance, famous in their day, as Ficino, Filelfo, Lorenzo Valla, Aeneas Sylvius . . . find their place by the side of Petrarch and Boccaccio.12

Because of the enervating influence of the religious and moral views of pagan antiquity which had often been propagated with the new learning, Christianity and its ethical system had suffered serious harm, but "profoundly as [Grocyn] valued the new learning, he was anxious lest it should be of a mere Pagan character."13 "It is suggestive of the infancy of literature" that after Grocyn's death, in carrying out the terms of his will as to the disposition of his library, "Linaore found

12 Ibid., pp. 367-368.

13 Ibid., p. 352.
it impossible to get 'my Lord of Canterbury's praying to set a prye on the books;' but that official did not forget to charge . . . for 'seeing them.'"

Bishop Fisher was influential in establishing Humanism with the study of Greek at Cambridge; at his invitation Erasmus was invited to teach. His acceptance was a tribute to the Bishop's scholarly patronage in view of the friendship of Erasmus for the Oxonians Grocyn, Linaore and Colet, together with their young associate, Thomas More.

In the spread of Humanism from the universities to the court, "the great connecting link . . . was . . . Sir Thomas More," who, "in the general opinion of Europe [was] the foremost Englishman of his time." Through his influence it spread to circles where it had hitherto been unknown, while he himself was "the only Englishman who made in his day a substantial contribution to the broad stream of European thought." It was a continental commendation which launched Utopia, since the work was first printed at Louvain, and then "quickly re-issued at Paris with an . . . epistle of kindly appreciation from the [French] scholar Budaeus, to [whose] generous preface the work chiefly owed its continental vogue."

14Ibid., p. 369.
15Einstein, op. cit., p. 42.
16J.R. Green, A Short History of the English People, p. 351.
18Ibid., p. 73.
"England took the influences of the Renaissance and Reformation simultaneously"¹⁹ and while "Humanism and heresy were alike the result of the Renaissance . . . mutually aid[ing] each other, . . . they were, [nevertheless] separate and independent."²⁰

. . . If Humanism actually covered the first steps of the Protestant Reformation, it did so in virtue of circumstances which were independent of the humanists and their protectors. A good humanism was possible, and indeed existed, which sought only just and moderate reforms in religion.²¹

The decay of learning lurked in the footsteps of religious controversy, which spread from Germany to England on the flood of literature which the rapidly developing printing presses helped to increase. Thomas More, "who represented the very life of the new learning"²² saw this danger, when he wrote in 1532:

Our Lorde sende us now some yeres as plentuous of good corne, as we have had some yeres of late, plentuous of evill bookes. For they have grown so fast and spronge up so thycke, full of pestilent erreours & pernicious heresies, that they have infected and kylled, I feare me, moe symple soules, then the famine of the deare yeres have destroyed bodyes.²³

For him, in whose character consistency was a dominant note, the sacrifice of his life was a small price to pay for the upholding of Truth and Justice.

The dangerous spirit of Lutheranism obtained a stronghold in England during the reign of Edward. Probably like other young Englishmen,

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²⁰Edward M. Hulme, The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe, p. 221.

²¹Baudrillart, op. cit., p. 68.

²²Green, loc. cit.

Thomas Hoby, during his stay at Strasburg, a Lutheran center, was entertained at the house of a Lutheran theologian, who afforded him opportunities of listening to lectures by "divines" infected with the heretical doctrines. It can be seen how in this case heresy was aided by humanism:

I . . . remayned in Mr. Martin Bucer's house, who was a man of no less integritie and purnes of lyving then of fame and learning. Him heard I in the Schooles in Divinity and sometime Peter Martir, Sturmius in humanitie, Paulus Fagius in Hebrue, and Dasipodius in Greeke, who in their faculties were the best learned of their time.24

Not only did these men indoctrinate young Englishmen abroad with their holdings, but they were also invited to England, while others of Hoby's nation came and went through Strasburg:

About the moneth of December [1547] Mr. Peter Martir, Bernadimus Olchinus, and Jhon Abell went into England together. In January 1548 William Thomas cam this waye out of Italye towards England. Also Sr Thomas Wyat arrived here to go towards Italye.

Bucer and P. Fagius died afterward in England, whose deaths were not so much lamented of all menn as their lyves desired, and yet so lamented that they were celebrated throughout the wholl Universitie of Cambridge,25 where Humanism had found its precursor in that Bishop who, like another John, perished because he rebuked a king for immorality. Perhaps the young king Edward did not mean to imply discomfort when he spoke of the "three sermons [at the funeral of] the lerned man Bucerus . . . whic . . . made the people wonderfully to lament his death."26 Skill in languages had so far advanced that these men "were celebrated . . .

24Thomas Hoby, Diary, p. 4.
25Loc. cit.
both with orations and all kinds of verses in all three tungs after their deathes."\textsuperscript{27}

The continuation of the "good" English humanism was assured by such men as

William Rastell . . . [who] collected all the books, letters and other English writings of More that he could come by, whether printed or unprinted; he . . . guarded and kept them securely in his own hands through the dangerous years . . . when any expression of sympathy for More, Fisher or the Carthusian Fathers had been considered an open challenge to the King, and an act of treason . . . . To collect and save More's works in the face of such difficulties was a very remarkable achievement.\textsuperscript{28}

The Humanist movement in England was stopped by the "rise of religious difficulties, which under the name of the 'New Learning' was opposed by those most conspicuous for their championship of true learning, scholarship, and education."\textsuperscript{29} This opposition reflected the attitude that

the Church . . . assumes . . . towards all great and lawful movements of human intellect . . . Sometimes, . . . she challenges them at their birth, but she does not bind herself to frown upon them: she assimilates what is good and compatible with her teaching . . . It is the same with intellectual changes as with political and social; they are inevitable, and they cannot, alas, be achieved without temporary excesses. This is a law of our humanity, which is at once progressive and fallible. The Church knows it: she is always there with her principles and dogmas, sometimes frowning and sometimes smiling at the efforts she sees, ready to gather, once the storm is past, all the good grain the winds has sown and to obtain good fruit therefrom.

\textsuperscript{27}Hoby, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{28}A.W. Reed, \textit{More's English Works}, \textit{Introd.}, p. 1.

\textsuperscript{29}Francis A. Gasquet, \textit{Eve of the Reformation}, p. 46.

\textsuperscript{30}Baudrillart, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 74-75.
In the sowing of the seeds of Humanism, there was cockle mixed with the wheat, and in gathering the harvest, the Renaissance heirs of the sowers reaped a mixture of good and bad. Nearly all the diarists of the period show traces of the "pestilent errors" of paganism, although a few remained uninfected. While some made use of the riches of antiquity gathered by their forbears, others remained merely respectfully aware of the existence of these treasures. For the most part, the influence of Humanism on the Renaissance diaries is tacit rather than direct.
CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

With the awakening of Renaissance individualism, the wish for education became apparent among representatives of classes where it had before been unattainable, partly because of increased social sympathy brought out through the contact of different classes.

Whether because of new ideas or new facilities, the sons of gentlemen often studied side by side with the sons of farmers and small tradesmen. This fact may have been among the causes why there was never the same social rift in England as on the Continent.\footnote{Lewis Einstein, Tudor Ideals, p. 326.}

Another cause for the increased desire for education was the shift in emphasis from war-like pursuits to those of peace.

Education in England had for centuries been under the direction of the Church and when Henry VIII laid vandalizing hands on the religious houses, with their wreckage he laid the foundations of a wall that would withhold from some generations to come the benefits of elementary education. He himself was educated, even learned, and proud of it; he could express himself well in Latin, the official language of communication of his day; he could converse in French, the language of diplomacy (and love), and without doubt he could make himself forcefully understood in the language of his country, to assure himself that his ministers well understood his will. Because of his own appreciative attitude towards education, he saw to it that his children were well-educated and submitted
frequent written evidences of their accomplishments.

The early foundations of English education had been laid under religious auspices; the endowment of schools was frequently a work of devotion, either voluntary or enjoined in expiation; sometimes such an establishment commemorated the loved memory of parent, husband or wife, sometimes it was left as an insurance of the donor's own memory. The closing of the religious houses meant the suspension of many grammar schools; children who could have been safely entrusted to the care of monks or nuns frequently were left unattended, or sketchily instructed by tutors or governesses.

Dr. Dee "covenanted with John Basset to teach the children the Latyn tong," giving him "seven duckats by the quarter" in the presence of his wife [perhaps to forestall application for duplicate payment], praying that "God spede his work!" Some years later, the small scholars had opportunity of more formal education, when the Doctor "visited the grammar schole, and fownd great imperfection in all and every of the scholers, to [his] great grief." Whatever subjects the curriculum included, gymnastics could not have been there, for little Arthur Dee was "womnded on his hed by his own wanton throwing of a brik-bat upright, and not well avoyding the fall of it agayn. . . . The half-brik weighed 2-1/2 lb." A royal child had few such dangers attending his education.

Edward VI " was brought up, tile he came to six yeres old, among the

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2 John Dee, Diary, p. 23.
3 Ibid., p. 62.
4 Ibid., p. 38.
women . . . then by tow [two] learnid men [one of whom was John Cheke]

... who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the

scriptures, of philosophie, and all liberal sciences." 5

Simon Forman made early acquaintance with magic, even in the

way of education, for

ther was a certain minister . . . that by his trade and
occupation was a cobler, but after Quen Maries dayes, when
the lawe did turne, he was made a minister, and soe withalle
became a scolmaster and teacher of children . . . to whom
Simon was put to scolle at Michaelmas, wher he lernde his
letters. Because his capacity could not understand the
mystery of spellinge, he prayed his master he mighte goe
to scolle noe more, because he should never learne yt; but
his said master beate him for yt, which made him the more
diligent to his booke, and after som four dais, when he
had pondered theron well and had the reason thereof, he
learned yt. And after that, his master never beate him
for his booke again. 6

Forman's particular experience of "physical education" evidently

was beneficial for he made such progress that

in on[e] yeare or lyttle more he had lernde his single
accidentes and his rules . . . after this he was put to
the free scolle in . . . Salisbury, with . . . Docter
Booles, which was a very furiose man, . . . som too
yeares. 7

After this, he took instruction from a certain "cannon of the churche,"

under whom he had training in gymnastics, of a sort, since

this cannon seldom or never kepte any fier in his house,
but he had some lode of faggots lying in a house, and
alwaies when he was a-cold, he would goe and carry his
faggots up into a loft till he was hote; and when he
had caried them all up, he wold fetch them downe again

6 Simon Forman, Diary, p. 4.
7 Loc. cit.
and burn none, and soe he made . . . Simon doe many a
tyme and ofte to catch a heate, saying yt was better to
heat himselfe soe then to syt by the fier."8

And "too years" after this, his father died, and his stepmother, "who
never loved him, grudged at his beinge at hom," so the boy, "having
reasonable wit and discretion, . . . and apte to any things, seeynge
. . . that he could not followe his booke nor be at quiete, . . . put
himself an apprentice." Having proved his aptness as a "merchant of
cloth, and of alle small wares . . . in shorte tyme his master com-
mitted all to his charge."9

Simon, however, had taken his love of learning and his books
with him, and "many tymes his master chid him that he was soe much
gyven to his booke, and in the end toke alle his Lattin bookees from
him." Nothing daunted, Simon went to school by proxy. A certain man
in a neighboring town

borded a sohn that he had with Simon's master, that went
every dai to the free scole, and he was bedfellowe to
Simon; and . . . whatsoever he lerned by day, that did
Simon learne of him alwaies at nighte, wherby, thoughge he
profited hinselve but lyttle, yet he loste nothinge of
that he had before-tyme lerned.10

The would-be prodigy turned the old adage around

And yf his master gave him leave to play, that was death
or a grete punishment to him, for he wold say, Play, play,
her is nothing but play, I shall never be a good scoller;
and alwaies when his fellowes wente to playe, he wold goe
to his booke, or into som secret place to muse and meditate. 11

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8Ibid., p. 5.
9Loc. cit.
10Ibid., p. 8.
11Ibid., p. 11.
It would be interesting to know how much of Simon's personal experiences he put into his pedagogy upon returning "wher he himselfe was first a scoller, ther became he a scolmaster, and taught som thirty boies." For remuneration "their parentes among them gave him moste parte of his diet." Whatever "money he gote he kept and . . . when he had bin scolmaster some halfe yere and had 40 s. in his purse, he wente to Oxford for to get more lerninge, and soe left of from being scolmaster." 12

At Oxford, Simon experienced the mingling of classes in social equality, for though he was a "pore scoller" there were "too Bachelors of Arte that were too of his ohife benefactors; the one of them Sir Thornbury, that after was bishop of Limerike; . . . the other was Sir Pinckney his cousine." They, however, "loved him . . . for a reason:

and many tymes wold make Simon to goo forth . . . for houndes to goo on huntings from morninge to nighte, and they never studied nor gave themselves to their bookes . . . 13

However, for anyone who "in . . . studyes . . . was close & dilligent" there were many opportunities, although difficulties of various kinds intervened. Ralph Josselin

was forced to come from Cambridge many times for want of meanes & loose . . . time in the Contry; . . . [but] notwithstanding all hindrances . . . was not behind many of [his] time & standing . . . 14

Even after a scholar "tooke [his] degree" trials and disappointments intervened before he was situated:

12Loc. cit.
13Ibid., p. 12.
14Ralph Josselin, Diary, p. 2.
[I] had word that one Mr. Kempe of Sutton in Bedfordshire wanted an usher. I resolved to goe over thither . . . but I wanted money for my jorney: oh how ashamed was I to aske: one . . . upon my intreaty lent me 5 s. to pay my charges; much a doe I procured a horse & a sadle: my proud heart thought ys was very meanes: in tedious wheather I went my jorney: providence cast mee upon a carreyer yt went yt way, otherwise I could not have performed my jorney; [and upon arriving at] Mr. Kempes late; he enter­tayned mee, but . . . he was provided of an usher and so my jorney was lost; home I came with a sad heart, a tyred horse & empty purse.16

Parents who valued learning were quick to note the progress of precocious offspring but sometimes showed a lack of sympathy with more naturally childish inclinations:

[My little son] could . . . before he was 4 years old, tell ye Latin words for the parts of his body & of his cloaths, & I find him duller to learn this year yn ye last, wch would discourage one, but yt I think ye cause to be his too much minding Play, wch takes off his mind from his book; . . . & their mind being at first season'd with vanity, will not easily loose ye relish of it.16

Religious agitation in England affected many things, particularly education, which had long been fostered and kept alive under the protection and encouragement of the Catholic Church. Wherever the cross marked an edifice, the living Word of God was respected and loved. At the very beginning of his education, the child learned from his first teachers to begin and end his day in the name of God; to make each action prefaced by the plus sign of the cross an additional unit in the sum total of a Christian life. The little toddler barely able to hold his hornbook, or to lisp his letters, prefaced his recitation with the

15Ibid., pp. 5-6.
16Henry Slingsby, Diary, pp. 53-54.
symbol of Christianity. With the growth of Puritanism, a determined effort was made to negate the equation of learning: "A Puritan scholemaister that taught little children in their horne bookes, would not have them say 'Christ crosse A, etc.' but 'Black spott A.'\textsuperscript{17} The educational ideal deteriorated from "the medieval concept of a unified intelligentsia," disregarding even "the broad interest in pure learning, as such, which was the glory of the Erasmian humanists" and became "a strictly limited zeal, confined to those branches which were of direct assistance in building up the Puritan commonwealth."\textsuperscript{18}

\textbf{Italianism}

The earliest connections between Italy and England had been formed through religious bonds. Rome was a center of pilgrimage for the entire Catholic world; moreover, church councils and problems of administration necessitated the occasional, if not frequent, presence of English bishops at the center of church government; at times, too, delegates of the Holy See were sent to England. It was Cardinal Reginald Pole, who, during the period when England was drifting away from Rome, stood for the highest type of English Catholic churchman, and, more than any one else, maintained in Italy the dignity of England. In himself he formed one of the great links between the two countries. . . . He gave a personal example that it was possible to live in Italy and be unaffected by its vices . . . . To each country he held up the mirror of the other's virtues. . . . While England saw in his presence

\textsuperscript{17}John Manningham, \textit{Diary}, p. 42.

\textsuperscript{18}M.M. Knappen, \textit{Tudor Puritanism}, pp. 476; 466; 468.
the authority and grandeur of Rome, to Italians he reflected
the piety and austerity of England.19

Because of its primary hold, the Italian influence was strong
and long-lived. Its first period extended to the end of the fifteenth
century, when it had completed the introduction of the new classical and
scientific learning of Italy, and thereby laid the foundation of English
scholarship of the future.

During the second period of Italian influence, the first half
of the sixteenth century, Italian culture found gracious welcome at
the court, "which stood above the roots of national life and by its
reception of novelties unconsciously performed a function of usefulness in the state."20 In the adoption of foreign mannerisms or accessories, the court frequently set the example for the rest of the
nation. Amusements, particularly, ingratiated themselves into its
pleasure-loving atmosphere.

Music roused much enthusiasm in Tudor England, but its
most popular developments were dictated by Italian and
not by French example. . . . The madrigal, so marked a
feature . . . that one might easily mistake it for a
domestic invention, was, in spite of abundant imitations
in France, an Italian importation . . . . The Italians
perfected the art of fencing.21

Whatever was new was quickly welcomed, pursued with zest and discarded
when novelty began to pall. At court, the pleasures of intellectual
cultivation were being discovered, flourished under royal protection,
and assisted in creating new types of accomplished courtier and learned

20_____, Tudor Ideals, p. 112.
traveller, often the same individual under different aspects. 22

"Sir John Cheke, Secretary of State and tutor to Edward the Sixth . . . was perhaps the finest example." 23

The easy graciousness of Italian manners won the admiration of English visitors like Sir Thomas Hoby:

The people [of Siena] are much given to entertain strangers gently . . . . The cheefe governance of this citie was in the handes of Don Diego di Nendoza, ambas- sador for th' Emperor to the pope. . . . Within a fortnight or iij weeks after mine arrivall in the citie Don Diego . . . understanding certain English gentlemen to be newlie com thither, there cam a man of his to my lodging desiring me in his mastre's behalf to take a diner with his master that daye, and t8 bring with me besides such English menn as he hardsye and I knew were in the towne. . . . 24

Sometimes extraordinary coutesy was shown, as at Amalfi . . . where the Marques . . . and the Dutchesse his mother . . . did gentlie receave us with loving entertain- ment . . . [and sent] . . . scouldiers . . . to attend upon us, and to conduct us throwgh the jeopardous places there abowt. 25

It was not remarkable that observant English sojourners paid such example the compliment of imitation, since they often had occasion to remind themselves, "in time out of mind we have bene . . . counted barbarous . . . in our manners." 26 Possibly the hope of removing the

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23 Ibid., p. 48.

24 Thomas Hoby, Diary, p. 19.

25 Ibid., p. 52.

26 Count Baldesar Castilio, The Courtier, done into Englishe by Thomas Hobby [Hoby], Epistle of the Translator, p. 3.
occasion for this stricture prompted young Sir Thomas to begin "to translate into Englishe the . . . booke of the Co~rtisan," 27 which "in itself may almost be said to have given voice to the undefined mass of Italian influences at the Tudor court, and assisted in forming in England the new type of courtier." 28

[In fact,] Castiglione's Courtier presented in Hoby's English dress [became] . . . the recommended bible of the gentleman; . . . in many respects the ideal of the English gentleman, [although] the ingredients . . . are greatly mixed. 29

"The typical gentleman, [Sir Philip Sidney is an example] was produced by a blending of the humanistic spirit with the old ideas of chivalry." 30

"Before the middle of the sixteenth century Italy in its decline had ceased to attract the serious student, and the appeal to the dilettante traveller was growing stronger." 31 The life of a student at an Italian University at that time appeared to be a state of passivity, merely requiring election by the rectors, after which "he [was] by his scholarship bound to no lectures, nor nothing elles but what he lyst himselfe to go to." 32 The tedium of study (or lack of it) could frequently be relieved by a boat trip to Venice, where one might see the "lustie yong Duke of Ferrandin, . . . running at

27Hoby, op. cit., p. 78.
30W.H. Hudson, Story of the Renaissance, p. 70.
31Loc. cit.
32Thomas Hoby, op. cit., p. 10.
the ring with faire Turks and cowrsars," or have opportunity of more romantic diversion by "being in a maskerie after the Turkish maner, and on foote casting of eggs into the wyndowes among the ladies full of sweete waters and damaske Poulders [powders]."33 With the curiosity of youth, Sir Thomas even went to see the body of a gentleman slain in a feud, laid out in his house "to be seen of all men."34

The early impetus to travel in Italy for education's sake had been given to Englishmen by that distinguished group of scholars responsible for the establishment of Italian scholarship at Oxford. They had given an example "which lesser men could never have done," but, regrettably, not every one of their followers "brought home nothing but good."35 Because of its strong native roots, the revival of the ancient culture had degenerated rapidly into pagan ideals, which made their appeal through the accessibility of natural inclination. After the Renaissance in Italy had flowered, an oppressive opulence clung to the ideals it had propagated. Indolence and indulgence in those of weak character gave place to iniquity, until gradually the term "Italianism" became almost a synonym for vice. Therefore, an atmosphere of suspicion surrounded any returned traveller with assumed foreign manners, which, if not always considered depravity, were at least regarded as hypocritical coverings

34Ibid., p. 15.
35Clare Howard, English Travellers of the Renaissance, p. 10.
for a deceitful soul:

When certaine schollers returning from Italy were at the Bishops of Canterbury, amongst other they came about [Archbishop] Cranmer with their new fashioned salutacions belowe the knee. He, like a good plaine honest man, stood still, and told them he had not learned to dissemble soe deeply.36

With the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Italian influence, which had affected the scholarship, literature, social life, and even statecraft of England, definitely declined. Its tremendous success contributed to its final defeat. The intense spirit of English nationalism, long intolerant of anything alien, rebelled against the dominance of an outside culture, and while observations of foreign countries usually increased love for one's own, "the true lesson of patriotism was to be studied in one's native land."37

Women

The Renaissance brought about a change in the condition of women, whose lives, apart from a comparative few of exalted station, had, up to that time, been almost anonymous, and considered in a position of inferiority.

However, when England, France and Scootland were governed by women, it was impossible to speak of them as inferiors. . . . The women then seated on the throne, unconsciously and unintentionally helped to prepare the way for the improved condition of their humbler sisters.38

Apart from the glamour of royalty, the charm of femininity, even in

36 Manningham, op. cit., p. 110.
38 , Tudor Ideals, p. 124.
misunderstood Mary Tudor, appealed to her subjects.

[One] day of August . . . has her grace whent throught the parke for to take her barge, ther mett her grace by the way a powre man with ij chruches, and when he say [saw] her grace, for joy he thruw hys stayffes a-way, and rane after her grace.

Occurrences like this were probably rare in the life of a lonely queen, and it was no wonder that "sche commondyd that one shuld gyff ym a reward."39

That womanly vanity dies hard was shown in an anecdote told of Elizabeth the year before her death:

Sir Christopher Hatton and another knight made challenge whoe should present the truest picture of hir Majestie to the Queene. One caused a flattering picture to be drawne; the other presented a glas, wherein the Queene sawe hir selfe, the truest picture that might be.40

Men and women "meeting on a footing of equality proved that the position of women had been raised," and court life provided many occasions for such "mixed assemblages."41 The solemn duty of official mourning was equally shared after the death of Queen Elizabeth, whose "corpse came by night in a barge from Richmond to Whitehall, . . . where it continued a great while standing in the Drawing Chamber, . . . watched all night by several lords and ladies."42

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39Henry Machyn, Diary, p. 92.
41Einstein, Italian Renaissance in England, p. 86.
42Ann (Clifford) Herbert Pembroke, Diary, p. 4.
Lady Carey

went to Somerset House [and] met Lady Derby, my Lady Bedford, my Lady Montgomery, and a great deal of company that came along with the King and the Prince . . . .

Later, the group

went up into the King's Chamber where my Lord Villiers was created Earl of Buckingham. My Lord, my Lord of Buckingham, and divers other Lords bringing them up to the King. Supped with my Lord and Lady Arundel.43

Antithetically, the point of equality is proved by punishments. In 1552, were "a man and a woman on the pelere in Chepe-syd" for dishonest practices in trade and "a yong man and ij women [whipped] for vyssones and synes."44 A queen might have been expected to show mercy toward offending women, but on one occasion during Elizabeth's reign "whent to Tyburne v men and iij women for to hange for thefte."45

Since the revival of interest in learning had its beginning in Italy, it is not surprising that its women had a reputation for scholarship, those of Siena being especially commended by a visiting foreigner: "Most of the women are well learned and write excellentlie well bothein prose and verse."46

From Italy the fashion spread in every direction. Lady Jane Grey was reading Plato in the original when she was thirteen; at the same age Mary Stuart delivered her Latin oration at the court of France; Queen Elizabeth at fourteen translated the Mirror of the Sinful Soul, a famous work by Margaret of France.47

43 Ibid., pp. 46-47.
44 Machyn, op. cit., pp. 21-22.
46 Thomas Hoby, op. cit., p. 19.
47 Emily James Putnam, The Lady, p. 185.
In Renaissance England women like the Countesses of Bedford and Pembroke gave inspiration and patronage to literature. "Could we penetrate through the anonymous zone of life we would find the women of the age increasingly alert to the need for cultivation." 48 Two women diarists of the period furnish an interesting though meager record of mental attainments. Both were fond of reading, but, apart from the Bible, their tastes differed widely. Lady Hoby, the Puritan, "after priuat prairs . . . went about the house and wrought among [her] Maides, and hard one read of the Booke of Marters." 49 The gayer Lady Ann had a "month spent in working and reading [such things as] the History of the Netherlands [and] Montaigne's Essays," while "Chaucer, . . . Ovid, . . . and St. Augustine" were also on her reading list. 50

Masculine students of the Renaissance had no priority on youthful precocity, for little Lucy Hutchinson at "about seven years of age . . . had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing and needlework." Her father had her learn Latin, in which, she said, "I was so apt that I out-stripped my brothers who were at school." No wonder her playmates were "glad" when she "entertained herself with "elder company, to whom [she] was very acceptable." 51

Those little girls whose fathers could not afford tutors were handicapped in educational advantages after the dissolution of the

48Einstein, Tudor Ideals, p. 129.
49Margaret Hoby, Diary, p. 175.
50Ann (Clifford) Herbert Pembroke, op. cit., pp. 41, 55.
51Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 17-18.
religious houses, since

every great abbey, practically, was the centre of education for all the country round; . . . and, except in those rare cases where scholarly parents themselves supervised the education of their children, it may be said that, for girls, these were the only available teachers of even the simplest elements of learning. The grammar schools, which are popularly supposed to have sprouted in such profusion under Edward VI, may be held to have been, in nearly every case, remnants of the old monastic foundations, and, even so, were not one tithe of those which had previously existed.⁵²

With this "absolute extinction of any systematic education for women during a long period," the progress of education among the people generally was retarded, since every child's first teacher should be his mother. Too, with the suppression of the convents, an attempt was made to arrest the influence of another educator. Though Protestantism professed burning zeal for the Bible as the "Word of God" it had scant care for her who first knew and kept the living Word.

⁵²CHEL, III, p. 56.

⁵³F. A. Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, p. 298.
CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS TURMOIL

Catholic - Anglican - Puritan

The young Henry VIII embodied for his people their ideal of kingliness; he was attractive, accomplished, zealous, devout. He knew what he wanted; he saw the best means to attain it, and he possessed the ruthless determination to carry through. "At the beginning of his reign he impressed people by the zeal of his orthodoxy, at the end by the rapid shifts of his innovations."\(^1\) For a whim of perverted passion, his nation allowed him to lead it into heresy, although earlier he had been ardent in repelling the attacks against orthodoxy which had seeped through from Lutheran strongholds. It was the Lutheran taint which made the "new learning" dangerous for the clergy; mistakenly the term was applied to other forms of revived intellectual activity and interest, with supposed ecclesiastical approbation.\(^2\) Henry had rushed to the defense of the Faith, but when it thwarted his desires, his sword became a weapon of aggression instead of one of defense.

Under pretext of quieting his own conscience, he disturbed the national one, and began with his usurpation of spiritual authority to

\(^1\)Lewis Einstein, *Tudor Ideals*, p. 201.

obtain control of the monasteries and episcopal sees.

The rich vestments and costly plate were no personal possession but enjoyment of them belonged to the people as a whole. As feast succeeded feast the treasures were brought forth to delight the hearts of all those who took part in the rejoicing. Curiously, the supposedly voluntary surrender form used in many cases stated that the house was resigned into the king's hands under the conviction that the religious who signed it had been guilty of crimes and vices! Whatever individual failings or misdemeanors existed, community life as a whole remained what it had been, one of peaceful, unobtrusive labor. The agents found what they had been instructed to locate and proceeded to give Henry what he wanted.

Although he had surrounded himself with creatures who slavishly executed his will, Henry found it expedient to keep at court persons of strong orthodoxy. Impregnably orthodox was his Chancellor, Thomas More, "perhaps the best representative of the many-sided activities of the age in which he lived," a living expression of the spirit of opposition to the King's interference in the affairs of God, "not for a set of theological opinions, but for a movement which would open up and embitter theological controversies. His intolerance was an intolerance of all that was likely to diminish toleration," and he was "content in [his] heart, to leve good, land, and life, too, rather than swear against [his] conscience."

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3Ibid., introd. p. xix.
4Ibid., p. xii.
With his crown, Henry bequeathed to his successor jurisdiction over the Church, and during the brief reign of Edward VI, schism widened into heresy, although in some cases official pretense of adhering to the integrity of the ancient faith was preserved, as in the case of "Jhon [Joan] Bocher, otherwis John [Joan] of Kent [who] was burnt for holding that Christ was not incarnat of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the yere befor, but kept in hope of conversion." 7

The tendency to Protestantism became more pronounced when, in 1548, by parliament "an uniform order of prayer was institut[ed] before made by a number of bishoppes and lerned men gathered in Windsore." 8 All pretense of hiding under the cloak of orthodoxy was dropped: the official articles of belief were far from holy, Roman, or Catholic, and soon the faith which they professed was no longer one. Even the character of the sanctuary became altered, with the order to "pluck down auters [altars]," 9 thus to prepare the way for the substitution of the table. Some of the sacred vessels were adapted for purposes of state entertainment in 1551, when for the King to

receive the French men . . . at Westminster . . . was made preparation for the purpose, and . . . garnish of new vessels prepared, taken out of church stuff, as mitres and golden missals and primers, and crosses and reliques. 10

In contrast to the spirit of "re-form" there was present the spirit of the old faith in the uncompromising figure of Mary. She

8Ibid., p. 223.
9Ibid., p. 296.
10Ibid., p. 320.
reproached her royal brother, "marveling at th' imprisonment of doctour Mallet her chapelain, for saying of masse befor her houshold," but he, thinking that "her examaple might breed to much inconvenience," and counselled by bishops that "to give licence to sinne was sinne," con­ cluded "in meane season to punish th' offendours, first of [his] servauntes that heard Masse, next of hirs."11

If it was a matter of conscience for Mary to see that she had Mass, Edward fount it obligatory on his conscience to see that she did not, and so appointed certain officials "to see . . , whether she used the Mass, and if she did, that the lawes should be executed on her chapelains."12 Though his sister, she was his "subject, and should use [the] service appointed by act of parliement."13 Those for whom the new religious observance spelled advantage saw to it that the matter of foreign interference was inextricably woven in with Catholicism, and "certein pinessis [pinnaces] were preparid to see that ther should be no conveiaunce over sea of the lady Marie secretly done."14

Mary came to the throne with the determination to restore the lost treasures of grace, not only to her own starved soul, but to the souls of her subjects, for whose salvation she felt not less responsible than for her own, and as one of the first official acts

11Ibid., pp. 308-309.
12Ibid., p. 340.
13Ibid., p. 313.
14Ibid., p. 309.
of her reign "her grace hard Masse of the Holy-gost." Soon after was issued

a proclamasyon throug London and all England that noman shuld syng no Englys serves nor communion after the xx day of Desember, nor no prest that has a wyff shall not menyster nor say Masse, and that evere parryche to make a auter [altar] and to have a crosse and staff and all other things in all parryches all in Laten, as hale-

[holy] bred, hale-water, as palm and assesse [ashes].

Although, at her accession, "there was such shoute of the people . . .
crying, 'God saue Quene Mary,' that the style of the proclamation
could not be hard, the people were so joyfull," it was not long before the "bonefires" which her burning religious zeal had enkindled simultaneously swept away loyalty for the Queen and blazed with new hatred for "popery" incarnate in the person of Philip. Her alliance with him was an affront to English nationalism; her efforts at reconciliation with Rome irked the pride of some Englishmen, who probably found it matter for rejoicing that on the day of the Queen's death, also "died Cardinall Poole [Pole] . . . who had brought up all poperie again in England."

During Mary's short reign, "my lady Elsabeth" had passed her term of probation by shrewdly gauging the national temper. Although she had gone to Catholic services by the side of "her sister," and even with "the Quen['s] grace . . . and all the court, dyd fast from

15 Henry Machyn, Diary, p. 46.
16 Ibid., p. 50.
17 Ibid., p. 89.
18 Thomas Hoby, Diary, p. 127.
flessh, and toke the Popes jubele and pardon granted to alle men,\textsuperscript{19}

Elizabeth came to the throne with the determination of severing England from the unity of Catholic Christendom.

The successive changes in the established religion, which had followed each other without exciting much commotion in the three preceding reigns, bore witness to the religious indifference and time-serving spirit of multitudes in the country. But, on the other hand, the readiness with which the mass of the people returned to the profession of the Catholic religion in Queen Mary's reign showed that the ancient faith still lived in the hearts of the majority, who, if they were too cowardly to suffer for its maintenance, yet rejoiced to be allowed to worship as their forefathers for nine centuries had done.\textsuperscript{20}

Skillfully she vacillated, yet kept control firmly in her own hands. Nationalism reached a pitch of frenzied fervor, and Catholics once again were hunted as traitors. "The popularity of the Reformation came from its appeal to the growing nationalism and its resentment of all foreign interference,"\textsuperscript{21} therefore

it was enacted that every Englishman, of what state, degree, or condition soever, whencesoever he taketh any office, dignity, ecclesiastical benefice or holy orders, any degree of school, university, profession or other promotion temporal or spiritual, shall take a corporal oath upon the Evangelist protesting and swearing that he doth utterly testify and declare in his conscience that the Queen is Supreme Head of the Church of England and not the Pope.

...If any man shall bring into England or into any of the dominions thereunto belonging, from the Pope of Rome or from any man that hath authority from him, any Bull, writing, instrument, or authority to absolve or reconcile

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{19}Machyn, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 94.
  \item \textsuperscript{20}English College, Douay, \textit{First and Second Diaries}, Hist. Introd., p. xv.
  \item \textsuperscript{21}Einstein, \textit{Tudor Ideals}, p. 199.
\end{itemize}
any person, or to promise any such . . . by speech, preaching, teaching, writing, or any other open deed, that then all and every such act or acts, offence or offences, shall be deemed and adjudged by the authority of this Act to be high treason. And as well the offenders as the procurers, abettors, and counsellors, shall suffer death and other losses as traitors.22

Informers brought many to torture, in the hope of ferreting out additional prey for the gallows. John Gerard, a priest of the Society of Jesus, who was captured, imprisoned and tortured, has recorded some of the details of the process by which a selected number of her Majesty's subjects were made "a foot longer than God made them."

We descended . . . into the place appointed for torture, and again they put the gauntlets on the same part of my arms as before: indeed they could not be put on in any other part, for the flesh had so risen on both sides that there were two hills of flesh with a valley between, and the gauntlets would not meet anywhere but in the valley . . . so I was hung up . . . . At length I fainted . . . When I came round, however, I found myself no longer hanging by my hands, but supported sitting on a bench, with many people round me, who had opened my teeth with some iron instrument and were pouring warm water down my throat . . . . I could not hold a knife in my hands for many days after, much less now when I was not even able to move my fingers, nor help myself in anything, so that he (the gaoler) was obliged to do everything for me.23

While determined to keep England nationalistic in religion as in all things else, Elizabeth, with her love of ceremonial and right order, retained some of the external ritualistic character-


23 , During the Persecution, pp. 139-142.
istics of Catholicism, while discarding its essentials, and in so doing condemned the bleak simplicity of the Puritan element. Under her direction

religion was an adjunct and regulation of social life. As an institution of the State it ignored the recesses of the soul. The Church of England was adjusted both to the royal government and to the structure of English society, but whether she persecuted the papists or restrained the Puritans, she had the support of public opinion.

Although Elizabeth exacted religious observance from her subjects, walking and talking in time of service was a constant problem to the zealous preacher. In that rough-and-ready age it is only to be expected that the Queen's example should be joyfully followed by most of her subjects, since even on the Sabbath day there "was wrastelyng at the cowrte in the prchyng-place a-for the quen." However, she sometimes listened to a sermon, as when

Dr. Rud made a sermon ... upon the text, "I sayd yee are Gods, but you shall all dy like men;" wherein he made such a discourse of death that hir Majestie, when his sermon was ended, said unto him, "Mr. Dr. you have made me a good funerall sermon, I may dye when I will."27

Meanwhile, the efforts to exterminate Catholicism went on; even "alle the rod-loftes [rood-lofts] taken done in London, and wrytynges

24 Henry Osborne Taylor, Thought and Expression in the Sixteenth Century, II, p. 182.


26 Machyn, op. cit., p. 251.

27 John Manningham, Diary, p. 136.
wrtyne in the same place." There were sights like "a prest [priest] with a cope, taken sayhyn of masse in Feyter lane" whiche pryste was violently taken and led (as ten tymes wors then a traytur) ... to the Cowntar at the stokes called the Pultrie, whithe all his ornaments on hym as he was ravist to mas, ... and the number of people was exoedynge great that followed hym, mokynge, dery-dyne, cursynge, and wyshynge evyll to hym, as some to have hym set on ye pelory, some to have hym hangyd, som hangyd and qwarteryd, some to have hym byrnt, sum to have hym torne in pesys ... with as myche violence as the devill colde invent, and myche more ... but well was he or she that cowld get a pluckle at hym or gyve hym a thumpe with theyr f'yst or spyt in his face, and to scorn hym with, sange Ora pro nobis Sancta Maria because it was Our Lady day of hir nativite (but not kept holy), and all so they sange Dominus vobiscum and suche lyke.

Dismal processions were seen, at intervals of a few days: "The frers of Grenwyche whent away ... whent the frers blake in Smythfeld away the preysts and nuns of Syon whent a-way," but silently, stealthily, the old religion was kept alive by those faithful priests, some regular, but mostly secular, ordained in the previous reigns. ... Such a one was the Rev. John Peel, ... In May, 1576 ... he had laboured for 16 yrs in England at the peril of his life, reconciling to the Catholic faith those who had gone astray, and animating others to perseverance.

In order to have reinforcements at hand, there was at the English College, Douay a "fruitful nursery of priests for the English Mission and of Martyrs in defence of the Catholic faith." Here the

29Ibid., p. 291.
30John Stowe, Annales, p. 121.
31Machyn, op. cit., p. 204.
32English College, Douay, op. cit., p. 104.
33Ibid., Introd., p. v.
students "heard how their late companions were being racked and tortured in various ways for the faith." Nevertheless, when, in the presence of their religious superiors,

... Most Reverend Dom. Spetiano of Milan, holding the place of the Most Illustrious Cardinal Moroni, and the Reverend Fathers Nola, Provincial, and Robert Bellarmine, of the Society of Jesus ... it was demanded ... from all the under-written scholars, whether they were prepared to lead an ecclesiastical life, and to proceed to England when, and as often as it should seem good to Superiors,

... they signified their willingness, as did the first:

Sherwin, Pr. Ralph, priest, aged 29, a student of sacred theology, declares and swears upon the Holy Scriptures that he is ready this very day at the intimation of Superiors, to proceed to England for the help of souls.

Then, not long after was made the glorious entry:

He was sent, and became a martyr. 35

News like that of the capture of Edmund Campion and his ignominious label, "This is that seditious Jesuit, Edmund Campion, far from terrifying, made the listeners more eager for the combat. 36

The record of the closing of the year 1602, with the celebration of the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, gives the record of sacrifice:

High Mass was sung ...; during the Mass, an English priest, Mr. Thomas Coniers, of the Society of Jesus, delivered a sermon to the people, in which he eloquently declared the deeds of the same glorious martyr, and described the many martyrdoms and illustrious confessions of the members of this college. For now this one college has brought forth four hundred priests, ninety-three being martyrs, within the space of thirty years. 37

34 Ibid., pp. 174; 181.
35 Ibid., p. 130.
36 Ibid., pp. 174; 181
37 English College, Douay, Third Diary, p. 336.
It was no wonder that an apprehensive zealot for Puritanism expressed
fear "that there begineth a general defection in England. How popery dayly
is spread abroad,"38 or that the dauntless pursuivant "Mr. Hoby . . .
went to search a house for papesets."39

To his contemporaries "a curious corrector of things indifferent,"40
the Puritan, like a spectre at a feast, at first made himself felt rather
than heard, but by the time of Elizabeth the Puritan party was definitely
recognized as a force to be reckoned with. The diaries of Richard Rogers
and Samuel Ward reflect the extreme ethical consciousness of their sect.
Trained at Cambridge, the leading Puritan seminary of their day, both
exemplified the conviction that study was a duty, preparing them for ef­
fective religious service; mere satisfaction of intellectual curiosity was
sinful pride.41 The constant straining after "godliness" is expressed by
regret at "wandrings . . . in needlesse speach, . . . untowardness to
study," and "purpos to be more profitable."42 That such religious pre­
cision was not restricted to the Puritan clergy is shown by the diary of
Margaret, Lady Hoby, whose daily routine included "spirituall exercises. . .
publick and private, lector, catecizing," and self examination.43

38Samuel Ward, Diary, in Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries,
pp. 111, 115.

39Margaret Hoby, Diary, p. 110.

40Manningham, op. cit., p. 1.

41Ward, loc. cit.

42Ibid., pp. 53; 85; 80.

43Margaret Hoby, op. cit., passim.
"The great engine for advancing the principles of the Reformation was the pulpit." Many and varied are the accounts of the sermons rendered; it was fashionable to "collect" sermons, and John Manningham's diary in particular abounds in summaries and vivid descriptions of the preachers: "One with a long browne beard, a hanging looke, a gloting eye, and a tossing, learing jeasture," or "a blacke fellowe, with a sorrow looke, but a good spirit, bold and sometymes bluntly witty." Apparently, other incentives besides zeal for instruction moved some to attend services, for "those which goe to churche onely to heare musioke, goe thither more for fa than soule."

A strong reaction of feeling against the old religion was fanned by the preachers, many of whom, no doubt, made a point of turning their preaching into "a strong continued invective against the papists and jesuites" who "come... are neuer sent... come without sending for." However, a preacher who "will not be at the paynes to strayne his voyce" though his auditors" streatche our ears to catch a word nowe and then" had not much effect on his audience, who probably came away "scarse one word wiser."

If Elizabeth's appointment of James did not meet with universal

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44 Edward VI, Literary Remains, Biographical Memoir, I, p. ci.  
45 Manningham, op. cit., pp. 104-105.  
46 Ibid., p. 48.  
47 Ibid., p. 106.  
48 Ibid., p. 75.
approbation, at least it was accepted peaceably. For a time it seemed that the Catholics would be given toleration after the fierce Elizabethan persecutions, when "all were hott and zealous against the Papist," for in November, 1602, it had seemed "all cold, as it were asleepe, nay dead," but with the new King's meditation of "the extermination of all Catholics . . . the times of Elizabeth, although most cruel, were the mildest and happiest, in comparison of those of James." James tried compromise, and it failed, by 1605 he had yielded to Parliamentary pressure and enforced the penal laws against Catholics, and the explosion of the Gunpowder Plot imprisoned Roman Catholics in implacable isolation from public office and favor. At this time occurred an incident of tremendous significance in the continuity of religious life in England:

In Queen Mary's reign there was an attempted revival [of the monasteries] in which Westminster Abbey was re-established; but the revived monastery was dissolved again by Queen Elizabeth. It provided, however, a connecting link between the second and third periods of English Benedictine history in the person of one of its monks, Dom Sigebert Buckley, who lived on into the reign of James I and through whom the present-day Congregation has full juridical continuity with the pre-reformation Congregation.

Forty-four years of his long life had been spent within prison walls for refusing the oath of supremacy . . . like Simeon of old his days had been prolonged, that he might see the fulfilment of his long hope and prayer for the restoration of the Order in England . . . . There came to him one day two young and earnest priests, Fr. Anselm Beech and Fr. Thomas Preston, who told him that they were Englishmen and Benedictines and had

49Ibid., p. 95.
50Society of Jesus, Records, edited by Henry Foley, I, p. 69.
arrived from Italy with a mission from the Pope to re-establish the Order in England.

[The three] united in the strong determination that, if possible, the old English Congregation and traditions should be perpetuated by means of the venerable Fr. Sigebert.

The proposal was communicated to the superiors in Italy, and it was arranged that the next postulants should be clothed and professed in England by Fr. Buckley, that the connection with the old congregation should be unbroken. Unfortunately, at this juncture the fire of bigotry was rekindled by the Gunpowder Plot, and one of the victims was Fr. Sigebert Buckley, who in spite of his great age and infirmity again found himself in prison. ... Two secular priests who applied to become Benedictines were clothed with the habit and passed the year of noviceship under the direction of the Italian Fathers. On November 21, 1607, Feast of the Presentation of Our Lady, they were brought to the Gatehouse prison in London, and conducted to the cell of Fr. Sigebert Buckley [then in his ninety-third year] to be professed. ... He received their vows, with trembling hands he arranged their habits, he gave them the kiss of peace, and then—the sight left his eyes and he became stone-blind; the last objects on earth his eyes looked upon were his newly born children of St. Benedict. 52

More seminary priests were martyred, for refusal to take the oath which denied "the power of the Sovereign Pontiff to depose secular sovereigns on account of heresy, and to deprive them of their temporal sovereignty for any reason whatever." 53

Peace was far from reigning in the Protestant camp; Puritans and Anglicans fought on the matter of Sunday observance; smaller sects arose, bred of the spirit of independence and individuality that was characteristic of the Renaissance; there was chaos. "If any ... 

52 Joseph Gillow, A Literary and Biographical History, or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics, I, p. 334.

53 English College, Douay, Third Diary, p. 351.
discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a puritan.\footnote{Lucy Hutchinson, \textit{Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson}, p. 81. Castor 54}

The "godly" were more concerned with "a comfortable and sensible feeling of contempt of the worlde," than the "thought of earthly peace or provision."\footnote{Richard Rogers, \textit{Diary}, in \textit{Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries}, p. 65.\footnote{Ibid., p. 64.\footnote{Ward, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 105.\footnote{Ralph Josselin, \textit{Diary}, p. 8.\footnote{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.\footnote{\footnote{}}}}}} The desires of the Puritan clergy seemed to be summed up in the following resolutions made after what might have been a ministerial retreat:

\begin{quote}
I have firmly purposed to mak my whole life a meditation of a better life, that I may from point to point and from steppe to steppe with more watchfulness walk with the lorde.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 64.\footnote{Ward, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 105.\footnote{Ralph Josselin, \textit{Diary}, p. 8.\footnote{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.\footnote{}}}}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
A man must therfor labour above all things for alacrity in Godes services. And I must learne to desyre more after the Sundays then the Mundayes.\footnote{Ward, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 105.\footnote{Ralph Josselin, \textit{Diary}, p. 8.\footnote{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.\footnote{}}}
\end{quote}

Minor observances were of great moment in clerical life; some needed only a leader like Ralph Josselin, who when "ordayned minister ... would not bowe towards the altar as others did."\footnote{Ralph Josselin, \textit{Diary}, p. 8.\footnote{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.\footnote{}} Later, the Reverend Mr. Josselin was brought to court for wearing the surplice, while, on the other hand, Samuel Rogers, the Puritan, had dreaded the "likelehood of losse of liberty from the b[ishop] for not wearing the sur[pliance].\footnote{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.\footnote{}}"\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, p. 64.\footnote{Ward, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 105.\footnote{Ralph Josselin, \textit{Diary}, p. 8.\footnote{Rogers, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.\footnote{}}}}
The position of the king was far from enviable. Bigoted though he was, the strong Protestant element urged him to bold deeds in defense of his co-religionists abroad, for they considered "that the true church of God was well near ruined in Germany, whilst he sat still and looked on." In the meantime, he tried to handle his bishops and knights at home like pawns on a chessboard, and found himself checkmated at almost every turn. At his death, the work of destruction had nearly been accomplished. To "pull doune surely ... was ... of this age, pul downe colledges, churches, cyties, kingdomes; every one cryes, 'Downe with Jerusalem!' An easy matter to pull down that which was ... yeares in building."  

60 Simonds D'Ewes, Extracts from MS Journal, pp. 30-31.  
61 Manningham, op. cit., p. 141.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Costumes

It is true of almost any fashion to say that it started of necessity or usefulness, was gradually beautified, then exaggerated to the point of ridicule, and finally discarded for a new cycle. The evolution of the skirt into the farthingale so popular in Tudor England is a perfect illustration. Its full gathered material was stretched over a large hoop round the hips, falling from that, straight to the ground. The masculine counterpart evolved from simple trunk hose to the full, padded, ridiculous, bombasted breeches of the reign of James I. While amongst European nations there had been almost a uniform standard of fashion, modified by national taste, "English dress seemed to retain a kind of instinctive elegance and propriety."¹

During the reign of Henry VIII, who tried to emulate his "dear brother of France," the influence of that country marked English costume, converting it into a sort of rich upholstery, heavy and ornate. Later, the ruffs of Spanish origin were introduced. Although Elizabeth's personal wardrobe was magnificent, it behooved her subjects to exercise

¹Paul LaCroix, Manners, Customs and Dress during the Middle Ages, and during the Renaissance Period, p. 549.
moderation, and during her reign "was a proclamation of the aht [act] of a-ray... [concerning] grett ruffes and grett breckys, and that no man to have butt a yard and a half of kersey [material for a ruff]."

Moreover, there were also restrictions concerning metallic accessories: "No swerd to be butt a yerd and a quarter of lenth the blad, and dagars butt xij ynche the blad, and that buckelles shall not have longe pykes, but of a sysse, [assize, or fixed form]."\(^2\)

Some of the articles of masculine apparel during Tudor times can be observed from the account of an apprentice who had used money taken from his master to buy himself some new clothes.

... the pelere set up in Chepe for a prentes [apprentice] that had conveyed from ys master sum [money] ... and had bowth [bought] hym nuw apparell, nuw shurtt, dobelet and hose, hat, purse, gyrdyll, dager, and butes, spurs, butt-hose and a skarffe, and thys nuw all, and thys dyd hang up on the pelere.

The parade of new finery which modern times have come to associate with Easter Sunday had its foreshadow in Renaissance England when a fond father

sent from London against Easter a suite of cloaths for [his] son Thomas, being ye first breeches & doublet yt he ever had, & made by [the] tailor ... It was too soon for him to wear ym being but 5 years old, but yt his mother had a desire to see him in ym, how proper a man he would be.\(^4\)

Velvet, sumptuous and rich, was much used on occasions of distinction; the ambassador "Sir Philip Hobbey [Hoby] departed toward

\(^2\)Henry Machyn, *Diary*, p. 281.

\(^3\)Ibid., p. 262.

\(^4\)Henry Slingsby, *Diary*, pp. 71-72.
Fraunce with ten gentlemen of his owne, in velvet cotes, and chaines of gold," and when "was bered . . . the good erle [of Oxford he had] a herse with velvett [and a] palle of velvett," although some deceased notables had a "ryche palle of tynsell and ryche cloth of sylver."6

One who, like Simon Forman, aspired to eminence felt he had to take pains to have his memory preserved for posterity, especially when he had the means to dress for the part:

... I had my own picture drawen, and mad my purple gowne, my velvet cap, my velvet cote, my velvet breches, my taffety cloke, my hat, and many other things, and did let my hear and berc gowe ... I bought my . . . sword this yer, and did the hangers with silver.7

Weddings, as well as funerals, furnished occasions for ceremonial bedecking, especially with as much jewelry as could be afforded: "ij dowthers of master Atkynson the skreuener . . . mared . . . in ther here [hair] and goodly pastes [head-dresses] with chenes [chains] and perles and stones."8

Elizabeth loved jewelry, and after her death her subjects speculated on the value of her ornaments. It was rumored that the Queen had "left behinde hir in money, plate, and jewels the value of 12,000,000 l."9 Although she had provided "gownes for pore women" during her lifetime, at least on Maundy Thursday, there were some of her subjects who cheated

6Machyn, op. cit., p. 283.
7Simon Forman, Diary, p. 30.
8Machyn, op. cit., p. 240.
9John Manningham, Diary, p. 159.
her of her last earthly wrappings. After her death, the Queen was "wrapt up in cere cloth, and that very ill to, through the covetousness of them that defrauded hir of the allowance of cloth was given them for that purpose." At least one of her jewels had some sentimental association, for

Countes Kildare assured Dr. Parry [one of the Queen's chaplains] that the Queene caused the ring wherewith shee was wedded to the crowne, to be cutt from hir finger some 6 weeke before hir death, but wore a ring which the Earl of Essex gave hir unto the day of hir death.

On one occasion, in the heat of the chase, her successor, James, "lost a Jewel in Hunting of a 1000 l. value."

The English, with their love of tradition, liked to see the ancient details of official installations carried out, and alteration of any kind was strictly noted:

Syr Thomas Lodge, beynge Mayr of London, ware a beard, and ye fyrst that (beynge Mayr of London) ever ware any, ye whiche was thought to mayny people very strayne to leve ye cumly amsyent custom of shavyng their beards; nevthertheles he ware ye comly auncient bonet with iiiij cornars as all othar his predysesowrs had done before hym; . . . but ye next yere aftar Sir John Whit, beynge mayre, ware both a longe beard and also a rownd cape that wayed not iiiij cuncis, whiche semyd to all men, in consyderation of ye auncient bonyt, to be very uncomly.

There was a tendency then, as now, to make comparisons when going abroad, and Sir William Brereton noted with satisfaction on a

10 Loc. cit.
11 Loc. cit.
12 William Laud, Diary, p. 41.
13 John Stowe, Annales, p. 127.
visit to "Edenborough" that "many weare (especially of the meaner sort) plaides: which is a garment of the same wollen stuffe, whereof our saddle-cloathes in England are made." Foreign fabrics were considered almost an affront to the national honor, although in many cases they were of superior quality, and every effort was made to encourage home industries by issuing regulations for the wearing of their products. The "capp of woll knit" for feminine wear on "Sabbath and other Holy Days under a penalty of 3s 4d a day" exemplified this.

In spite of the popular fashion, attempt at individuality was made by Lady Ann Clifford, who "wore [her] green damask gown embroidered without a farthingale," or "began to dress [her] head with a roll without a wire." Perhaps fashionable women occasionally attended evening service before a reception, since Lady Anne once "went to Church in . . . rich night gown [i.e., evening gown] and petticoat, both [her] women waiting upon [her] in their liveries, but my Lord stayed at home." "Sea water green satin and damask embroidered with gold" made gowns "which the Tailor . . . sent from London . . . with open ruffs after the French fashion."

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15 William Whiteway, Diary, in Dorset Proceedings, p. 56.
16 Ann (Clifford) Herbert Pembroke, Diary, pp. 67; 79.
17 Ibid., pp. 71; 83.
During the winter, dark colors and more layers were thought to insure warmth, and clothing for children followed adult customs. In May, "the Child" [of Lady Anne Clifford] put on her white coats and left off many things from her head, the weather growing extreme hot.\(^\text{18}\)

Women have long been accused of extreme folly in matters of dress, and there must have been much moralizing about the woman whose appearance on the street was greeted with the cry "Roome! Roome! for a woman with a cupbord on hir head ... that had sold hir cupbord to buy a taffaty hat."\(^\text{19}\)

Articles of dress made most acceptable gifts; "a pair of Spanish leather gloves" would be sure to please the recipient and "the skirts of a white satin gown all pearled and embroidered with colours ... sent the Queen" would be almost a sure way to her favor.\(^\text{20}\) Certain precautions to the complexion, as well as to the reputation, were taken by ladies when abroad, and the Queen made herself no exception to this unwritten rule, since it would have been unmaidenly to appear "bare-faced" [without a mask], although when loyal subjects appeared at their doors to show her respect, she spoke to them "graciously, putting down her mask."\(^\text{21}\)

As the age of Elizabeth was the apex of splendor in so many Renaissance characteristics, the love of gorgeous attire, too, was personified in the Queen; yet she, like the humblest of her subjects, came finally to the poor wrappings of cerecloth and lead.

\(^{18}\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 67.}\)
\(^{19}\text{Manningham, op. cit., p. 52.}\)
\(^{20}\text{Pembroke, op. cit., pp. 82-83.}\)
\(^{21}\text{John Dee, Diary, p. 37.}\)
Entertainment

In spite of political changes and religious turmoil, Englishmen and Englishwomen wanted to be amused. Frequently the sovereign set the example by honoring certain subjects with an extended and expensive visit. With the introduction of foreign customs and foreign culture, many of the earlier rather barbaric English sports were softened and refined, although the national hardihood of temper retained some of them.

Henry VIII had no trouble providing personal diversion for himself. His son, like any boy, liked thrilling, spectacular sports. It probably was quite a matter of course on the occasion of an ambassadorial reception that "the embassadours saw the baiting of the bearis and bullis," 22 although in justice it must be recorded that more civilized amusements were tolerated when a later entourage

after dinner saw a pastime of tenne against tenne at the ring . . . . [Again,] after a fair souper, . . . the embassadours . . . went into the tems (on the Thames) and saw both the beare hunted in the river, and also wilfier cast out of botis, [boats] and many prety conceites.23

Although Elizabeth kept her country out of war, she probably enjoyed a demonstration of the martial ability of her people in a mock battle given upon one

Mydesomerday at Grenwyche, [where] was a goodly castylle mad a-pone Tames, and men of armes with-in ytt, with gones and spers, for to def fend [the same] and a-bowt ytt wher serten small pynnes [pinnaces] . . . and grett

23Ibid., pp. 272; 273.
shottying of gonnes and horlyng of ba[lls of] wyld fyre, and ther was a barke . . . for the Que[n]'s grace to be in for to se the pass-tyme, the wyche was vere latt or yt was done.24

Occasionally, the city officials gathered for a hunt:

My lord mare and my masters the althermen, and mony worshipfull men, and dyvers of the masturs and wardens of the xij compenys, red [rode] [to the] condutth hedes for to se them, after the old coustum; and a-fore dener they hundyd the hare and kyllyd, and so to dener to the hed of the condyth, for ther was a nombur, and had good chere of the chambrlayn; and after dener to hontyng of the fox, and ther was a goodly cry for a mylle, and after the hondys kyllyd the fox at the end of sant Gylles, and theyr was a grett cry at the deth, and blohyng of hornes; and so rod thurgh London, my lord mare Harper with all ys compene home to ys owne plase in Lumberd strett.25

Weddings were always occasions for rejoicing, particulary when three "dowthers of master . . . skreu:ener . . . was mared . . . commyng home to . . . a grett denner."26 At funerals, no less than at weddings, observance of the social virtues was expected and it was to the credit of the deceased to provide "gownes to powre women, and . . . a grett dener for as mony as wold cum." Sometimes if anyone so "worshephulle" as a "myght of the Garter was bered . . . ther was a nobull dener . . . for venesun and wyld fulle [fowl]."27

Diversions sometimes have a way of becoming tragedies, as in the case of "Turner and Dun, two famous fencers, [who] playd their prizes . . . at the Banke side, but Turner at last run Dun soe far in the

25Ibid., p. 124.
26Ibid., p. 240.
27Ibid., p. 294.
brayne at the eye, that he fell downe presently stone deade; a goodly sport in a Christian state, to see on[e] man kill an other!28 The occurrence provided a seasonable text for

a sermon at Paules . . . a finicall boystorous exordium . . . against duellisme, or single combat, and said that yf two goe into the field with purpose to fight an the one be slayne, he is a murderour of himselfe. [The preacher] exhorted the judges to severity, telling them that there is more incouragement taken by one that escapes the punishment due unto him by the lawe, then there is feare wroght by the execution of an hundred.29

Young imitators of the fencers got into trouble, too, for little

"Arthur [Dee's] left eye [was] hurt at playing at fence with rapier and dagger of sticks."30 Another amusement which ended tragically was interpreted by "the godly . . . as a due plague of God for the wickednes ther usid, and the Sabath day so profanely spent," when on "January 13, 1583, Sunday, the stage at Paris Garden, fell down all at ones, being full of people beholding the bearbayting. Many being killed thereby, most hart, and all amased."31

There were more quiet games like "Glecko," which must have been intriguing, since a usually well-occupied gentlewoman occasionally "spent most of [her] time playing at Glecko."32 The names of some of the other games at "chartes" have survived in terms of modern card-games: "Ruffe, Trumpe, Slamme, Newcut, Swigg, Loadum, Putt, Primifisty,

28Manningham, op. cit., p. 130.
29Ibid., p. 132.
30Dee, op. cit., p. 60.
31Ibid., p. 18.
32Pembroke, op. cit., p. 76.
Post & pair, Bone-ace, Anakin, Seven Gardes, One & 30.  

An introspective soul like the Reverend Ralph Josselin found occasion to bemoan, "I have given my minde to unseasonable playing at chesse," and after the death of his infant son Ralph, which he considered a "correction of God" he resolved to "be very sparing in ye use of that recreacon."  

For the man in the street were amusing things to be seen for money in ye City: Playes, dancing upon ye Rope & vaulting upon ye saddle, Virginalls & organs playing by themselves, the Dancing of ye horse at ye Starre [Inn] . . . .

[There were also] Biblical scenes: creation, the fall, Cain & Abel, Abraham's sacrifice . . . birth of Christ, flight into Egypt, Dives & Lazarus, [in a] sight call'd Chaos express'd by puppets.

Dining was not only a form of entertainment but sometimes an expression of filial duty, as "upon midlent Sunday, every good child is said to dine with his father & mother." The furnishing of viands for a feast or even for the ordinary meal was a graceful way of reciprocating service or showing gratitude, as was "a lovely breast of veale" sent by "Gdee [Goody] Mathew" to her pastor. Dr. Dee was pleased when "the Lord Threasorer . . . sent [him] some venison to supper," and when another courtier "sent . . . a hogshed of claret

33 Thomas Crosfield, Diary, p. 38.
34 Ralph Josselin, Diary, p. 47.
35 Crosfield, op. cit., pp. 54; 29.
36 Ibid., p. 59.
37 Josselin, op. cit., pp. 54; 29.
wyne as a gyft." Trade and exploration had stimulated an exchange of different articles of diet, some of which were expensive and rare enough to be appreciated as gifts. Other things of domestic manufacture which entailed labor on the part of the maker were also esteemed: "This day Mr. Wade of Halsted sent . . . a dozen of candle, and Mr. Hickford a sugar loafe, a liberall & bounteous guift." Spices, especially, gave a touch of variety to the refreshments customary at funerals, which included "a grett denere . . . and after was sent spyse bred to evere howse." With "love unto excessive feasting [then] very much practis'd" there was often "Companie at diner," but that kind of distraction for a homesick little visitor did not prove too happy in the case of one little lady:

[When] the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster, . . . Father and Mother both attended in their robes, . . . which solemn sight my Mother would not let me see because the plague was hot in London, therefore I continued at Norbury, where my cousin did so feed me with breakfasts and pear pies and such things, as shortly after I fell into sickness.

Music has ever been a great accompaniment to well-being, and Lady Hoby found it efficacious in banishing boredom: "To refresh myselfe beinge dulle, plaied and sunge to the alpherion." In the scholarly

38Dee, op. cit., pp. 40; 34.
40Machyn, op. cit., p. 294.
41Slingsby, op. cit., p. 24.
42Margaret Hoby, Diary, p. 205.
43Pembroke, op. cit., p. 11.
44Margaret Hoby, op. cit., p. 99.
precincts of Oxford, there was "performance of ... musike upon wire strings," and upon New Year's Day, "Morrice ye gardener going to every fellowes chamber with musicke" received a suitable "tip" for his cheer. However, excessive musical exuberance at one time caused "Mr. Provost [to admonish] ye schollers to refraine from whissling." 

The extraordinary dramatic fecundity of the Renaissance might be expected to have some reflection in the diaries. Such entries are few and scattered, treating the development of this art with the casualness of the other day-by-day happenings recorded. That there was a development, and also a growth in popular appreciation may, however, be gleaned from various comments. The forbidding attitude of an earlier regulation that "... a-pon payne of presunmett [imprisonment] and a grett [penalty] ... [there were] nott to be ... plasse [plays] at taverns, alle-howses, in[n]es" seemed to be changed during the reign of Elizabeth, when at "the Cowrt ... was the goodlyest masket oawt of London that ever was seen ... and Julyus Sesar played." Her Majesty had a sharp eye to the character of the entertainment presented; once "the plaers plad shuche matter that they wher commodyd to leyff off, and contenent [incontinently] the maske cam in dansying." 

Ordinary folk, too, had a chance to see and appreciate plays when various guilds had their pageants and processions, mostly begun

45 Cresfield, op. cit., p. 112.
46 Ibid., p. 16.
47 Machyn, op. cit., p. 31.
48 Ibid., p. 276.
49 Ibid., p. 221.
with a church service with "communion . . . and good syngyng; and after
to their halle to dener, and after dener a play."50  One such holiday
was graced by the performance of "... a play called 'Twelve Night,
or What you Will,'" That the audience was attentive and critical and
also familiar with various plays might be inferred from the comment that
it was

much like the Commedy of Errores, or Menechmi in Plautus,
but most like and neere to that in Italian called Inganni.
A good practise in it to make the Steward beleevhe his Lady
widdowe was in love with him, by counterfeyting a letter
as from his Lady in generall termes, telling him what shee
liked best in him, and prescribing his gesture in smiling,
his apparaile, &c., and then when he came to practise
making him beleue they took him to be mad.51

The attendance of women at public entertainments, including plays,
was not encouraged. While Lady Ann "stayed in the country . . . like an
owl in the desert . . . my Lord was in London . . . much abroad to
Cooking, to Bowling Alleys, to Plays and Horse Races." On New Year's
day, she tried visiting "my Sister Beauchamp and stay'd with her an hour
or two for my Lord was at the play at Whitehall that night." A later
softening of the attitude allowed her "after supper . . . with my Lord
and Lady Arundel . . . [to see] the play of the Mad Lover in the Hall."52

Constant and varied amusement seemed to be one of the demands of
court life, especially during the time of Elizabeth.

50Ibid., p. 261.
51Manningham, op. cit., p. 18.
52Pembroke, op. cit., pp. 28; 46; 47.
On[e] Shrove Tuesday, at night, the Inns of Court came to Whitehall, and presented Her Majesty with the masking, dancing, and fighting at barriers, but had not the nimbleness of their legs pleased better than the strength of their arms, all had been marred.53

Masques continued their popularity into the reign of James, in spite of such criticism as Bacon's: "These things are but toys . . . . But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegance than daubed with cost."54 Sometimes the performance was so well-received that a "second time it was presented before the King and Queen."55

Many English social customs popular in Renaissance England have continued to modern times. To attempt a complete review would be a bewildering task, but the individualized records of the period show a consciousness of the presence of two distinctive traits: the emphasis of personality through the selection and display of costume and the development of social graces through the amenities of entertainment.

55 Pembroke, op. cit., p. 11.
CHAPTER VI

THE POLITICAL SCENE

In a certain sense, Arthur, the first-born son of Henry VII, may be said to be one of the causes of the political-religious difficulty which the Tudor reigns brought to England. The poor little prince, for whose baptism

... my Lady Anne ye quens sister bare ye orysom ... [and] the sergeaunt of the pantry was redy with a ryche salt, [which] my Lord of Essyxe bare ... to the churche [and] the sergaint of the surye was redy with a payre of coverd basons and a fayre towell,¹

little dreamed of the host of troubles to which he was falling heir.

His father envisioned a strong kingdom for this heir of his, and early arranged an alliance for him with the eldest daughter of the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. Had the little prince lived to fulfill the good wishes which undoubtedly were showered on him by his "gosyppis" with their gifts, "a cuppe of gold set with stone ... a salte of gowld, ... a payre of basons with a cup of assay all gylt, ... a cofer of gold set with stones,"² who can say that the course of English religious and political history would not have been different?

With the firm foundation of the Tudor monarchy under Henry VII, the transformation of England from a feudal state to a centralized govern-

¹John Stowe, Annales, p. 104.
²Loc. cit.
ment was accomplished. The transition had been brought about by the Wars of the Roses, during which the crown had been enabled to seize the estates of many of the warring nobles, and had conveyed the impression among the common people that the national good lay in a strengthened royal power and a subduing of the nobility who had caused all the trouble. By keeping control firmly in his own hands, by restricting expenditures to a point below the revenue which he augmented through various means, by maintaining the country in peace, Henry VII was largely freed from dependence upon Parliament for grants of money, and its power gradually declined.

Henry's foreign policy for the most part was peaceable, and he strengthened international ties by means of commercial and matrimonial relations. Because of his daughter's marriage with the Scottish King, James IV, his granddaughter, Elizabeth, would one day find it expedient to will her crown to James VI of Scotland. Though he had destined a Spanish princess to be queen of England after his own death, it was as the wife of his second son, who succeeded him as Henry VIII, that she came to the throne. Papal dispensation for this union had to be secured, since the princess had already been married to Arthur before his death. Spiritually, the authority of the papacy was respected in England, and though there had been political snubs and restrictions in the past, by the time Henry VIII succeeded to the absolutism of his father, in 1509, there were no visible signs of political anti-Roman feeling. The astute young monarch was not blind to the fact that the Church and her prelates enjoyed a position of privilege in contrast to

the subordinated situation of the nobles. As long as no cause for friction militated against the seeming harmony, Church and State worked in peace. The first hint of unpleasantness came with Henry's application for nullification of his marriage, about which he alleged scruples (after eighteen years), and the Pope's delayed decision prompted him to attempt influencing a verdict in his own favor.

By the revival of a statute which had at one time represented anti-papal resentment, Henry charged the clergy a fine for admitting papal legates to his kingdom without royal sanction. Then he decided to become doubly absolute. The year fifteen hundred and thirty-four marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of his reign; as a seeming jubilee commemoration, he made himself the "only supreme head in earth of the Church in England" with the penalty of treason attached to denial.

The whole nation did not now suddenly arise in a frenzy of national loyalty to abjure papal allegiance.

History shows that up to the very eve of the rejection of [Papal] supremacy the attitude of Englishmen, in spite of difficulties and misunderstandings, had been persistently one of respect for the Pope as their spiritual head. . . . That there were at times disagreements and quarrels may be admitted without in the least affecting the real attitude and uninterrupted spiritual dependence of England on the Holy See. Such disputes were wholly the outcome of misunderstandings as to matters in the domain rather of the temporal than of the spiritual, or of points in the broad debatable land that lies between the two jurisdictions. 4

While "... no nation more fully and freely bowed to the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See, . . . [at the same time] there was a dislike

4Francis A. Gasquet, Eve of the Reformation, p. 71.
of interference in matters which they regarded, rightly or wrongly, as outside the sphere of the Papal prerogative.\textsuperscript{5}

The break with Rome "encouraged the Lutherans and other heretics" in the belief that England would become nationally Protestant. This was not Henry's idea. Although he beheaded as traitors those who denied his spiritual supremacy, he burned as heretics those who denied so Catholic an article of faith as transubstantiation.

As an expression of his spiritual jurisdiction, the king gave an opportunity to a greater number of his subjects to acknowledge his supremacy by allowing the heads of monasteries "freely" to surrender their properties to the control of the crown. The pretext of existing abuses was used; also the additional one of the safeguarding the purity of the faith of the flock. Perhaps the peaceful security of the religious life existing in well-ordered serenity without the necessity of taking thought for the means of existence aroused the envy of critics; in certain cases definite grudges existed. "No doubt many circumstances had contributed at this time to lower the tone of religious discipline; but taking a broad survey, . . . in so large a body of men, so widely dispersed, seated for so many centuries in the richest and fairest estates of England, for which they were mainly indebted to their own skill, perseverance, and industry, discreditable members were to be found . . . is likely enough, but that the corruption was either so black or so general as party spirit would have us believe, is contrary to all analogy, and is unsupported by impartial and contemporary evidence.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., p. 74.

\textsuperscript{6}J.S. Brewer, Reign of Henry VIII, I, 600.
This seemingly voluntary surrender "conveyed no idea of force, and at the same time did not necessitate intervention by Parliament."  

Buildings and churches were given at a low price to the gentry and to all who desired to possess lands of their own. Lords and courtiers received the greater part of the loot and increased their fortunes with the monastic spoils. . . . [In this way the king gained] the good will of the most influential men, by linking up their interests with the dissolution of the monasteries so that they would become the most ardent champions of the dissolution . . . . He made this work a permanent one by bringing the people into it and at the same time guarded himself against an attack by any of the Catholic princes on the Continent. . . . [A consequence unforeseen by him was the founding of a landed aristocracy which was afterwards to rob the crown of the power the Tudors had wrested from the ancient nobility. And, by not keeping the monastic wealth in the royal treasury, Henry unwittingly saved England from the absolutism of the Stuarts, who, had they been rich, would have done without Parliament.]

In general, the monks had not acquiesced in royal religious control and formed a chain of loyalty to the pope. Economic need spurred action. Additional revenue was not only welcome, it was needed! Part of the former monastic property enriched the crown directly, the larger part was used as bribes for the support of the wavering nobles. Although the estates were tacitly regarded as rewards for faithful services, or payment for loans made, there were strings attached, which, upon acceptance, made the noble a royal puppet—he was committed to the support of the dissolution.

Under the Act of Supremacy, religious administration became only an aspect of state activity, and "churchmen were regarded as subjects of the crown taking out commissions like any other officer." 

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8Ibid., p. 192.
9Einstein, Tudor Ideals, pp. 24-25.
"By a unity of belief, Henry meant to maintain a political unity." 10

The absolutist aims of Henry VIII were enforced and strengthened by the aid of Thomas Cromwell, who

was the first English minister in whom there can be traced the steady working out of a great and definite aim to raise the king to absolute authority on the ruins of every rival power within the realm. . . . [a] policy closely modelled on the lines laid down by Machiavelli. . . . 11

[who] taught the dangerous doctrine that a ruler, bent on exercising a benevolent despotism, is justified in employing any means to achieve his purpose. 12

"This influence in England . . . provided the theoretical foundation for the doctrine of the divine right of kings." 13

Henry sought to perpetuate after his death a compromise difficult to preserve in such stormy times as the sixteenth century. . . . By his will he set up a government in which the conflicting forces acting with equal strength would, he expected, cancel each other out and thus produce a stable equilibrium. The orthodox would moderate the zeal of the reformers, the reformers check the reactionary aims of the orthodox. In this way his royal work would remain intact. [His calculations, however,] were to be speedily discredited, 14

[for in] the yere of our Lord 1547, the said king died of a dropsi . . . . after whos death . . . came Edward erle of Hartford and sir Anthony Browne, Master of the hors, to convey this prince [Edward] to Enfield whare th' earles of Hartford declared to him, and his younger sister Elizabeth, the death of their father . . . . [which] the same day . . . was showed in London, wher was great lamentation . . . [Edward] was brought to the toure of London, whear he taried th' espace of three wekes; and in the mean season the counsel sat every day for the performance of the will, and at length thought best that the erle of Hartford should be made Duc of Somerset . . . . Also thei thought best to chose the Duke

10 Constant, op. cit., I, p. 433.


12 Carlton J.H. Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe, I, p. 194.


14 Constant, op. cit., I, pp. 21-22.
of Somerset to be Protectour of the realm and Governour of the Kings person during his minoriety, . . . because he was the Kings uncle on his mother's side. Also in this time the late King was buried at Windsor with much solemnite.\textsuperscript{15}

Then Edward VI "was crowned King of England, Fraunce, and Irland, being then but nin[e] yere old. . . . and anointed with al such ceremonies as wer accustomed, and tok his othe, and gave a general pardon, and so was brought to the hale to diner . . . wher he satt with the crowne on his hed. . . ."\textsuperscript{16} The poor little lad must have felt very proud, but very lonely, playing at kingship; his "brief reign showed to what length the ambition of those around the throne could go . . . ."\textsuperscript{17} The new creed [of Protestantism] was imposed upon the nation [during the time] solely by the will of a King who was a minor and of the Government.\textsuperscript{18}

The practice of considering religion as part of the ordinary business of state continued. "In the first years of the reign of Edward VI the gilds were crippled by the loss of part of their property, which was confiscated under the pretext of religious reform."\textsuperscript{19} In the surrender of church property during the preceding reign, the large sees and great monastic houses had practically been demolished within a period of five years, and since not much of this property remained to the crown, Henry's successor had to be content with smaller "loot," though of the same class as his father's choosing, that is,

\textsuperscript{15}Edward VI, \textit{Literary Remains}, Journal, II, pp. 210-211.
\textsuperscript{16}$\textit{Ibid.}$, p. 212.
\textsuperscript{17}Einstein, \textit{Tudor Ideals}, p. 105.
\textsuperscript{18}Constant, \textit{op. cit.}, II, p. 298.
\textsuperscript{19}Hayes, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 262.
the chantries, which had apparently for the most part escaped the rapacity of Henry and his courtiers. Edward's Diary records that in 1547, "there was a parliament called, wherein all chantries were granted to the king . . ."20 However, the action performed in his name bettered the paternal example by later applying the proceeds to personal royal uses: "Commission was given [to diverse lords] to sel some part of the chantry landes, and of the houses, for the payment of [the king's] dettis."21

Unwittingly royal policy favoured the development of individualism in its subjects. . . . The crown . . . was obliged to have recourse to individuals to carry out its policies, and though it tried to treat these as servile tooks, at the first opportunity they escaped from such dependence. . . . The new individualism, vigorous and energetic, was everywhere pushing its way.22

In 1549 "rose great sturres . . . . The counsel, about 19 of them, were gathered in London, thinking to mete with the Lord Protector, and to make him amend some of his disorders . . ."23 some of which were set forth in letters to the King, as "ambicion, vain glorie, entring into rashe warres in [the king's] youth . . . enriching of himself of [the king's] treasour, followeing his owne opinion, and doing al by his owne authorite."24 After a period of disgrace, the protectour was again restored to favor, during which interval he discovered a conspiracy, the perpetrators of which he "executed . . .

20Edward VI, op. cit., p. 220.
21Ibid., p. 414.
22Einstein, Tudor Ideals, p. 105.
23Edward VI, op. cit., p. 232.
24Ibid., p. 238.
with death for their offence." 25 Two months later, in October, 1551, it was "declared . . . how . . . my Lord of Somerset . . . went to raise the people . . . to know who were his frendes . . . " 26 and he "cam to his triall at Westmyster halle, December, 1551, 27 where "the lordis acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of treason felonious, and so he was adjuged to be hanged . . . He gave thankis for there open trial, 28 while "the people, knowing not the matter, shouted hauf a dozen times . . . and rumours went that he was quitte of all. 29 Whether or not the condemned man appealed to his royal nephew, Edward does not record. Within a month appears the dispassionate entry, "The duke of Somerset had his head cut of apon towre hill betwene eight and nine a oloke in the morning." 30 The citizenry again showed sympathy, as indicated by Henry Machyn's entry,

The xxij of January . . . the duke of Somerset was beheaded on Tower hill. There was a grett compeny as have been syne . . . and after the execusyon . . . ys body was putt in to a coffin, . . . in to the Towre, and ther bered in the chyrche, . . . the whyche I beseeche [God] have mercy on ys sowle. . . . 31

While great offenses against the crown were punished with the supreme penalty, smaller violations of the laws did not go unnoticed. Cheating tradesmen were also penalized, either by standing "on the

\[25\] Ibid., p. 340.
\[26\] Ibid., p. 353.
\[27\] Loc. cit.
\[28\] Ibid., p. 373.
\[29\] Loc. cit.
\[30\] Ibid., p. 390.
\[31\] Henry Machyn, Diary, p. 14.
pelere [pillory]" for selling deceptive half measures of berries or threatened that they would "loysse ther fredom for ever and ever" for not selling meat at specified prices. At the same time, for fear of stirring up the populace, would-be-prophets, "a yong man and iv women . . . was wyped [whipped] . . . for vyssones and synes." Perhaps, in fear of war, was issued in 1552 "a proclamasyon that no man shuld . . . selle ther grett horssys."32

Courtesies extended to the French ambassador by the young king gave an opportunity that he "saw the strength of the English archers." Although there is no mention of this hope on the part of the giver, it could well be that the future sight of Edward's parting gift, "a dyamant from my fynger . . . both for paines and also for my memory,"33 would call to mind the formidable array of archers and the seeming futility of entering into war against so well-defended a monarch.

The need for money was ever present and commerce provided one way of meeting debts. In October, 1552, Edward recorded that since he had a

pay of 48,000 li. to be paid in December, and had . . . but 14,000 beyond sea to pay it withal, the merchauntis did give . . . a loane of 40,000 li. . . . to be repaied again . . . the last of Marche. The maner of levying this loane was of the clothes . . . For they carried out at this shipping 40,000 brod clothes (cloths).34

Broadcloth had a curious vogue in trade for a long time. Almost a century later, Crosfield records the story of an Englishman's escape from the hands of Turkish captors, purely on the strength of

32 Ibid., pp. 21; 22; 24.
33 Edward VI, op. cit., p. 335.
34 Ibid., p. 460.
"clothes appeal":

Marvellous covetous they are, specially of our English Garments, as broadcloth for vests, which redeemed Mr. May being taken Prisoner at ye fountaine, when Mr. Dallam being called by a Tailor who liked him well for playing upon ye virginalls . . . prevailed upon ye . . . governour to release them for a vest of broadcloth. 35

Although Henry VIII had plainly blamed his wife, Catherine, for the lack of a male heir, the little prince born of a subsequent union inherited no strong physique. In April, 1552, Edward records that he "fell sike of the measels and small pox" 36 and because he was "not able to goe wel abrode . . . signed a bil containing the names of the actes wich [he] wold have passe, wich bil was redde in the house." 37

Little more than a year later, on "the vj day of July, 1553 . . . dessessyd the nobull Kyng Edward the vj . . . sune and here to the nobull kyng Henry the viij;" and there were not lacking rumors that "he was poysioned, as everebody says." 38

[On] the xix day of July was qwene Mare proclamyd qwene . . . syster of the late kyng Edward the vj and doythyr unto the nobull kyng Henry the viij, . . . all the belles ryngyng throug London, and bone-fyres, and tabuls in evere street, and wyne and bere and alle, and . . . money cast-away. 39

Immediately the queen plainly showed that she meant to restore the ancient faith; the proclamation of her succession "was done at the crosse in Chepe," and after "they whent unto Powlls and ther was

35 Thomas Crosfield, Diary, p. 53.
36 Edward VI, op. cit., p. 408.
37 Loc. cit.
38 Machyn, op. cit., p. 35.
39 Ibid., p. 37.
Te Deum Laudamus, with song, and the organes playhyng,"40 but like a shadowy forerunner of what was to come later, on "the sam day cam rydyng thurgh London my lade Elssabeth grace."41 When on the "iij day of August, the Queen came riding to London ... next her [was] my lade Elssabeth."42 On the eighth of August, England wept for the boy sovereign: "At ys bere[ing was] the grettest mone mad ... [as ever] was hard or sene, ... of all sorts of pepull wepyng and lamentyng,"43 but with characteristic mob enthusiasm for change, on "the xij day of September the citizens began to adorn the city against the Queen's Coronation; to hange the streets, and prepare pageants," and, as the official seal of her reign, "at standard in Chepe, [was] the crosse reparyd ... ."44 On the "xxx day of September ... [at] Westmynster Chyroche, ... her grace hard Masse, and was crounyd a-pon a he [high] stage, and after [she was] a-montyd Qwene ... yt was iij of the croke or she whent to dener,"45 and like the ghost of the king who had fathered both of them, a Catholic at his accession and a heretic at his death, "at the end of the tabull dynyd my lade Elizabet."46

Mary Tudor, with the courage of her convictions, felt that marriage with the European champion of Catholicism would not only

40 Loc. cit.
41 Loc. cit.
42 Ibid., p. 38.
43 Ibid., p. 39.
44 Ibid., p. 43.
46 Ibid., p. 46.
strengthen but simplify her work of restoring England to communion with
the ancient faith. Great preparations were made

against the pryse of Spayne commyng in [and it was pro-
claimed that] evere pere and lord and lade shuld [resort]
unto her grace['s] cete of Wynchester with all spede to her
graes weddying. The same afternon commondyd . . . my lord
mayre that hevere man shuld make bone-fyres in evere strett . . .
and goo a prossessyon and to syng Te Deum laudamus in evere
parryche in London, and ryngyng of the belles.47

For a while, the sovereign abdicated the position of religious supremacy,
and induced Parliament to permit the reconciliation of England with the
See of Rome. The papal legate, Cardinal Reginald Pole, "dyd make a
orayson to the Kyng and the lords of the parlement,"48 and formally
absolved the kingdom from the guilt of schism and heresy. "For the
moment, Protestantism was identified with treason and Catholicism
was loyalty. The two parties exchanged prison accommodations and offices."49

In exhibiting an uncompromising attitude toward heresy and
punishing it severely, Mary was of her age, which still retained the
medieval viewpoint that heresy was not only a civil offense but a
social menace. While it is true that Mary Tudor's "bonefires" kindled
a certain measure of opposition to her government, the "martyrdom" of
Crammer provoked nothing from Machyn beyond the bare record of its ex-
ecution except the fact that he was "onetime Archebysshope of Canter-
bure," and Latimer and Ridley merited nothing but the mention of their
burning.

Antagonism to the Queen on account of her Spanish husband was

47Ibid., p. 66.
48Ibid., p. 76.
49M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism, p. 103.
not relieved by unpleasant situations arising from the presence of the foreigners. "Certain Spaniards killed an Englishman basely: two held him while one thrust him through, and so he died."50 Moreover, Philip often identified the interests of Spain with those of the Church, although he was primarily nationalistic when there was question of the temporal interests of the papacy clashing with those of Spain, and since Mary permitted Philip's guidance in foreign affairs, there was a strong, if not whole-hearted, feeling on the part of some Englishmen that loyalty to Catholicity might eventually mean the sacrifice of nationality. The most bitterly resented effect of the Spanish union was the result of the war with France, in which Mary permitted her country to become involved. By it, England lost her last continental stronghold, Calais. Not long afterward, humiliated, disheartened, lonely, on "the xvij day of November, 1558, died Quene Mary between vj and vij of the clock in the morning."51

With no loss of time,

[The same] day, betwyne a xj and xij a' for[noon, the lady Eliza] beth was proclamyd quen Elisabeth, quen of England, France and Irland, and defender of the feyth, by dyvers har­oldes of armes and trumpetors, and dukes, lorde[s] [and knights,] the wyche was ther present, the duke of Norfoke, [the] lord tresoror, the yerle of Shrousber, and the yerle of Bedford, and the lord mayre and the althermen, and dyver odur lorde[s] knyghtes.52

As at Mary’s accession, "all the chyrches in London dyd ryng, [but there was no Te Deum!] and at nyght dyd make bonefyres and set tabulls

50Macyn, op. cit., p. 79.
51Thomas Hoby, A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of Me, p. 127.
52Machyn, op. cit., p. 178.
in the strett and ded ett and drynke and mad mere for the newe quen
Elsabeth, quen Mare(‘s) sister."53

Elizabeth had learned caution in a hard school; she knew how to
bide her time, feeling her way as she waited, trying one policy, then
another, but committing herself to nothing. She showed the conflicting
traits of her parentage. To gain time, she flirted as outrageously
as her mother; to enforce decision, when at length she knew it was
time to act, she stormed with the passion of her father. She mysti-
fied and cajoled, she bribed and threatened; wheedled and condemned
by turns. Clever, but unscrupulous; patriotic yet personally disloyal;
 parsimonious in expenditure and grasping in income; demanding, but
ungrateful; loving order and ceremony, but indifferent to religion,
she twisted subjects and ambassadors as she played with her rings,
while beholders admired the beauty and dexterity of her hands, and
were seduced by the guile of her tongue. Though it was

an age of political lying ... in the profusion and reck-
lessness of her lies Elizabeth stood without a peer in
Christendom ... and the ease with which she asserted or
denied whatever suited her purpose was only equaled by the
cynical indifference with which she met the exposure of
her lies as soon as their purpose was answered.54

Ironically, some of her subjects were "sett on the pelere ... for
sondrys and practyses of grett falsode and muche on-trowthe."55

Elizabeth aimed to maintain her position on the throne, to
keep England at peace, increasing its prestige abroad and its security

53Loc. cit.
55Machyn, op. cit., p. 251.
and well-being at home. Her reign was long enough and her diplomacy skillful enough to achieve these aims—so successfully that her people idolized her and her contemporaries envied her. With a great show of firmness, she approved laws and urged their observance, retaining personal immunity as her prerogative, sometimes pardoning offenders whom her laws branded traitors, avoiding responsibility for orders she had given. Her ministers bore the blame if things went awry; the Queen basked in the glory which accrued to successful issues.

The circumstances of her birth committed her to the support of the Protestant religion, if for no other reason than to maintain her throne; religion personally seemed to mean little to her. At first, she seemed content to let matters drift. Although laws regulating religious ceremonials and articles of belief were proclaimed, all she cared about was outward conformity for the sake of order. Whenever religious observance served national expediency, she saw that it was enforced. It was a good thing that the fishing industry be encouraged; therefore, the continuance of fasting days was commanded, and since her subjects were used to Lenten abstinence, there was lacking no pretext for

\[
\text{a proclamasyon by the quen('s) grace and the consell that no man nor woman, nor they that kepys tabulles, shuld ett no flese in lantt nor odur tyme in the yere that ys com-
mondyd by the chyreche, nor no bucher kyll no flese, but that they should pay a grett fyne, or elles vj ours on the pelere and in-presoment x days.}^{56}
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Not every kind of fish might be sold every day; punishment for dis-

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56 Ibid., p. 226.
regarding the regulation was unpleasant, to say the least:

The xxij day of March [1560-1561] dyd a woman ryd abowt Chepesyd and London for bryngyng yonge frye of dyvers kynd of fysse unlafull, with a garland a-pone her hed hangyng with strynges of the small fysse, and on the horse a-for and be-hynd her, led by on[e] of the bedyels of Brydwell.57

Shakespeare's "My offense is rank; it smells to heaven" might have been occasioned by the sight and the scent of an offending fishwife being paraded through the streets of London!

With a touch of feminine inspiration, perhaps, Elizabethan punishments frequently made the offender ridiculous, and one wonders that a repetition occurred in spite of it: "The xxix day of January dyd ryd a[bout] London, ys fase toward the horse taylle, . . . [one for] selling of messelle [i.e., diseased] bacun." The second offense, however, merited a little more public display of the cause of the crime.

The xxij day of January the sam man was sett on the pelere and ij grett peses of the m]easly] bacun hangyng over ys hed, and a wrytyng [put] up that a ij yere a-goo he was ponyssed for the sam offense for the lyke thyng.58

Like a good housewife, the Queen watched everything, including the coinage. Not content with issuing proclamations concerning the rate, she took precautions that her subjects should do as she said, for orders "cam downe from my-lord mare that sertten o[f] cra[f'tes] shuld walke in evere markett, with a whyt rod . . . to loke that men shuld take testons [a coin adopted from France] of the ratt [rate] as the quen has proclamyd. . . ."59 Moreover, she made personal visitation

57Ibid., p. 253.
58Ibid., p. 248.
59Ibid., p. 245.
of the mints, on one occasion prolonged from "x [of the clock, until] v at nyght, and . . . saw all her my[unts; and they gave the] Quen serten peses of gold." 60 As she went "over the feldes to the Charter howse," they were "full of pepull, gret nombur," 61 ready to pay the tribute of admiring homage.

Theft seemed to be of frequent occurrence and while the light-fingered sometimes "whent to Tyburne . . . for to hange for thefte," 62 the "stellyng [stealing] of the quene('s) dyssys [dishes] was merely punished by having the culprit "sett to a p[ost at the] grett gatt to Westmynster-ward," 63 perhaps indirectly calling attention to the way that some of her subjects had of showing their excessive admiration for the queen and her possessions.

A readiness to rush to the defense of the realm was commendable; nevertheless, arsenals on a small scale constituted a fire hazard, so there "was a proclamacion by the mare that no man shuld have no gone-powder in their howses nor sellers [cellars], and that men shuld take hed [heed] for pyohe and tere [tar] and flax and wax, or elles hyre sum plase nere the townes endes." 64 There were, however, other ways of showing patriotism. The fitting out of ships of war was an expensive business; to relieve the crown somewhat in this regard, a concession could be made in aother: " . . . whereas hereto-

60 Ibid., p. 262.
61 Loc. cit.
62 Ibid., p. 286.
63 Ibid., p. 284.
64 Ibid., p. 204.
fore the Lord Admiral used to have the tentehe of all reprisal goods, the State hath nowe thought good, for the encouragement of men to furnish ships of war against the enemy, to forgive that imposition of tenth."65

Like her father, to whose empty throne Parliament rose and bowed at the mention of his name, the Queen loved the show of authority. During her reign, "in the Star Chamber the bencche on that part of the roome where the Queenses armes are placed is always vacant, noe man may sitt on it, because it is reserved as a seate for the Prince, and therefore before the same are layed the purse and the mace as notes of authority."66 With her love of display, Elizabeth added a few modifications of her own to the observance of the "Maundy" or Holy Thursday ceremonial customary for royalty:

The xj day of Apruell the Quen's grace kept her monde (Maundy) in her halle at the cowrt at afternon, and her grace gayff unto xx women so many gowmes, and on[e] woman had her best gowme, and ther her grace dyd wosse ther feet [wash their feet], and with a nw whyt cupe her grace dronke unto evere woman, and they had the cupe, and so her grace dyd leyke-wyse unto all, and evere woman had . . . money.67

Intensely jealous, she liked flattery and presents. She appreciated wit, and admired grace--provided the performers did not out-grace her. She gave encouragement to all kinds of piracy, tacit, perhaps, but nevertheless strong. She inspired literature, and promised liberal rewards, which were not always forthcoming.

65John Manningham, Diary, p. 131.
66Ibid., p. 53.
67Machyn, op. cit., p. 230.
In the field of occult service, her Majesty was a little more careful to give suitable remuneration, thinking, perhaps, that it was the part of safety to keep such powers placated. To the astrologer, Dr. Dee, who cast horoscopes for her, the Queen promised "that she wold send . . . an hundred angels [coins of gold] to kepe Christmas withall." Calling personally at his door, "she graciously, . . . did say with mery chere, 'I thank thee, Dee; there was never promisse made but it was broken or kept.' [In spite of his natural apprehensions, she decided to keep her promise (although partially) and two days later sent him fifty pounds on account], "... and sayd that she wold ere long . . . send fifty more to make up the hundred pounds." The doctor and his family continued in favor, for four years later he records, "I, my wife, and seven children before the Queene at Thisellworth. My wife kissed her hand."  

Woman-like, Elizabeth was not above wheedling presents she fancied out of those about her. It was said of her that one Dr. Bullein [Boleyn], the Queenes kinsman had a dog whish he doted on, soe much that the Queene understanding of it requested he would graunt hir one desyre, and he should have whatsoever he would aske. Shee demaunded his dogge; he gave it, and "Nowe, Madame," quoth he, "you promised to give me my desyre." "I will," quoth she. "Then I pray you give me my dog againe."  

The anecdote is unfinished--it would have been characteristic had

68John Dee, Diary, p. 37.
69Loc. cit.
70Dee, op. cit., p. 49.
71Manningham, op. cit., pp. 148-149.
she granted the request and then found some royal pretext for confiscating the animal.

The passion of loyalty which the Queen inspired was intense. To all alike, from the inarticulate crowds who filled the fields and streets for her progresses to the most witty or graceful poets, she was indeed the "Faerie Queene," shedding lustre on her subjects by the magnificence of her majesty. At a time of national emergency, the whole nation (Protestant, "Papist," Puritan) rushed to offer united service to the Queen and vanquished the Armada, belatedly impressing on Philip II the lesson of English nationalism.

Interest in her grace's personal doings was as keen as satisfaction in her official acts. As she neared the end of her life and her vigorous constitution began to give way, there was a manifest concern on the part of all her subjects, even the English Jesuits who suffered from her political displeasure. Father Anthony Rivers writing to Father Parsons about a year before the Queen's death, said,

The ache of the Queen's arm is fallen into her side but she is still, thanks to God frolicky and merry, [and that from a "seditious" Jesuit!] only her face showeth some decay, which to conceal when she cometh in public she putteth many fine cloths into her mouth to bear out her cheeks, and sometimes as she is walking she will put off her petticoat, as seeming too hot, when others shake with cold.  

Pretense was natural to her, and in her age it was said "she walketh often with greater show of ability than can well stand with years."  

As the Queen's health declined, "Mr. Secretary sway[ed] all of import,  

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73 Ibid., p. 27.
albeit of late much absent from the Court about London," but, lest
the Queen be offended, "not omitting in his absence daily to present
her Majesty with some revel or toy that may be acceptable."\textsuperscript{74}

Elizabeth's reign had been a long one and her subjects rather
dreaded a change. In March, 1603, "Letters wch Came from the priuie
Counsill ... thar our Quene was sicke, wrought great sorowe and
dread in all good subjetcstes hartes."\textsuperscript{75} With anxiety the citizens waited
for news, or went to "the Court of Richemond, to heare Dr. Parry, one
of hir Majesties chaplens preache, and to be assured whether the
Queene were living or dead." On the very day of her death, while
shee was then living,[he preached] a verry learned, elo­
quent, religiuous, and moving sermon: his prayer, both in
the beginning and conclusion, was soe fervent and effectual
for hir Majestie that he left few eyes drye. ... hir
Majestie hath bin by fitts troubled with melancholy some
three or four monethes, but for [a] fortnight extreame op­
pressed with it, in soe much that shee refused to eate anie
thing, to receive any phisike, or admit any rest in bedd,
till within [the last] two or three days ... in a manner
speacheles for two dayes, verry pensive and silent; since
Shrovetide sitting sometymes with hir eyes fixed upon one
objiect many howres togethier, yet shee alwaies had hir per­
fect senses and memory . . . . It seemes shee might have
lived yf shee would have used meanes; but shee would not be
persuaded, and princes must not be forced. Hir physicians
said shee had a body of a firme and perfect constitucion,
likely to have liued many yeares. A royall Maiesty is noe
priviledge against death.\textsuperscript{76}

And so, "Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond,"\textsuperscript{77} "about 2/3 o'clock in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{74}Loc. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{75}Margaret Hoby, \textit{Diary}, p. 201.
\item \textsuperscript{76}Manningham, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 145.
\item \textsuperscript{77}William Laud, \textit{Diary}, p. 2.
\end{itemize}
the morning.\textsuperscript{78} and on the 26th of March, "beinge the Lordes day, was the death \ldots published \ldots and our new kinge James of Scotland proclaimed\textsuperscript{79}. \ldots in Cheapside by all the Council with great joy and triumph \ldots. This peaceable coming-in of the King was unexpected of all sorts of people.\textsuperscript{80}

Although Elizabeth had not always been complimentary in her views of her Scottish cousin, (she "would sometimes speake freely of our King, but could not endure to heare anie other use such language,"\textsuperscript{81} nevertheless, she had designated him as her successor, since, said she, "He hath best right \ldots in the name of God lett him have it."\textsuperscript{82} Apparently her appointment met with universal approbation, for

the proclamacion was heard with greate expectacion and silent joye, noe great shouting \ldots the sorrowe for hir Majesties departure was soe deep in many hearts they could not soe suddenly showe anie great joye, though it could not be lesse than exceeding greate for the succession of soe worthy a king. And at night they shewed it by bonefires, and ringing. Noe tumult, noe contradiction; noe disorder in the city; every man went about his busi-\mbox{-}nes, as readylie, as peaceably, as securely, as though there had bin noe change, nor any newes ever heard of competitors.\textsuperscript{83}

\textsuperscript{78}Ann (Clifford) Herbert Pembroke, \textit{Diary}, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{79}Margaret Hoby, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 202.

\textsuperscript{80}Pembroke, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{81}Manningham, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{82}Ibid., p. 146.

\textsuperscript{83}Ibid., p. 147.
Meanwhile, "was our Late gracious Quene buried at Westminster, in that sort as became so great a prince."84

There was much talk of the new king and of what he would do; much retrospect of the deceased Queen and the disposition of her affairs:

The people . . . full of expectacion, and great with hope of his worthines, of our nations future greatnes; every one promises himself a share in some famous action to be hereafter performed for his prince and country. They assure themselves of the continuance of our Church government and doctrine. Their talke is of advancement of the nobility, of the subsidies and fifteens taxed in the Queenes tyrne; howe much indebtet shee died to the Commons, notwithstanding all those charges layed upon them. They halfe despayre of payment of their privy seales, sent in Sir William Ceciles tyrne; they will not assure themselves of the lone. One wishes the Earl of Southampton and others were pardoned and at liberty; others could be content some men of great place might pay the Queenes debts, because they beleive they gath­ered enough under hir.85

The Scots had a name for unruly behavior and sudden uprisings; their country was small but obstreperous, and the English, who fancied they had reached a state of political poise during Elizabeth's long reign, curiously waited to see how the new king would adapt himself. James had the canniness to send ahead assurances that office holders, for the time being, at least, were to keep their places: "Came Letteres from the Kinge that euerie Counsiller and other officer should Continew in their places untill his further pleasur were knowne,"86 thus building up a preliminary attitude favorable to himself.

85 Manningham, op. cit., p. 147.
It was natural for the new kingdom to bear the expenses of the royal progress of the sovereign to the seat of government; nevertheless, the report "that the King had sent for some 5,000 l. to bring him into England" undoubtedly gave rise to some feeling. Various stories of his personality were spread abroad, one being that "the King useth in walking amongst his nobles often tymes to leane upon their shoulders in a speciall favour, and in disgrace to neglect some in that kindenes." 

As an additional piece of propaganda, "there was a proclamacion published in the kinges name containing his thankefullness to the people for continuance in their duty, in acknowledging and receiving him as their rightfull successor;" and although "all long[ed] to see [the] newe king" requesting that there be "a restraint of concourse unto him, especially such as were in office and had great place in their countryes, with a clause for continuing officers of justice in their place." At his coming, "every man [was] expecting mountains and finding molehills, excepting Sir R. Cecil and the house of the Howards." 

87 Manningham, op. cit., p. 155.
88 Loc. cit.
89 Ibid., p. 159.
90 Ibid., p. 147.
91 Ibid., p. 159.
92 Pembroke, op. cit., p. 4.
During the reigns of the Tudors, in spite of their absolutism, the monarchs had personified national patriotism; with the coming of the first Stuart, the theory of divine-right monarchy entered the kingdom. The favorable impression which James had created in the minds of his new subjects was not long-lived. On one occasion of his going to Parliament

with a rich crown upon his head, and most royally caparisoned . . . it was accounted somewhat remarkable: "First, that he spake often and lovingly to the people, standing thick and three-fold on all sides to behold him, 'God bless ye! God bless ye!' contrary to his former hasty and passionate custom, which often, in such sudden distemper, would bid a pox or plague on such as flocked to see him. Secondly, though the windows were filled with many great ladies as he rode along, yet that he spake to none of them but to the marquiss of Buckingham's mother and wife, . . . . Thirdly, that he spake particularly and bowed to the count of Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador."

Particular attention paid to the Spanish ambassador was suspiciously regarded by the people. During the preceding reign that country had been restrained from encroachments against England because of the friendly Anglo-French relations and of close connections with the United Provinces. Moreover, the cause of Protestantism seemed tremendously strengthened by the marriage of the English princess Elizabeth with the Elector-Palatine. With the death of Sir Robert Cecil, whose ministry had continued from Elizabeth's service, there was a decided change in the foreign policy of James. More than one had occasion to recall Cecil's term of service with appreciative regret:

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93Simonds D'Ewes, Extracts from MS Journal, p. 18.
Robert Cecil ... during the time he was lord treasurer of England, ... [took] care to supply the ordinarie expenses of the crowne by the ordinarie revenues thereof ... without oppressing and depauperating the subject with new impositions and unlimited taxes ... 94

The Protestant party among the King's ministers attempted to provoke a war with Spain by persuading the King to release the imprisoned Sir Walter Raleigh on an expedition to Spanish Guiana in quest of gold. He yielded, but "had given previous warning of the voyage to his new ally; and the expedition ... was driven back; ... Raleigh's attempt to seize Spanish treasure-ships on his return, with the same aim of provoking a war, was defeated by a mutiny among his crews"95 and "Sir Walter Rawleigh was beheaded in London about the end of October, [1619] and after his death was much lamented by the Londoners. ... About the same time there were many reports of wars betwixt England and France and the Low Countries."96

When he wanted something from his people, James could be eloquent enough, and prodigal of promises:

Being afterwards assembled in the upper house and the king seated on his throne, he made a pithy and eloquent speech, promising the removal of monopolies, of which there were at this time 700 in the kingdom, to the enriching some few projectors, and the impoverishing of all the kingdom besides. Next he promised, with his people's assistance, to consent to aid the King of Bohemia, his son-in-law, and not to enforce the Spanish match without their consent.97

94Tbid., p. l.
95Green, op. cit., p. 481.
96William Whiteway, Diary, in Dorset Proceedings, p. 58.
97D'Ewes, op. cit., p. 20.
Although his requests were for his personal interests, rather than the good of the nation, "he desired them cheerfully and speedily to agree upon a sufficient supply of his wants by subsidies, promising them for the time to come to play the good husband,"98 and probably perceiving them dilatory in enthusiastic agreement, he spoke on his own behalf "that in part he had done so already; . . . however, these blessed promises took not a due and proportionable effect, according as the loyal subject did hope: yet did King James . . . really at this time intend the performance of them."99 "A collection was made for the defence of the Palatinate"100 and by means of this English subscription the Elector was enabled to raise an army.

In the meantime, "there came into the country a proclamation to forbid all men to speak of matters of state either of this kingdom or of any other place, upon pain of his Majesty's high displeasure."101 The King's intention of cementing an alliance with Spain still held good, and "the Prince [Charles] and the Marquess Buckingham set forward very secretly for Spain,"102 and when, some months later, they returned "to London[there was] the greatest expression of Joy by all sorts of People."103 Later, when "the Duke of Buckingham Entertained the Spanish Embassadors . . . one of the Extraordinary

98Loc. cit.
99Loc. cit.
100Whiteway, op. cit., p. 60.
101Loc. cit.
102Laud, op. cit., p. 6.
103Loc. cit.
Ambassadors... came not because... [they] could not agree upon Precedency."104

After "the Duke of Buckingham's Relation of the Negotiations with Spain about the Prince's Marriage to both Houses of Parliament... [his] Coach was overthrown [near the place where] the Spanish Ambassador lay."105 Then "the King declared to the Committee that he would send a Messenger presently into Spain, to signify to the King, that his Parliament advised him to break off the Treaties of the Match... and to proceed to recover the Palatinate as he might."106

Immediately, there were "Bonefires mad in the City by the forwardness of the People, for Joy [of] the break with Spain."107 "The forwardness of the people was indeed advancing far, irked by the revival of monopolies, a measure to raise money without Parliamentary grant, and piqued by the extravagance of the court. Parliament made a direct claim to act as auditors of the royal expenditures when it insisted upon the impeachment of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor.

Though distinguished as a writer and scientist, Bacon's private and public vices had earned him a great deal of ridicule, so all men raised very bitter sarcasms or jests of him; as that he lately was very lame, alluding to his barony of Verulam, but now having fallen into a consumption of purse, without all question he was become All-bones, alluding to his new honour of St. Alban; nay, they said, Nabal being

104Laud, op. cit., p. 8.
105Ibid., p. 10.
106Ibid., p. 11.
107Loc. cit.
folly or foolishness, and the true anagram of Alban, might well set forth his fond and impotent ambition.108

In the face of public pressure, James had no choice but to send four lords for

the great seal . . . [which Bacon delivering, said,] "It was the king's favour that gave me this, and it is my fault that hath taken it away," or words to that effect. . . . Upon the delivery of it to [the king, he] was overheard by some near him to say," . . . I am pained at my heart where to bestow this; for as for my lawyers, I think they are all knaves," which it seemed at that time was to prepare a way to bestow it upon a clergyman, as the marquess of Buckingham had intended; for otherwise there were at the present divers able lawyers, very honest and religious men, fit for the place, in whom there might easily have been found as much integrity, and less fawning and flattery, than in the clergy; and accordingly Dr. Williams, . . . dean of Westminster, . . . was sworn lord keeper, and had the great seal delivered to him.109

As Prince Charles somewhat shared his father's opinion of lawyers, during conversation "at Dinner [one day] . . . he said, that if he were necessitated to take any particular Profession of Life, he could not be a Lawyer; (saith he), "I cannot defend a bad, nor yield in a good Cause."110 The truth of his statement was soon put to the test. As Bishop Laud

ascended the Pulpit [at White-hall, March 27, 1625 he] was much troubled, and . . . very melancholy . . . the Report then spreading, that his Majesty King James, of most Sacred Memory to [him] was Dead. Being interrupted with the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham, [he] broke off [his] Sermon in the

108D'Ewes, op. cit., p. 28.
110Laud, op. cit., p. 9.
Middle. The King died at Theobalds, about three quarters of an hour past Eleven in the forenoon... most Religiously, and with great constancy of Faith, and Courage. That day, about five a Clock, Prince Charles was Solemnly Proclaimed King.\textsuperscript{111}

After the interval of more than a month on the 7th day of... May, were the funerals solemnized... The first mourners set out... about ten o'clock in the morning, and the last came not to Westminster till about four in the afternoon... King Charles himself, as the principal, followed next behind the hearse on foot.\textsuperscript{112}

With that long walk behind the body of his father, the young King, "whose coming to the crowne was very joyous"\textsuperscript{113} began the troublesome journey which led to "the blake province of putting [him] to death."\textsuperscript{114}

The strong spirit of individualism which had long been pushing itself to the surface, militating against royal absolutism while it gathered collective force and unity, during his reign finally burst forth in a revolt which meant the triumph of the Renaissance spirit of democracy.

\textsuperscript{111}Ibid., p. 15.
\textsuperscript{112}D'Ewes, op. cit., p. 32.
\textsuperscript{113}John Rous, Diary, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{114}Ralph Josselin, Diary, p. 63.
CHAPTER VII

SCIENCE AND PSEUDO-SCIENCE

The quickened interest in science during the Renaissance received a great impetus from the writings of the ancients, drawing attention to perception of facts, and interesting men in observation. Particularly noteworthy were the new discoveries in astronomy, which had been helped by the pursuit of astrology. Astrology, in turn, was dependent on the science of mathematics, since it was necessary to determine with exact calculations the position of the heavenly bodies which influenced the casting of horoscopes.

Some of the astrologers of Renaissance England were merely "quacks" who derived their living from the offerings of the gullible, or deliberately debased what little art they had in "black magic" or love philtres. An infamous example of this class is the notorious "Doctor" Simon Forman, who used his "arts" in connection with the scandalous Overbury Trials. Simon seems to have been the victim of a powerful imagination; even as

a child of six . . . see some as he was alwaies laid downe to slepe, he should see invisions alwaies many mighti mountaines and hills com rowling against him, although they wold overron him and falle on him and brust him, yet he gote upp alwaies to the top of them and with moch adoe went over them . . . . And the dremes and visions he had every nighte continually for 3 or 4 yers space. Thes
visions God did showe him in his youth, to signifie unto him his troubles in his riper years.1

He had queer experiences in deriving an education: "when he came to lerne 'In the name of the Father,' &c, because his capacity could not understand the mystery of spellinge, he prayed his master he mighte goe to scolle noe more."2 The sign of the cross which preceded the printed form of the alphabet (probably on a hornbook) was usually called the "exorcism" which the child was to learn lest the devil be lurking in the letters and tempt his mind. Perhaps the young Simon deliberately avoided learning the exorcism! At any rate, he obtained a smattering of knowledge, and in 1579 began to "profecie the truth of many things which afterwardes cam to passe, and the very sprites wer subject unto [him]."3 In spite of his dabblings with spirits, he took his medical degree at Cambridge, studied astrology "and other occult sciences; as also in physick" abroad. He records the "cuer . . . of a consumption; . . . curing sick and lame folks . . . and a fellowe of Quidhampton of the king's evill, which had 24 holes in his throte and neck. . . ."4 For a while he "dwelte practising phisick and surgery [until there] was a complaint mad to the Bishop against [him] for using phisick."5 Between "moch vexation, troble, travaill, enmity, and strife . . . divers suetes in lawe [and being] committed to prisson,"

1Simon Forman, Diary, p. 3.
2Ibid., p. 4.
3Ibid., p. 14.
4Ibid., p. 15.
5Ibid., p. 16.
Forman had an exciting life. He "practised magik . . . necromancy and to calle aungells and spirits" and finally "at Al-hallontyd [Hallowe'en] [he] "entred the cirkell for nigromanticall spells."6

If Forman had had the good sense to leave his "nigromanticall spells" alone, he might have made a good, if ordinary, scientist. In 1691, he "put my book of the longitude to presse."7 Having himself suffered from the plague, he wrote "A discourse of the plage . . . verie necessary for all men to reade and truely to remember."8 The power to suppress the necromancing doctor rested with the church, and in response to the college of physicians he was condemned.

Various syrups of flowers were common remedies of the time, and Forman did his share of distilling them, especially "sirups of violets."9 He also "made vergin parchment and newe wrot [his] book of magickqe."10 The "practise [of] the philosopher's stone . . . necessitated a "turnys."11

Associated with common entries is the record of dreams, to which various meanings were attached. "As I stood, a cat mewed twice, but I could not see her, which profecid ill, and som hower after, the letter cam." [One of ill news to himself.]12 The purchase of "a peyer of newe

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6Ibid., p. 18.  
7Ibid., p. 21, (footnote).  
8Ibid., p. 22, (footnote).  
9Ibid., p. 25.  
10Ibid., p. 23.  
11Ibid., p. 25.  
12Loc. cit.
black stockins [caused a dream] of 3 black rats, and of the philosophical powder [he] was distilling . . . and that dai came . . . the Quen's phisision . . . to be acquainted."13

While charlatans like Forman were sued and imprisoned, the Queen was ready to give recognition to earnest scientists like Dr. Dee. In fact, she gave personal encouragement by frequent visits to the philosopher's home, "with her trayn from the court" or "with her most honourable Privy Council, and other of her Lords and Nobility, came purposely to have visited [his] library . . . and willed to fetch [his] glass so famous, and to show unto her some of the proper­ties of it, which [he] did . . . to her Majestie's great contentment and delight."14 The Queen
told [him] that the Lord Threasor had gretly commended his doings for her title, which he had to examyn . . . (1580), [this having reference to an interview with the Queen,] when he declared to the Queene her title to Green­land, Estetiland and Friseland.15

The correction of the calendar at this time was a matter of interest, and on February 26, 1583, Dee "delivered [his] boke to the Lord Threasor for the correction of the Calendar."16

In spite of her frequent parsimony in rewarding literary trib­utes or even statesmanlike service, the Queen seemingly had a respect for the scientific, and Dr. Dee "receyved from the Queene's Majestie

13Ibid., p. 23.
14John Dee, Diary, pp. 9-10.
15Ibid., p. 4.
16Ibid., p. 19.
warrant by word of mouth to assure [him] to do what [he] wold in philosophie and alchimie, and none shold chek, controll, or molest [him]."17

Health and its care have always been of absorbing interest. Disease, characterized by the dread epithet "plague" had been a constant menace ever since the Black Death of 1348; the wealthier class, though not suffering so markedly as the poor, was in perpetual terror. In 1551, came the sweat into London, which was more vehement than the old sweat. For if one take cold he died within 3 hours, and if he shaped it held him but 9 hours, or 10 at the most. Also if he slept the first 6 hours, as he should be very desirous to doe, then he raved, and should die raving.18

Even more than the public health, the royal person had to be safeguarded, and therefore "quarantine" in England remained for a long time a matter of keeping possible "carriers" from the King's presence until the expiration of forty days after their last contact with the plague.19 Removal from one castle to another constituted one possible preventive for the King, and when "[the sweat] grew so much . . . [Edward VI] removed to Ampton court with very few . . . ."20

Gradually, the idea of checking infection dictated some preventive measures, including the marking of the afflicted households. In 1563, it was stipulated that in every "howse wher the plag shall hapen . . . they . . . shall . . . not come to the chyrche for the

17 Ibid., p. 37.
20 Edward VI, loc. cit.
spase . . . next folohyn after that the plage has bene, as so
[a cross was] set at evere dore of bluw and a wrytyng un[der]. In
view of the normally unpleasant atmosphere of contagious disease, it
is understandable that "perfume was held in high esteem, partly as a
preventive of the plague." During Elizabeth's reign, the expedient
of smoking out disease was tried:

. . . a commysyon was sent frome ye quene and counsell to
London that everie houshowlder should a vij of ye cloke ye
same nyght lay out woodd and make bonfyers in ye stretes and
lanes to that intent they shuld therby consume ye corrupte
ayers, whiche other wyse myght infect ye sitie with ye plage,
and . . . it was commaundyd to contynew ye same iiij tymes a
weke, . . . and where anny had dyed of ye plage to syt up a
hedlesse cross over ye dores.

In 1603 it was rumored "that ther died at London [of the plague]
over 3200 a week," and later that "this great mortalitie . . . was
not only at London but . . . thorow all the Realme of England." London, being most populous, suffered most, and "it was reported
that at London, the number was taken of the Liivinge and not of the
dead."

Comparatively minor discomforts, such as "a grudging of the
ague," "a quotidian jentle ague" and "aguish" symptoms which made
the sufferer "hott within very much" were somewhat relieved by "using

21 Henry Machyn, Diary, p. 310.
22 Traill, op. cit., p. 168.
23 John Stowe, Annales, p. 123.
24 Margaret Hoby, Diary, p. 204.
25 Ibid., pp. 206-207.
26 Dee, op. cit., p. 28.
27 Ibid., p. 39.
oranges in sugar & rose water coold." However, upon recovery, those who had been afflicted with the ague, even children, were sometimes "let blud . . . by [the doctor's] cowmsayle." Distillations of flowers were considered remedies for many ills; for an infection of the eyes "the best outward means were rose oyntment & plantayne water steeped with white sugar candie." Sirups of violets were also considered efficacious.

The salutary custom of fasting and praying in time of public calamity was not overlooked: "Fast appointed by the King to be heald thorow out the wholl Realms in regard of the general mortalite," and "The King commanded . . . [the] Bishops . . . to advise together concerning a Publick Fast, and a Form of Prayer, to implore the Divine Mercy, now that the Pestilence began to spread, [which] Fast was kept by both Houses of Parliament, to set an Example . . . to the whole Kingdom."

Medicine in Renaissance days was a great respecter of persons, occasionally of the physician's person, for there was one at least who "seldom went to any, for he was corpulent, & unweildy; yn again he was rich, & ye Kings phycitian, & a Knight, woh made him more costly to

29Dee, op. cit., p. 39.
30Josselin, op. cit., p. 71.
31Forman, op. cit., p. 25.
32Margaret Hoby, op. cit., p. 206.
33William Laud, Diary, p. 19.
deal with all,"34 while another valued his service by his fee, being "of great fame for his skill in cures, woh he doth not a little brag off, who tells you of his [fifty pound] and [hundred pound] cures."35 Meritorious service sometimes did find a reward. "Vicars, King Henry the 8, his Sergeant Surgeon, was at first but a meane practiser in Maidstone ... gayned ... knowledge by experience," and "the King advaunced him for curing his sore legge."36

While the investigation of symptoms may not always have led to a cure, in spite of such prescriptions as being directed "to drink ... beare [beer] hot at Meals, first boyl'd, yn scum'd, putting to it a sprig of Seawormwood, to strengthen ye Stomach,"37 there was found "a certaine kind of compound called Laudanum ... very soueraigne to mitigate anie payne; [which] will for a tyme lay a man in a sweete trans ... "38

The growing practice of anatomy could have had much support from the public execution grounds during most of the Renaissance reigns. In 1561, at least, when some "were hanged at Tyborne, and one of them the sur[geons took] for a notyme [anatomy] in-to ther halle."39 Autopsies were commonly performed on royalty, and sometimes interpretations of character were drawn from the findings. After the death

34Henry Slingsby, Diary, p. 70.
35Ibid., p. 41.
36John Manningham, Diary, pp. 51-52.
37Slingsby, loc. cit.
38Manningham, op. cit., p. 46.
of James I,

his heart was found to be very great, which argued him to be as very considerate, so extraordinary fearfull, which hindered him from attempting any great action. . . . The sutures of his skull were so strong and firm, as they could scarcely be broken open with a saw or chisell. . . . 40

While spice may not have any special medicinal value, at least by rendering food more palatable it aided digestion; therefore, condiments were highly esteemed during the Renaissance. Pepper was even eaten separately as a relish, so that Mrs. Dee must have been very pleased when "The Lady Cobham sent [her] sugar and pepper." 41 Indeed, such seasoning must have been almost a necessity on occasion.

With the age of Elizabeth, that witnessed many awakenings, a vegetable renaissance may be said to have set in. The hygistic virtue of vegetable foods was beginning to be well recognised. In the earlier periods, the scarcity of vegetable foods bore severely upon the health of the people; cutaneous diseases were rife, and the practice of touching for the King's evil prevailed even to late Stuart times. Dr. Felix Oswald has suggested that the reputed efficacy of the treatment was probably due to the fact that people journeying from their country homes to the Royal presence were forced to supplement their food supplies on the road by wild herbs and berries, and to this change of diet was probably due the improvement in their condition which was credited to the touch of the King's hand. 42

That berries were sold in the public market as early as 1652 is apparent from the punishment meted out to a man who "sold potts of strawberries, the whyche the pott was not alff [half] fulle, but

40Simonds D'Ewes, Extracts from MS Journal, p. 31.

41Dee, op. cit., p. 34.

42Charles Cooper, The English Table in History and Literature, pp. 3-4.
filled with forne [fern]." 43 Fruit trees and berry bushes were cultivated in private gardens, as well as "hearbs" and "hartechokes." 44

Not merely concerned with the beauties of the earth, but also with those of the heavens, Renaissance talkers used astronomical phraseology to color their comments:

Dr. Couels booke which he wrote as an apology of Mr. Hooker "A just and temperate Defence of the Five Books of Ecclesiastical Polity" may be sayd to be all heaven, butt yett Mr. Hookers sentences and discourses intermixed are the stars and constellations, the speciall ornaments of it. 45

All sorts of things besides personal destiny were thought to be influenced by the heavly bodies: "The different operation of Planets is ye cause why we have colder wether in England after solstitium hyemale, than at or before." 46 It could be possible that our ground-hog tradition of February 2 could have been fore-shadowed by the record of increased cold after glorious sunshine on the Feast of Mary's Purification: "Sol splendescetb Matia Purificante, atque fuit major glacies post quam fuit ante." 47 The star-gazer watching the sky for unusual phenomena was sometimes rewarded by seeing

a strange meteore in form of a white clowde ... at length from the S.E. to the S.W. sharp at both endes, and in the west ende it was forked for a while; it was about sixty degrees high, it lasteth an howr, all the skye clere abowt, and fayr starshyne. 48

43Machyn, op. cit., p. 21.
44Margaret Hoby, op. cit., pp. 206; 208.
45Manningham, op. cit., p. 138.
46Thomas Crosfield, Diary, p. 33.
47Ibid., p. 18.
48Dee, op. cit., p. 12.
Two Renaissance scientists, one of whom was a diarist, actually contributed to the stream of scientific activity. "Reorde and Dee were universally recognized as the two founders of the school of able mathematical scientists which arose in England during the last half of the sixteenth century."49 Dee's influence was widespread not only on account of his personal contributions to science, but also because of the influence he exerted on his pupils and those who came to consult him. It is interesting to note that Dr. Dee was on such terms of intimacy with "the first English mathematician of his day" that he "borrowed [ten pound] of Mr. Thomas Digges for one hole yere."50 Though he was not free of leanings towards the occult and superstitious, his experiments were for the most part based on sound scientific principles.51 His contributions in the field of mathematics were especially noteworthy, one of them being his "long preface to the earliest English translation of Euclid by Billingsley, . . . published in 1570."52

The awakened interest in science in Renaissance England was not merely a revival of ancient ideas and theories, but an eagerness to understand their underlying principles and to apply them to practical uses for further scientific advancement.

50 Dee, op. cit., p. 43.
51 Loc. cit.
52 Dee, op. cit., p. 29, (footnote).
CONCLUSION

Renaissance England was like a youth, just aware of his strength, his beauty, his personality, conscious of latent gifts and their effect on others. Youthful bluster and bravado were there; crudeness and cruelty; child-like wonder and sometimes humility, but always an intense curiosity, a thirst for adventure and conquest.

Throughout the political scene was dominant the note of growing nationalism, as well as the clash of individualism. Politics only too often swayed religion and in the turmoil that ensued was seen the revolt against established authority. Social customs emphasized the assertion of individualism as well as the growing sense of social expansiveness. Curiosity and unquenchable thirst for knowledge were driving forces in education and pursuit of scientific trends. In the development of humanism, and the anxiety to achieve the perfection of man, the God-Man was forgotten, and the absorbing passion for beauty of form and expression became distorted. The boundless energy, tireless vigor and indomitable courage of the age had to be expressed in tremendous activity, either in an out-pouring of self in literature, or in an extension of individual and national boundaries in travel.
By a selection of quotations from the diaries of the period it has been possible to glean a very definite impression of the pervasiveness of the new spirit; to learn how the nation as a whole reacted to certain aspects of the movement; to catch glimpses of the lively curiosity and intense love of pleasure which attended it, to become aware of a definite kinship of the spirit with these people and their modern views, and finally, to realize that all their excitement, their energy, their boundless enthusiasm were simply fresh, absorbing, though sometimes startling and distorted versions of the age-old quest for that "Beauty ever Ancient, ever New."
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Pamphlet


Encyclopedia Articles


APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister Mary Rose Dominica Heldmann, B.V.M. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of English.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

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