ENGLAND'S TRANSITION UNDER THE TUDORS: THE CHANGE FROM AN OUTPOST OF EUROPE TO THE ISLAND IN THE MIDDLE OF THE WORLD

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PREFACE

In the treatment of this thesis an attempt will be made to show the gradual transition from England's medieval isolation to the stage which visioned the growth of her world-wide commercial intercourse. To this purpose economic life might have been considered most important in the history of the English nation during the Tudor century, but social aspects are so closely allied with the economic that a separation under specific subject heading cannot be strictly adhered to. Hard and fast distinctions are impossible, for the diplomacy of European dynastic monarchs, which was taking form at this time, cannot be sharply separated from their commercial policies, and social class struggles are bound up with the economic changes occurring.

The histories and treatises named in the bibliography have contributed the specific facts. The general impressions were sometimes derived from the novels, biographies, and contemporary writings which will not always be definitely referred to in footnotes.

The helpful counsel received from members of Marquette University faculty and especially from Rev. R. N. Hamilton, adviser for this thesis, is gratefully acknowledged.

D. J. Oviatt

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The Tudor Period from 1485 to 1603 was one of transition from medieval to the beginning of modern times. Rural life for the masses of English people ended and forced them to look for work. Town life was growing unemportant due to gild regulation. Until 1560, money at home was debased and therefore people looked abroad for investments. Commerce and exploration developed accordingly. This brought England from obscurity to prominence and she began to meddle in international affairs. Backed as she was by wealth and trade alliances, all nations came to respect her.

The Tudor Dynasty

At the outset, a view of the persons and characters of the Tudor sovereigns might not be irrelevant because their wills and desires dominated the nation's course from 1485 to 1603.

Henry VII

The war of the Roses had removed the direct heirs to the English throne and reduced the struggle to a duel between Richard III and Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond. The battle of Bosworth settled the issue in Henry's favor, but a large part of his reign was concerned with strengthening his position on the throne. After his marriage to Elizabeth of York made that family feel that it was represented in the government, plots against Henry were not fostered by Yorkists. Troublesome opposition came from personal discontents,

abetted by foreign rivals, usually growing dangerous when they coincided with the resistance that the uneducated people of the border offered to taxation required for national purposes. Progressive England had no liking for Henry's taxation; but it realized the worth of his rule, and felt even less dissatisfaction with his government than it had with that of Richard III.

A sense of national unity was dawning as Henry pursued a consistant policy cutting England adrift from medieval traditions and starting her on a career more romantic than that of knight errantry. Adventure in the world of trade brought not only wealth but vision and dream of empire.

The marriages which he arranged for his children resulted in momentous consequences. The betrothal and marriage of Prince Arthur to the Infanta Catherine of Spain, and her marriage with Prince Henry after Arthur's death created the center of English foreign policy for years. However, the unpleasing coldness of Henry's personal character, his grasping and amassing of a great fortune did not make him loved by his subjects. His passing was not moured.

Henry VIII

The position of Henry VII's heir was secure because of the posession of that fortune and the Prince's popularity. Henry VIII was tall and handsome, an all-round athlete, brilliant, a good musician, a linguist, a passable theologian and something of a physician, open-handed and magnificent -- he was for the first part of his reign the ideal of an Englishman and every inch a king. The latter part was

troubled by difficulties that grew out of the gratification of his selfish desires, which resulted in six marriages and religious complications. Despite this, he managed to retain a certain respect and even affection on the part of the nation, which he ruled with a despotism disguised under a scrupulous observance of legality.

Edward VI

The depressing reigns of the sickly boy, Edward VI, and the most unhappy queen Mary made the memory of Henry VIII the brighter in retrospect and secured the heartier welcome for Elizabeth. Edward's rule simply expressed the will of his councilors, particularly Somerset, for he was but a boy, dying at the age of sixteen.

Mary I

Mary Tudor, as the wife of Philip II of Spain, gave her every effort toward reestablishing the Pope's authority over the Church. Fear of Spanish control and religious unrest so troubled her reign that the English consider it as an interruption in the development of the Tudor dynasty. 1

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1 Rayner, R.M., England in Tudor and Stuart Times, p. 84.

Elizabeth

Speaking of Elizabeth who became queen in 1558, Salzman says:

> "At the time of her accession, she was young, gay-hearted, fearless, quick-witted and frivolous, and, above all, feminine, adding to the majesty of a queen the exasperating charms of a woman. These qualities

> she preserved to the end of her long reign, even, with the aid of a red wig and an indomitable will, retaining a shrivelled semblance of her youth." 1

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1 Salzman, L.F., England in Tudor Times, p. 3.

From her father she inherited her frank and hearty address, her love of popularity, her free intercourse with the people, and her amazing self-confidence. Her voice, at times harsh and manlike, her impetuous will, her pride, her furious outbursts of anger also came to her with her Tudor blood.

Despite strong personal influence that Elizabeth exercized upon the course of events in England during her reign, authorities are agreed that

> "She showed little originality or power of initiative in statesmanship. All the bold or constructive ideas of her reign came from her ministers or from entirely outside the government. Moreover, patriotic as she was, she was slow to respond to such ideas. Unimaginative and opinionated, she never understood the great questions, realized the crises, or perceived the great possibilities of her position.
>
> She was a hard mistress to serve. Irresolute and yet obstinate, she frequently refused to act or decide, procrastinated, delayed, hesitated, while her ministers watched disaster approach or opportunity vanish. Even her most influential advisers found it impossible to overcome this inveterate trait of indecision....Such success as her administration attained was in spite of her deficiencies as a ruler rather than a result of her abilities." 2

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2 Cheyney, E.P., A History of England, Vol. I, pp. 11-3.

In the choice of her advisors and agents her wisdom showed itself.

> "She had a quick eye for merit of any sort, and a wonderful power of enlisting its whole energy in her service." 3

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3 Green, J.R., History of the British People, Bk,VI. p.320.

Her lack of sympathy is repeatedly mentioned.

"Not one of the great men of her time, in literature, learning, civil, military or naval life, was fully recognized or adequately rewarded by her. She was occasionally liberal to her favorites, but never lavish, except for her own personal adornment or gratification. While her mariners and soldiers starved, her unpaid servants suffered and patriots found themselves neglected or disowned, her signature was being affixed to warrants for jewelry and fine clothing." 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., op. cit., p.9.

Also Mr. Green says: "But for the most part she was deaf to the voices either of love or gratitude. She accepted such services as were never rendered to any other English sovereign without a thought of return...(yet) it was to this very lack of womanly sympathy that she owed some of the grandest features of her character. If she was without love she was without hate. She cherished no petty resentments; she never stooped to envy or suspicion of the men who served her. She was indifferent to abuse. Her good humor was never ruffled by the charges of wantonness and cruelty (spread abroad). She was insensible to fear. Her life became at last a mark for assassin after assassin, but the thought of peril was the thought hardest to bring home to her." 2

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2 Green, J.R., op. cit., p.321.

Only in matters not involving money or serious sacrifice on her part did she often speak or write kindly or with thoughtfulness.

The Elizabethan settlement of religion for England was purely a matter of state and she took no interest in the church controversies of the time other than in her position as a Christian ruler. It is difficult to judge of her religion for she was not devout. She seldom talked or apparently thought of religious matters, paid scant respect to clergymen, and yet was regular in all formal religious observances. Her state papers are full of expressions of

pious appeal and ascription usual at the time. She even composed certain eloquent prayers for public uses. But her devotion was quite impersonal. In her times of depression she sought her consolation rather in the classics than in the Bible. Mr. Cheyney quotes several contemporaries:

> " ' Her Highnesse was wont to soothe hir ruffled temper with reading everye mornynge....She did much admire Seneca's wholesome advisinges, when the soul's quiet was flown awaie.' And 'She considers it of the first importance that she should live peacefully and pleasantly and pass her days in well-being. She is not greatly influenced by either hatred or love of any particular religion or sect.' " 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., op. cit. p.9.

More variance of opinion is to be found on Elizabeth's intellectual powers. Mr, Green credits her versatility highly, whereas Professor Cheyney gives the moderate view also held by the greatest Tudor authority, Mr. A, F. Pollard:

> "Elizabeth had been thoroughly educated in her youth and retained the habit of reading through her whole life. Translations from Horace, Plutarch, Boethius and Xenophon still remain in her own handwriting to testify to her interest in the classics. Although she sometimes displayed a royal disregard of rhythm and even of accuracy, they give no mean impression of her ability in the use of both her own and the classical languages, a power of which we have abundant other proof (in her conversations with foreign ambassadors)....Some of her speeches, letters and prayers were vigorous and picturesque, and like most other educated people of her time she wrote some poetry. On the other hand nothing exists to show that she had any real appreciation of the higher learning, thought, or poetry of her own time." 2

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2 Ibid p. 10.

Never having traveled more than one hundred and twenty-five miles from her birthplace during her seventy

years of life, her experience was not broad, without parents whom she knew, or family of her own, maturing in surroundings demanding caution, reticence, deceit and concealment of her real opinions, separated from others by her position, she lived alone, though in a crowded court.

> "Elizabeth stands an unlovely but not an unheroic figure; exasperating to those who had to work with her but so thoroughly representative of her own age, so many-sided, so queenly, so long the occupant of a throne, and above all so fortunate that the extravagant laudation of her own time and the tradition of her greatness that has survived to ours are easily comprehensible, however they may fade away on greater familiarity with her mind and her actions." 1

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1 Ibid. p. 17.

Summarizing the Tudor century of evolution, Mr. Salzman says:

> "The light which beats upon the throne may have shone with a more fiercely critical ray in later centuries, but it was never more concentrated upon its object than it was while the throne was occupied by the Tudor dynasty. During no other period was the nation so identified with the court. The crown, which for fifty years had been the puppet of rival factions, now dominated the situation. Parliament, discredited in the eyes of the people, practically abdicated its authority in favour of King Henry; the nobles, who had played the part of petty princes, became the ornaments of the court, contesting for the favour of their sovereign; the Church, which had withstood the mightiest kings, lost its independence and sank to be a department of the State. The eyes of the nation were fixed upon their rulers; partly because the eyes, or spies, of those rulers were alert to detect such as glanced askance or wantonly elsewhere. And, in the most literal sense, the spectacle was one to repay attention for these rulers owed no small part of their popularity to their pageants and displays." 2

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2 Salzman, L.F., op. cit. pp.3-4.

PART I

Industrial and Social Changes of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Chapter I

Transformation of English Rural Life

Section I -- Land Occupancy and Dispossession

Fundamental economic changes occurring from the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the sixteenth century completely transformed the social organization in town and country alike. The breakdown of the medieval manorial system affected the great masses of Englishmen and created the middle classes that in turn promoted the Reformation and Renaissance. So all these factors in modern history trace back to the land where conservatism prevents experiments, and change results from economic necessity. The feudal system had regarded land as a source of raising food and maintaining men as retainers who would give services in case of war. Then when the merchant who had made a fortune in the wool trade purchased a landed estate to make himself a gentleman, private war was not his desire.

> "Land as a source of men began to lose its attraction; but, as a source of wealth, it was more sought after than ever. It was regarded as an investment, and was exploited on purely business principles. Competition supplanted custom, and the excessive regulation of the Middle Ages gave way to laisser faire." 1

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1 Pollard, A.F., Factors in Modern History, p.139.

With capital to invest in improving means of cultivation, larger scale production, accumulation of numbers of holdings under one management began to weaken the position of the

agricultural laborer. Men saw that the old methods of cultivation on villain strip fields were wasteful.

Land Enclosures

Gradually capitalists "engrossed lands", allowed all the tenements but one to decay, turned out the independent yeomen, and put numbers of hired labourers in their places. This was one of the three types of enclosure of land. A second was the hedging in of the common lands for the lord's exclusive use. Another was the conversion of arable land to pasture. This extensive pasturaging was ruinous to the peasant for even cultivation on a large scale required a certain amount of labour, but an enclosed sheep pasture could be looked after by one man. As the market for raw wool expanded under Henry's encouragement, many thousands of peasants were thrown out of employment by the process of making sheep runs.

Many evictions of tenants resulted when either the lord of the manor or some one or more of the tenants enclosed the lands which they had formerly held and also those which were formerly occupied by some other holders, who were put off their land for this purpose.

> "Some of the tenants must have been protected in their holdings by the law. As early as 1468 Chief Justice Bryan had declared that 'tenant by the custom is as well inheritor to have his land according to the custom as he which hath a freehold at the common law.' Again, in 1484, another chief justice declared that a tenant by custom who continued to pay his service could not be ejected by the lord of the manor. Such tenants came to be known as copyholders, because proof of their customary tenure was found in the manor court rolls, from which a copy was taken to serve as a title. Subsequently copyhold became one

> of the most generally recognized forms of land tenure in England, and gave practically as secure title as a freehold. At this time, however,..The law was probably not very definite or not very well understood, and customary tenants may have had but little practical protection of the law against eviction. Moreover, the great body of the small tenants were probably no longer genuine customary tenants. The great proportion of small farms had probably not been inherited by a long line of tenants, but had repeatedly gone back into the hands of the lords of the manors and been subsequently rented out again, with or without a lease, to farmers or rent-paying tenants. These were in most cases probably the tenants who were now evicted to make room for the new enclosed sheep farms." 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England, pp. 143-4.

Bacon said that Henry VII was content to try and guide the change in husbandry, to prevent the small men from being crowded out, because increasing the output of food as they did on these larger farms, the king hoped "that the practice of farming in severalty might be adopted generally without injury to anyone." 2

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2 Bradshaw, F., A Social History of England, p. 108.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries between 1536 and 1542 brought more lands into the enclosure process. The government had allowed these former church properties to get into the possession of a class of men anxious to make them as remunerative as possible. But the enclosure changes were much disapproved and Henry VIII attempted to make the new owners keep up houses on their estates also.

Rural Unemployment Distress

In 1548, it is estimated three hundred thousand men, or about ten per cent of the entire population were thrown out of

work by the "great sheep-masters." 1

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1 Pollard, A.F., op.cit. p.144.

> Mr. Pollard also says that: "Added to the misery of unemployment was an enormous inflation of prices caused by the influx of precious metals from the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, the scarcity of victuals, and the debasement of the coinage. Without going into detail, it may be said that the price of the ordinary necessaries of life trebled during the first half of the sixteenth century, at a time when the overflow of labour kept wages almost at their former level." 2

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2 Ibid p. 145.

The earliest official recognition of the evils of these changes appears to have been the Lord Chancellor's speech at the opening of Parliament in 1484 when "he lamented that

> the body politic was daily falling into decay through enclosures, through the driving away of tenants, and through the 'letting down of tenantries.' The Yorkist policy of siding with the lower orders against the squirearchy was to some extent adopted by the Tudors, and in 1489 and 1515 Acts were passed against the accumulation of farms by wealthy individuals." 3

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3 Ibid. p. 146.

In 1489 an act "to remedy the evil effects of engrossing and enclosures in the Isle of Wight" became a statute of the Realm and also one "for kepying up of houses for husbondrye." The quaint statement of these measures makes interesting reference reading. 4

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4 Pollard, A.F., The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources, pp. 235-8.

In 1495, a severe act directed against "vacabounds and beggars" and amended to deal with the "sturdy beggars" shows

the alarm of the ruling classes over the wandering hordes of vagrants. 1

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1 Ibid pp. 239-244.

Sir Thomas More criticised the enclosure movement in his "Utopia". Perhaps this, together with the consideration of More's high standing at court, influenced the Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey, to appoint a commission to make investigation into enclosures in 1517. The next year he issued a proclamation requiring "all those who had enclosed lands since 1509 to throw them open again, or else give proof that their enclosure was for the public advantage." 2

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2 Cheyney, E.P., op. cit., p. 145.

> Contemporary opinion was equally hard on the "rack-renters, often the new owners of monastic lands, who, as Latimer pointed out on another occasion, had so raised the rents of their farms that the tenants were in penury and could neither educate their children nor provide themselves with horse and armour for the king's service. Unless the wretched tenant take a new lease at a higher rate before the old one ran out he had to face the risk of being evicted in favour of a practiser of convertible husbandry, who would add his farm to the many others he already possessed." 3

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3 Bradshaw, F., op. cit., pp. 111-2.

In 1534 the earlier laws were reenacted and a further provision made that no person holding rented lands should keep more than twenty-four hundred sheep. In 1548 a new commission on enclosures was appointed by Protector Somerset which made extensive investigations, instituted prosecutions, and recommended new legislation.

> "A few minor proposals were passed: a tax of twopence was imposed on every sheep kept in pasture, and the

payment of fee-farms was remitted for three years in order that the proceeds might be devoted to finding work for the unemployed....The bills passed by Parliament were, however, mere palliatives compared with those they rejected, and Somerset.....avowed that in spite 'of the Devil, private profit, self-love, money, and such-like the Devil's instruments,' he would go forward. He issued fresh instructions to the enclosure-commissioners in the spring of 1549; and, to provide speedy justice for the poor, which they could not obtain in the ordinary courts, he set up a Court of Requests in Somerset House, of which his secretary.....acted as registrar..... As a result of these poor men's complaints coming in, Somerset was often in conflict with his colleagues. Warwick's park had been ploughed up by the enclosure-commissioners, and Warwick took the lead in the opposition to Somerset's social policy. The peasants, meanwhile, weary of waiting for redress which never came, made up their minds that they must fight it out or else be reduced 'to the like of slavery that the Frenchmen were in'; and risings began in nearly all the counties of England. In Devonshire and Cornwall the discontent was diverted into an ecclesiastical channel, and made to appear as a protest against and Prayer-Book and Act of Uniformity of 1549; but elsewhere it was seen in its true colors as purely agrarian movement. In Norfolk Ket set up a commonwealth of peasants, in which no rich man did what he liked with his own. Troops, intended for the defence of English possessions in France or for the subjugation of Scotland, had to be diverted to the eastern or western shires. English strongholds in France and in Scotland fell into the enemy's hands, and their fall was used as a pretext for depriving the Protector of office in the following October. The real reason was the hatred of the majority of the Council for his social and constitutional policy.

The Protector's fall was followed by the complete reveral of his schemes....Parliament not only repealed the Protector's measures, but repudiated the whole Yorkist and Tudor policy with regard to enclosures. These had over and over again been declared illegal; they were now expressly legalized, and it was enacted that the lords of the manor might enclose wastes, woods, and pastures notwithstanding the gainsaying and contradiction of their tenants. It was made treason for forty, and felony for twelve persons to meet for the purpose of breaking down any enclosure or enforcing any right of way. To summon such an assembly, or to incite such an act, was in itself felony; and any copyholder refusing to assist in repressing it forfeited his copyhold for life. The same penalty was attached to hunting in any enclosure and to

assembling for the purpose of abating rents or the price of corn; but the prohibition against capitalists conspiring to raise prices was repealed. The masses had risen against the classes, and the classes took their revenge." 1

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1 Pollard, A.F., Factors in Modern History, pp. 150-4.

Poor Laws

Rural and town pauperism as a result of the long continued enclosure movement was finally and seriously faced by Parliament when it met in 1597. The resulting Elizabethan Poor Laws are "still the foundation of the English system of dealing with the problem of pauperism." 2

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2 Cheyney, E.P., A History of England, Vol. II, p. 262.

Sir Francis Bacon and Chancellor Fortescue succeeded in getting six acts passed. The first law was directed to keeping up of the number of farms and farm houses; the second to the prevention of conversion of land from tillage to pasture; the third for punishment of "Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars,"; and the fourth for the relief of the poor.

With laws for punishment Tudor England was familiar, and offenders of this kind were now attacked with simple and direct savagery. For simplicity's sake all former statutes on the subject were repealed. Justices in the quarter sessions were authorized to levy a tax, and build and administer one or more houses of correction in each county, city or town in addition to the old jails. The same ten classes of persons as had been enumerated twenty-five years before, in the law of 1572, were again declared to be rogues, vagabonds

and sturdy beggars and subjected to the penalties of the new law. They included "all persons calling themselves schollers going about begging, all seafaring men claiming that they had been shipwrecked, all fortune tellers, all persons claiming to be collectors for prisons or hospitals, all bearwards, minstrels and common players except those authorized as players by some nobleman, all wandering craftsmen, as tiners and pedlars, all artisans and other workmen refusing to work for legal wages, all persons on parole from jails begging for their fees, all wanderers claiming losses by fire or other accident, and all wanderers calling themselves Gypsies. Every person of any of these classes arrested by any justice of the peace or parish officer shall, with the approval of the minister and one other of the parish, 'be stripped naked from the middle upwards and shall be openly whipped until his or her body be bloodye.' After the whipping a testimonial is to be signed and sealed by the justice, constable and minister, giving the date of the punishment and requiring the person whipped to go by the most direct route and within a prescribed time to the parish where he was born, where he had last lived for a whole year, or through which he had last passed unpunished, according as either of these could in due order be discovered....When the legal dwelling place was not found, he must be sent by the authorities of the last parish through which he went unwhipped to the local house of correction or jail for a year or until he should be placed in service or, 'not being able in body', placed in some almshouse.

If any vagabond apprehended should be considered by the justices in quarter sessions to be a leader of the lower classes of the people and therefore dangerous, or incorrigible, he might be banished to parts beyond the sea and his return would be a felony punishable by death. The 'parts beyond the sea' to which such dangerous characters were to be sent were to be decided upon by at least six members of the Privy Council, of which the lord chancellor or the lord treasurer must be one. This was apparently an anticipation of the regular system of transportation adopted long afterwards and was perhaps suggested by the contemporary attempts to plant colonies in America and the plans for using paupers and criminals for their early colonists." 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 268-9.

Mr. Cheyney tells that the few remaining local records of that period are full of evidences of harsh punishment. Nevertheless, there is no reason to believe that the objects of the law were really fulfilled, for the masses did not become a fixed servile body.

The worth of this legislation lies in its provision for those unable to work, the children, and the unemployed. It provided for the appointment in each parish of four overseers of the poor who, along with the church wardens, had the power of compulsory taxation of landholders and others of the parish, and of using the funds thus obtained for binding poor children out as apprentices, buying raw materials with which to put the unemployed to work, the support of the very poor and for building cottages on the commons for their occupation. To carry out these purposes the overseers of the poor and the church wardens were to meet once a month on Sunday afternoons, keep careful accounts of the sums they levied, collected and spent, and give licenses to poor persons to beg, though only within their own parish limits and only for food. Although much of this work was to be carried out under general oversight of the justices of the peace of the county, the machinery of parish taxation and administration for the poor thus created has been used ever since.

No begging for money being now allowed, the law made provision for the collection from the people of each parish of a small sum weekly to be used for certain other charitable purposes. It was to be paid quarterly to the high constable and be him to certain justices elected county treasurers. This

money was to be paid partly to the hospitals and almshouses of the county, partly to the poor prisoners in King's Bench and Marshalsea prisons in London. Men claiming to be soldiers, but no having any credentials and therefore not having any claim for a pension, were ordered by another law to betake themselves to some service and to cease wandering, on pain of punishment by death for felony. If an ex-soldier did not either obtain a pension or go into service he should be arrested, tried, condemned and executed, unless some competent freeholder would agree to take him into his service for a year and give bonds to return him to the justices at the expiration of that time. On the other hand, if an ex-soldier were sick, or unable to work, or even extremely poor, he might, as an exception to all others, obtain a license from a justice to ask for such alms as might be given him.

> "After seventy years of experimentation and trial of many plans, after long discussion by some of the best minds of the age, a system of provision for the poor had been adopted. It was intended to bring about an entire cessation of wandering and begging. So far as the law was concerned, the last crevice through which open country-wide begging could leak in or out had been closed. All poor men had been confined to their own parishes and there either set to work or supported. Soldiers were on a pension. There was to be no more begging and no more actual destitution. It need hardly be said that these ends were not attained. Yet there was a measurable improvement. A considerable body of surviving records seem to show that the next generation was less troubled by either vagabondage or unrelieved poverty than that which had passed." 1

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1 Ibid, p. 272.

Colonies Offered Economic Relief

Some relief came by the slow stages of the operation of natural causes; the development of home manufactures absorbed

a certain amount of labour, and over-sea enterprise provided occupation for others. Eventually colonies supplied a home and subsistance for thousands left in the lurch by the economic march of events in England.

Mr. Pollard finishes his remarks on this social revolution with an indictment against our modern civilization:

> "Only the most robust belief in the dogma, that whatever has happened has been for the best, can blind us to the vast iniquity and evil of the divorce of the peasant from rights in the land which he occupies, tills, and makes fruitful. England could not have run the race for national wealth in the shackles of the Middle Ages, and perhaps national wealth could only be bought by the pauperisation of the poor. But, if absence of control means that the weakest goes to the wall, and national prosperity means that millions must hover on the verge of starvation, we are brought face to face with the question whether the product is worth the price, whether after all the feudal system was so very much worse than the present, and whether the social revolution of the sixteenth century was a very great step in the progress of man." 1

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1 Pollard, A.F., op. cit., p. 155.

Section II -- The Social Classes and Rural Life

Class Distinctions

In the feudal Middle Ages, the mass of the population lived in the country and were roughly divided into two classes, the lords and their villeins. Then industry, commerce and accumulation of capital created the bourgeoisie. England has been for centuries peculiarly a land of the middle classes owing to "the absence of impassable barriers between classes...

> There is no nobility of blood....for the younger son of a peer is a commoner;....the grandsons of peers often take their place in the upper middle classes; and thousands of members of the middle class in England number peers among their ancestors. The middle class is always being recruited from the nobility, just as the nobility is always being recruited from the middle class.....During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the nobles were adopting themselves to commercial and maritime enterprise." 1

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1 Ibid pp. 42-3.

The sixteenth century was a period of rapidly growing wealth for certain classes. The favored Tudor gentry, the officials who grew rich from salaries or speculations made possible by the larger activities and expenditures of government, the town merchants who succeeded in foreign trade, the country landowners who rose on the profit of agricultural change, were all amassing wealth in greater degree than had been known before. And capital was set to work in elevating men into the upper classes according to their ambitions. Lack of substance and security likewise increased the lowest ranks.

So by Elizabeth's time English classes could be shown in

the following relative positions: First of all are those glittering magnates who boasted themselves Peers of the Realm, and who were entitled to converse even with sovereigns on terms of something like equality. As in other periods, the peers of England had younger brothers, younger sons, and a great swarm of other kinsmen who could seldom hope to be noblemen. They were all "gentlemen", a term covering much. The country gentlemen of England were almost the warp and woof of the realm. Their families provided most of the governing class. They had the major share in naming and supplying members to parliament. The squires were expected to relieve local want and furnish the rustics with steady employment. As a great army of unpaid justices of the peace they carried the burden of local administration, and assured the loyalty of the masses. Many of them indeed had little that could be called "gentle" about them, but their pedigrees; they could barely read, knew just enough law to clap vagrants in the stocks, were sordid and swinish in their habits; but the best of them were alert, well-educated gentlemen in the truest sense of the word.

One might surmise that the real test of a Tudor gentleman was, "Did he have to work with his hands, or only with his tongue or pen or not at all?" And although upper schoolmasters, physicians, and lawyers were undoubtedly gentlemen, social salvation was not really achieved until one could live in genteel idleness upon income, not from ships or shops, but lands.

Land Ownerships Prized

That urge for elevation took men from the next in rank -- the townsmen and burgesses, prosperous tradespeople and master craftsmen that made substance enough to pay the charges to hold office and serve on juries, and caused them to aspire to buy country estates and end their days as the honorable gentry.

Among the various complaints of the time, one of the most common was of the intrusion of merchants and handicraftsmen into agriculture. Mr. Cheyney quotes from a sermon given in 1550:

> " 'Loke at the marchaurtes of London, and ye shall se, when as by their honest vocation, and trade of marchandise god hath endowed them with great abundance of riches, then can they not be content with the prosperous welth of that vocacion to satisfy theymselves, and to helpe other, but their riches must abrode in the countrey to bie fermes out of the handes of worshypful gentlemen, honest yeomen, and pore laboring husbandes.' " 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century, Part 1, p. 55.

Country life, always desireable, had become more peaceful to the upper classes than it had been before. Moats were no longer dug around manor houses, because there was no longer danger of violent attacks from hostile neighbors. Dwellings could be built with a view to beauty and comfort rather than strength for defense. The upper classes reflected the Renaissance as a real love for rural life spread among them giving expression in the creation of the Elizabethan country house, formal gardens, and parks. The building of such rural chateaux "unfortunately seems to have involved many of

> the same deplorable results as did sheep-farming, depopulation, evictions, and diminution of food supply." 1

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1 Ibid. p. 81.

As an agricultural country, England's strength had rested in her sturdy independent class of yeomen farmers that were being most vitally affected by the rural changes. Yeomen, too, shared in the parish government though there is a wide gulf between them and the gentry.

Down at the bottom of the social scale are the petty traders, the common craftsmen, the house servants, and the great army of tenant farmers and day laborers. Their opportunities for rise were meagre, but the courageous were to find them later through colonial expansion.

Chapter II

Town Life, Business, and Domestic Trade

Medieval Village Decay

One might at first think that the development of English town life would be of no concern outside the British Isle, but the social and industrial changes begun in England started movements that spread abroad. The breakdown of the carefully regulated medieval gilds produced discontent among the masses of town dwellers. Their efforts to extracate themselves from economic distress put them into either the beginning modern methods of production and competition for enlarged markets, or the pioneering adventure seeking better fortune in the New World.

> In Tudor times, "the misery of the poor in the towns was not so acute as in the rural districts, and what there was in the towns was largely to be found amongst the masses of people whom the agricultural crises had driven there in the dreary search for food rather than amongst the citizens by birth.... But we are not hastily to conclude that the towns were flourishing; far from it. As regards material prosperity, they were in a worse state than the rural districts, and this is only one more instance of a sad fact, that generally commercial prosperity merely means great gains for the few, moderate gains for a larger number, but for the bulk of the population bitterer misery and more labour than usual." 1

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1 Lumsden, C.B., The Dawn of Modern England, pp. 254-5.

With the wave of prosperity that came with wool growing in the rural districts, the landowners pulled down the small villages of peasant cottages. Also, the older towns generally were in a slowly decay state -- a peaceable, sleepy and perhaps comfortable state for the inhabitants, even if they were

somewhat in danger from ruinous buildings. Many records are to be found of towns being relieved of royal taxation owing to the state of decay into which they had fallen. But the complaints of miserable town dwellers came from the new cities being built up away from the older sites where capitalists were hampered by gild regulations.

> "At a time when trade was being organized on a continually expanding scale and competition at home and abroad was daily growing more keen, the irksome restrictions of local by-laws and gild regulations drove the more enterprising manufacturers to set up their establishments in country districts where they would have a freer hand." 1

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1 Salzman, L.F., England in Tudor Times, p. 54.

The Gilds

In the earlier craft gilds each man had normally been successively an apprentice, a journeyman, and a full master craftsman, with a little establishment of his own and full participation in the administration of the fraternity. There was coming now to be a class of artisans who remained permanently employed and never attained to the position of masters. Parliamentary legislation trying to forbid excessive and almost prohibitive fines from being assessed when men wanted to advance into the higher classes of the gild shows this condition. 2

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2 Cheyney, E.P., Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England, p. 147, gives fuller explanation.

Gradually perhaps the journeymen came to believe that they no longer enjoyed any benefits from the organized crafts, for they began to form among themselves what are usually

called "yeomen" or "journeymen gilds". At first the masters opposed such bodies and the city officials supported the old companies by prohibiting the journeymen from holding assemblies, wearing a special livery, or otherwise acting as separate bodies. Ultimately, however, they seemed to have made good their position, and existed in a number of crafts in more or less subordination to the masters' groups as shown by their written agreements with each other.

> "Journeymen gilds existed among the saddlers, cordwainers, tailors, blacksmiths, carpenters, drapers, ironmongers, founders, fishmongers, cloth-workers, and armorers in London, among the weavers in Coventry, the tailors in Exeter and in Bristol, the shoemakers in Oxford, and no doubt in some other trades in these and other towns." 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., op. cit. p. 148.

Likewise amongst the masters there were changes taking place. Originally constituted on a broad, almost democratic basis, the merchant gilds fell into the power of a small group of wealthy burgesses and became, or made way for, close corporations, excluding the bulk of their fellow townsmen from any share in the control of town affairs. The more well-to-do and active masters who had sufficient means to purchase suits of livery to be worn on state occasions, and who in other ways were the leading and controlling members of the organization, came to be called the "Livery Companies." 2

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2 Ibid. p. 149.

Such a development was probably inevitable with the rise of the capitalist system. Mr. Salzman says that: "There is no reason to suppose that these oligarchies were more

> incompetent, corrupt or short-sighted than many municipal bodies of modern times elected on a democratic franchise. Occasionally a mayor or alderman abused his position to sell his own goods or to favour his friends, but on the whole they were inspired with a genuine desire to benefit their own town and a touching belief in their own dignity and the duty of the poor to be industrious. The attitude of city authorities towards the craftsman or trader was still largely that of the Middle Ages -- that he was the servant of the community, entitled to a reasonable profit for his living, but not to make money out of the needs of his neighbors." 1

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1 Salzman, L.F., op. cit. p. 54.

There was also a tendency for the multitude of little gilds to be now united into a limited number of great gilds such as the famous City Companies of London. They still maintained a jealous monopoly of trade and usually opposed the introduction of new methods. Their aims were narrow and selfish and their restrictions on freedom of trade vexatious, leading, as I have said, to many of the great clothiers and other employers of labour setting up in country districts, to the impoverishment of the towns.

Unorganized Labor

There had always been men who had carried on work surreptitiously outside of the limits of the authorized organizations of their respective industries. They had done this from inability or unwillingness to conform to the requirements of gild membership, or from a desire to obtain more employment by underbidding in price, or additional profit by using unapproved materials or methods. Most of the bodies of ordinances mention such irresponsible workmen and traders, men who have not gone through a regular apprenticeship, "foreigners"

who have come from some other locality and are not freemen of the city where they wish to work. They were becoming more numerous through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, notwithstanding the efforts of the gilds, supported by municipal and national authority, to put prohibitions upon them.

The increase in unorganized labor was most marked in the rural districts, that is, in market towns and in villages entirely outside of the old manufacturing and trading centers. The encouragement came from the rapidly increasing cloth-making industry. Whereas, during earlier periods, wool was the greatest of English exports, now it was coming to be manufactured within the country. Dr. Busch remarks that:

> "A good part of Henry VII's commercial policy, and still more of his customs policy, was in the interests of English manufacturers....Woolen cloth was always the special object of his care. By extreme taxation he checked the exportation of the raw material, wool, -- restrained foreigners and naturalized aliens from exporting unwoven worsted, and also cloths which had not been previously fulled in England....Spinners and weavers gained advantages from various statutes." 1

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1 Busch, W., England Under the Tudors, Vol.I, pp. 254-5.

The "Domestic System" in Cloth Manufacture

An industrial organization began to show itself which became known as the "domestic system" and preceded our present "factory system." A class of merchants or manufacturers arose who bought the wool or other raw material, and gave it out to carders or combers, spinners, weavers, fullers, and other craftsmen, paying them for their respective parts in the process of manufacture, and themselves disposing of the product at home or for export. These "merchant clothiers" were in this way a new class of employers, putting the

master weavers or other craftsmen to work for wages. The latter still had their journeymen and apprentices, but by Elizabeth's reign the actual producer was not necessarily in touch with the consumer. The trading interests had reduced the craftsmen to dependence. Since the dealers had the advantage of a wide market, including a foreign supply, they could force the craftsmen to accept a low price for their goods while a good price was demanded for the raw material. 1

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1 Gibbons, H.de B., The Industrial History of England, p. 91.

All these changes led to a considerable diminution of the prosperity of many of the large towns. Certain new towns were rising into greater importance, and certain rural districts were becoming populous with this body of artisans whose living was made partly by their handicraft and partly by small farming. Surely the old city craft gilds were permanently weakened and impoverished by thus losing control of such a large proportion of their various industries. The occupations which were carried on in the country were pursued without supervision by the gilds. They retained control only of that part of industry which was still carried on in the towns. Here monopolies so long enjoyed were threatened by competition. Local shopkeepers complained that people wanted clothing made in London or even imports rather than home-manufactures. "Commodities from an area which enjoyed some special advantage in material or skill necessarily displaced local products as the market widened." 2

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2 Ibid p. 91.

Government Regulation

The intrusion of the national government was, as in the case of inclosures, to protect the gilds and attempt to check the capitalistic changes. As early as 1464 a law was passed to regulate the growing system of employment of craftsmen by clothiers. Some acts tried to limit certain industries to the old towns that first developed them. These laws tended to narrow the control of the gilds and were finally repealed in 1623.

Dr. Busch presents another view:

> "Henry VII was guided especially by the desire to protect the consumer whenever the commercial and industrial classes displayed an inordinate greed for gain....He set himself against every effort for independence on the part of the gilds..... The Parliament of 1504 legislated that the control of the gilds and other companies should no longer be entrusted to the authorities of the town, but to the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and chief justices, or to the judges of assize when on circuit. By this means all companies were placed under State inspection, and the by-laws they issued had to receive the sanction of the government. This was the first step towards depriving them of all independence, and making them mere instruments of the king." 1

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1 Busch, W., op. cit. p. 257.

Another class of laws may seem to have favored the craft organizations. These were the laws regulating the carrying on of various industries, in some of which the enforcement of the laws was intrusted to the gild authorities. The statute book during the sixteenth century was filled with laws "for the true making of pins", "for the making of friezes and cottons in Wales," "for the true currying of leather", and for dozens of other occupations. Although the gild officers

were to carry out the requirements of the statute, yet, after all it is the rules of the government that they are to carry out, not their own rules, and in many of the statutes the craft authorities are entirely ignored. This is true of some parts of the "Statute of Artificers" passed by Elizabeth's second parliament in 1563, and which purports to be little more than the codification of existing measures. It remained on the statute book for two hundred and fifty years, repealed only in 1813, and valuable in that it established industrial uniformity throughout England. This statute fixed seven years as a minimum period of apprenticeship, and by so doing

> "the legislature was greatly lengthening the period of training and service which had been in vogue in many places. Not a few craftsmen had been bound for five, four, three, two years or less; they were alleged neither to be efficient workmen themselves nor able to train others properly. This was in itself an evil, and it was unfair to the industrial centers that were striving to preserve a better standard. London, and the towns which followed the custom of London, had always insisted on a seven years' apprenticeship; this was a period, not only of manual training, but of novitiate for life as a freeman of a town. This portion of municipal custom was adopted by Parliament and enforced throughout the nation generally; after the passing of the Act, the rural artificer was no longer able to offer to train boys in a briefer period than the townsman; and thus a positive disadvantage to which the urban craftsman had been exposed, in obtaining apprentices, was removed." 1

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1 Cunningham, W., The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, p. 30.

The code made labor compulsory and imposed on the justices of the peace the duty of meeting once a year in each locality to establish wages for each kind of industry. It is established a working day of twelve hours in summer and during daylight in winter; and enacted that all engagements, except those for piece work, should be by the year, with six months'

notice of a close of the contract by either employer or employee. By this statute all the relations between master and journeyman and the rules of apprenticeship were regulated by the government instead of by the individual gilds. It is evident that the old trade organizations were being superseded in much of their work by the national government. Their remaining power to make rules for themselves must have been very slight.

As a result of the Reformation the government called on the gilds to pay over annually the amount which they had used for religious purposes. This took much of their property. Then gradually there was a cessation of the mystery plays owing to the narrowing of the gild's interests and competition of dramas played by professional actors.

> "Thus the gilds lost the unity of their membership, were weakened by the growth of industry outside of their sphere of control, superceded by the government in many of their economic functions, deprived of their administrative, legislative, and jurisdictional freedom, robbed of their religious duties and of the property which had enabled them to fulfill them, and no longer possessed even the bond of their dramatic interests. So the fraternities which had embodied so much of the life of the people of the towns during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries now came to include within their organization fewer and fewer persons and to affect a smaller part of their interests." 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., op. cit. p. 169.

Although the companies continued to exist into later times, yet long before the close of Elizabeth's life they had become relatively inconspicuous and insignificant.

Widened Markets

The sixteenth century witnessed innovations in trade which grew with the wealth of the nation. Exchange of goods had become more complex as commerce widened the markets and foreign trade increased the variety of commodities so made available. An Elizabethan economist writes:

> " 'I have heard within these forty yeares, when there were not of these haberdasshers that selles French or Millen cappes, glasses, knives, daggers, swordes, gyrdles and such thinges, not a dosen in all London; now from the Tower to Westminster alonge, every streete is full of them, and their shoppes glytter and shyne of glasses, as well drynking as lookyng; yea all manner of vessel of the same stuffe; that it is able to make any temperate man to gase on them and to buy somewhat, though it serve to no purpose necessarie.'
>
> It was partly to the rage for foreign goods, the ladies in particular despising anything that was not 'far-fetcht and dear-bought', that some attributed the decay of industry...in many towns except London." 1

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1 Salzman, L.F., op. cit. pp. 52-3.

It must not be forgotten that English goods were being perfected and also made desirable in this century. Dr. Cunningham gives an account of the various industries new to England and begun at this time by refugees from religious persecution in France and the Netherlands. The ministers Cecil and Burleigh both favored the foreign settlers and with patents and protection they located in various cities, chiefly London, Norwich, Canterbury, Colchester, and Manchester. "The industrial arts, which were introduced or improved by this incursion of aliens are very numerous....Their chief work was in connection with new branches of the staple industry of the country, and the manufacture of worsted, serges and bays developed rapidly. An export trade soon sprang up, and the new drapery appears to have been to some extent preferred to the old in the home market.....

> Cotton goods, glass, cutlery, paper, and silk cloth manufacture can be traced to these immigrants..... The fresh trade they brought tended to remove much of the jealousy that had been felt for them, and they were doubtless gradually absorbed into the ordinary life of the towns." 1

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1 Cunningham, W., op. cit., pp. 81-4.

With the decay of towns and gilds, capital seeking investment elsewhere had found employment in foreign commerce. The attention of Europe turned to England increasingly as the merchant classes on the continent worked to maintain or enlarge their markets in the face of growing competition. Monarchs saw that the economic strength of their nations was dependent on trade. Therefore much of early international diplomacy arose through trade negotiations. (See Part III, Foreign Relations.)

Currency Changes

All the economic changes of the Tudor Era show close relationship to the currency of the nation. The amount of good money a country has determines the scale of their manufacturing, trade, and even agricultural operations, the improvements introduced, and the profits derived therefrom. Nothing conduces so much to the breakdown of ancient custom as a violent change in the value of money.

Briefly, the history of currency and finance is one of cycles, as the popular conception of money advanced from the medieval view. Henry VII realized that the creation of an independent, secure, and well-regulated system of finance was one of the most important and difficult tasks of his administration. Beginning with a deficit to make good, he had

to establish income from crown lands, feudal dues, customs, loans, and Parliamentary grants. Separation was made between the expenditures of the royal household and those of the State, and over which Henry kept strict watch. If he seemed parsimonious it was because of the desire to become more independent, especially from grants from Parliament. Elizabeth learned that lesson from her grandfather.

Henry VII did accumulate a treasure, greater than any prince of his time, consisting of coined money, jewels, gold and silver plate. This was not only for pomp and display, but for a secure fund of capital he might use as security in an emergency. Rumors of his riches spreading abroad were of great use to him in commercial promotion. 1

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1 Busch, W., op. cit., pp. 280-290.

This royal treasure made the early years of Henry VIII's reign joyous and court life gay with pageantry, but even the confiscated monastic wealth could not meet the extravagant expenditures and mounting costs of government. The exploitation of the mineral wealth of the New World had important reaction in the Old for Spain put an increased amount of gold and silver in circulation, lowering its value and so raising the prices of other goods.

> As money became 'cheaper' it became easier to borrow, and more of it was available to be invested in business. Hence a rapid development in commerce, and a stimulus to the trading classes already feeling the stimulus of the Renaissance spirit." 2

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2 Rayner, R. M., England in Tudor and Stuart Times, p. 71.

Toward the closing years of Henry's reign the French war adding to his debts caused him to have the mint issue coins which contained less than their face-value of gold or silver. One pound weight of silver in the reign of Henry VII coined into 37 shillings and 6 pence. In 1527 this amount made 40 to 45 shillings and in 1543, 48 shillings.

> "In 1545 the coin metal was made one-half silver, one-half alloy; in 1546, one-third silver, two-thirds alloy; and in 1550, one-fourth silver, three-fourths alloy. The gold coinage was correspondingly though not so excessively debased. The lowest point of debasement for both silver and gold was reached in 1551. In 1560 Queen Elizabeth began the work of restoring the currency to something like its old standard. The debased money was brought to the mints, where the government paid the value of the pure silver in it. Money of a high standard and permanently established weight was then issued in its place. Much of the confusion and distress prevalent during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI was doubtless due to this selfish and unwise monetary policy." 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., op. cit., p. 170.

Currency restoration was carried out by Lord Burleigh and he was aided by the financial genius, Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder of the Royal Exchange and known today for his statement that "bad money drives out good." This giving out of good money in exchange for the base was a severe strain on the Treasury, but courage and determination had their reward, and within ten years of the Queen's accession the credit of her Government was so good that it could borrow money at less than half the rate of interest that bankers had charged under Mary.

Elizabeth made loans from her home merchant bankers instead of abroad for political events were altering the monetary center of gravity. Antwerp had been the focus but with the

failure of Spanish administration there, "Antwerp declined rapidly, and London came to be more and more of an important trading and monetary center. The Queen was able to borrow easily, not only from merchant strangers, but from her own subjects, in the year of the Armada and on other occasions. Considerable sums were raised for her by the City authorities, through the liveried companies, and by regulated companies or private individuals. Among those assisting were the goldsmiths (who had long practiced banking)." 1

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1 Cunningham, W., op. cit., p. 148.

Dr. Cunningham goes on to say that a system of banking was fully developed in London early in the 1600's that greatly facilitated commercial credit and enlarged operations.

PART II

Commerce and Exploration

Chapter I

Trade with Foreigners

Commercial enterprises that became the occupation of thousands of Tudor subjects grew from a combination of circumstances. As previously related, rural land enclosures caused lack of interest in farming. Expansion of the scale of operations in craft trades was hampered by excessive gild and municipal regulations, thus making town life unprofitable. So in economic distress, courageous Englishmen looked beyond their home land to earn a living. Urged on by necessity, the Renaissance thirst for adventure and exploration hastened the growth of the commercial instinct which marked the break-up of the Middle Ages. The self-sustaining medieval nation was bound to be drawn into the current of intercourse with the outside world by the promoting energies of the rising middle class. Here again the economic changes show cause and result working in a circle for the break-up of the feudal social system. Purchasing country estates, merchants put trade-earned capital into new farming methods, ever more encouraging the development of these prospering bourgeoisie.

The benefits commerce received from the paternal Tudor government are many, but the prominence England attained in the sixteenth century trade world came about through greater stimulus than her monarchs could give. The growth of strong governments in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Poland, and Russia resulted in the decay in the prosperity of many of the older trading towns in those countries when privileges which the

Hanseatic league had long possessed were withdrawn. Internal dissensions in the League weakened it in the later fifteenth century. English merchants were quick to take advantage of this and ask trading rights from centralized governments. The medieval Italian monopoly on oriental trade was weakened by the Turkish conquests along the eastern Mediterranean, and the discovery of the route around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 finally diverted that branch of commerce into new lines. English merchants gained acess to some of this new Eastern trade through their connection with Portugal, a country advantageously situated to inherit the former trade of Italy and southern Germany. English commerce also profited by the predominance which Florence obtained over Pisa, Genoa, and other trading towns, for their markets fell into English hands. Thus conditions on the Continent were strikingly favorable to the growing commercial enterprise of England.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century England's foreign trade had been in the hands of foreigners, chiefly the Hansards. Then came its transition into English control. Even before 1450 trading vessels had occasionally been sent out from the English seaport towns on more or less extensive voyages, carrying out English goods, and bringing back those of other countries or of other parts of England. These vessels sometimes belonged to the town governments, sometimes to individual merchants. This kind of enterprise was to become more and more common. 1

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1 Adopted from Cheyney, E.P., Industrial and Social History of England, p. 162.

Merchant Adventurers.

At the accession of Henry VII, English trade was not very extensive; the two most important branches were the export of wool to the continent, which was in the hands of the Merchants of the Staple with their center at Calais, and the cloth trade with Flanders, carried on by the Merchant Adventurers, whose continental center was Antwerp.

These traders were incorporated in a special sense, with a coat of arms of their own, extensive privileges, great wealth, influence, and prominence. By 1450, a regular series of governors of the English merchants in the Netherlands was established, and on the basis of concessions, privileges, and charters granted by the home government, the "Merchant Adventurers gradually became a distinct organization, with a definite membership which was obtained by payment of a sum which gradually rose from 6 shillings 8 pence to 20 pounds, until it was reduced by a law of Parliament in 1497 to 6 pounds 13 shillings 4 pence. They had local branches in England and on the Continent. In 1498 they were granted a coat of arms by Henry VII, and in 1502 by royal charter a distinct form of government under a governor and twenty-four assistants. In 1564 they were incorporated by a royal charter as the 'Merchant Adventurers of England.' Long before that time they had become by far the largest and most influential company of English exporting merchants." 1

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1 Ibid. p. 165.

The company was chiefly composed of London mercers, though there were in the society members of other London associations, and traders whose homes were in other English towns than London. The meetings of the company in London were held for a long time in the Mercers' hall, and their records were kept in the same minute book as those of the Mercers until 1526. On the continent their principal office,

hall, or gathering place, the residence of their Governor and location of the "Court", or central government of the company, was at different times at Antwerp, Bruges, Calais, Hamburg, Stade, and Middleburg; for the longest time probably at the first of these places. The larger part of the foreign trade of England during the fifteenth and most of the sixteenth century was carried on and extended as well as controlled and regulated by this great commercial company.

But back to Henry VII's time. There was besides the cloth trade with the low countries, a certain amount of trading with Gascony and Spain for wine. The friendly connection with Portugal, that was to be a corner stone of English policy for centuries to come, had been established before the end of the fourteenth century, and during the fifteenth Lisbon swarmed with English traders.

Withdrawal of Hanse Merchants from England

In 1490 Henry VII made a treaty with the king of Denmark by which English merchants obtained liberty to trade for fish with that country, Norway, and Iceland. For years the transporting had been done by the Hansards. Henry now instituted the consistent Tudor policy of favoring British merchants and placing burdens and restrictions upon foreign traders. The hold of the formidable Hanse League, which included most of the German and Dutch ports and during the fourteenth century treated the Baltic and the North Sea as virtually its own preserve, had to be broken. Henry began action against the Hansards by passing Navigation Laws imposing extra duties on goods not carried in English ships. The merchants from the

Hanse towns, with their dwellings, warehouses, and offices at the Steelyard in London, were subjected to a narrower interpretation of the privileges which they possessed by old and frequently renewed grants. In 1493 English customs officers began to intrude upon their property; in 1504 especially heavy penalties were threatened if they should send any cloth to the Netherlands during the war between the king and the duke of Burgundy. During the reign of Henry VIII the position of the Hansards was on the whole easier, but in 1551 their special privileges were taken away, and they were put in the same position as all other foreigners. There was a partial regrant of advantageous conditions in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, but finally, in 1578, they lost their privileges forever. As a matter of fact, German traders now came more and more rarely to England, and their settlement above London Bridge was practically deserted.

Tudor Commercial Policies

Proceeding with Henry VII's trade regulations, Gascony wines were to be imported only in English vessels. In 1489, "woad", a dyestuff from southern France, was included in the above regulation, and it was ordered that merchandise to be exported from England or imported into England should never be shipped in foreign vessels if sufficient English vessels were in the harbor at the time. 1

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1 Busch, W., England under the Tudors, Vol. I, p. 241.

In encouraging commercial relations, Henry VII's best known action was the treaty Intercursus Magnus of 1496 which

reestablished trade with the Netherlands on a firmer basis. In the same year commercial advantages were obtained from France, and in 1499 from Spain. 1

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1 Pollard, A.F., The Reign of Henry VII, Vol. II, pp. 285-315.

Few opportunities were missed by the government during this period to try to secure favorable conditions for the growing English trade.

Henry VIII's commercial policy included the development of the royal navy partly to protect English shipping. Besides organizing the admirality with its subsidiary branches, surrounding the coasts with block houses and forts, he brought over Italian shipwrights to teach Englishmen the art of ship building. He used the national resources freely in endeavouring to obtain good harbors for the general welfare, spending during his reign 80,000 pounds in fortifying, dredging, and embanking Dover haven, always a port of national importance. 2

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2 Oppenheim, M., A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of the Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy, Vol. I., pp. 44-99.

Together with the government's men-of-war, there were privately owned smaller craft numbered in the royal navy and that were at the sovereign's disposal when necessary, but which were designed for merchandising. The sailors and their masters were fishermen, merchants' apprentices, and often the merchants themselves. 3

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3 Bourne, H.R.F., English Seamen under the Tudors, Vol.I, p.75.

These trading ships were counted in the maritime resources of the country whenever surveys were made. As did all of the Tudors, Elizabeth, throughout her reign, frequently hired out men-of-war to private adventures for trading, exploring, or privateering purposes. The rate of hire for the sixteenth century was 2 shillings a ton per month. The large trading companies favored employed these well armed and manned vessels because they were less exposed to the dangers of navigation and piracy. This latter was always a factor to be reckoned with.

Piracy

In Elizabeth's time piracy appears to have almost attained the dignity of a recognized profession. In 1563 there were some four hundred known pirates in the four seas, and men of good family who subsequently attained official rank in the royal service made their earliest bids for fortune as channel rovers. Proclamations were issued and commissions of inquiry formed to investigate marauding activities with but little effect. When pirates were taken, few were hanged. Their abettors on shore, if discovered, were let off with fines. In truth the Elizabethan pirate was more than half patriot: if he injured English commerce he did infinitely more hurt to that of France and Spain and he only differed in degree from the semi-trading, semi-marauding expeditions on a larger scale in which the queen herself took a share and for which she lent her ships. 1

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1 Oppenheim, M., Op. cit., Chapter on Elizabeth's Navy, pp.60-99.

British Trade Ventures

Organized English merchant ventures for the purpose of discovering and developing new foreign trade date from 1553. Then a group of London merchants, between two and three hundred in number, formed a loosely organized company, each subscribing 25 pounds toward their joint expenses. They applied for advice as to a field for trade to the veteran navigator, Sebastian Cabot, who was familiar with the colonial undertakings of Spain and Portugal and had himself shared in the first tentative exploring expedition of England, under his father, more than half a century before. Guided by his judgment, the adventurers decided to try the unknown northern and northeastern seas, primarily with the object of reaching the rich trading lands of China and the East Indies, but also with the hope of finding "new and unknown kingdoms" on the way thither.

> They called themselves "The Mysterie and the Companie of the Marchants Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places unknowen." 1

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1 Hakluyt, R., Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation, Everyman's Library, Vol. I., p. 232.

The project of these northern adventurers was from the beginning of a semi-public nature. Sir Hugh Willoughby, a man of high character and experience, was chosen by the merchants and licensed by the king to serve as admiral of the expedition, with Richard Chancellor second in command. Three ships were purchased, armed, equipped and provisioned for eighteen months. They were provided with merchandise considered suitable for sale in China or in lands to be discovered on the way thither. Starting in May, 1553, the ships rounded the North Cape. Here

they met with disaster in a wild northern storm. Willoughby, with two of his vessels, took refuge in a harbor on the coast of Lapland where, incapable of enduring the long winter, he and his whole company died of hunger, cold, and scurvy. Chancellor, however, driven farther to the eastward, sailed south and luckily entered the White Sea, landed at the mouth of the Dwina and, finding himself in the dominions of the czar, left his vessels in the harbor and journeyed fifteen hundred miles inland to Moscow. He was well received by Ivan IV and after some months returned to England with favorable letters from him and the prospect of active trade. Thus the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor resulted, not in reaching Cathay or in discovering new islands and dominions, but in making a commercial connection by this northern route between England and the half-Asiatic, half-European country of Russia. 1

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1 Adopted from Cheyney, E.P., A History of England, Vol.I, pp. 311-3.

The Muscovy Company

To safeguard investment in the northern adventure, the opening of the new trade route involved the establishment of a chartered company with a monopoly of the new trade. Therefore when Chancellor returned to England in 1554 with the report of his entrance into Russia and of the privileges of trade the Czar had promised, the London merchants asked for a royal charter. This was granted them in February, 1555. The old gild charters served as handy models, and so this new instrument

granted the traders an elaborite body of rights, privileges, rules and regulations.

In an act of parliament passed for the reincorporation of the company in 1566, its title was somewhat shortened; but as a matter of fact it was commonly known from the beginning simply as the Company for New Trades, the Russia Company, or the Muscovy Company. 1

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1 Ibid, p. 315.

These organized traders to Russia thus came into existance as an incorporated company which has continued to the present time.

During the rest of Tudor times the company sent out a little fleet each year. They had leased St. Botolph's wharf in London, built warehouses, and proceeded to ship goods under a mark that became well known in England and the White and Baltic Seas. Usually there were but three or four vessels in the fleet, but sometimes the company was more ambitious. In 1582 nine ships and one bark, in 1584 ten vessels were sent. During one period of special prosperity the annual fleet rose to a dozen or more vessels a year. The fleet usually sailed from England in April or May and had to return by September to avoid being frozen in the ice. It was a long journey, the total distance from London to the mouth of the Dwina being about 2,250 miles. 1

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1 Ibid, p. 316.

When leaving England the fleets were loaded principally with the English cloth which was at this time becoming so

famous and was finding such a ready sale in all places to which the English merchants carried it. They took besides some other characteristic English productions, such as tin and paper, and also wine, raisins, and other goods imported into England from southern Europe. The largest element in their return cargoes was rope and cordage manufactured from the hemp which grew so abundantly in Russia, and which England's growing navy demanded. Whale and seal oil, tallow, wax, caviar, hides, and flax were other homely wares which the company's agents obtained in abundance there and which were in constant demand in England. The company even ventured to add whale fishing to its enterprises, but this industry did not flourish till later. 1

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1 Cunningham, W., The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, p. 241.

English employees that the company located at its various trading stations became considerable in number. Other Englishmen came to Russia in the direct employ of the czar. Ivan and his successors were eager for western knowledge and skill. These trade beginnings in the Tudor Era opened the channel for spreading abroad England's achievements in practical cultural fields. In 1576 the czar wrote to Elizabeth asking her to send him a doctor, an apothecary, men cunning to seek out gold and silver, and men who could fortify towns and build castles and palaces. Though such men went and received good salaries, they soon wearied of the barbarism of Russia and returned when they could secure release. 2

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2 Cheyney, E.P., Op. cit., p. 318.

The purchase of naval supplies was only one of the many bonds which connected the Muscovy Company with the government. The political and commercial privileges granted by the charter and the dependence of the company on the government to see that they were enforced, brough overlapping of economic and political interests. The sending of ambassadors from England to Russia, the reception of envoys from Russia, the support and entertainment of such ambassadors by the company, and a large body of general international intercourse confused the business of the company with matters of government. The agents of the company going to Moscow were frequently entrusted on the other hand with political duties by the queen and council, and on their return to England were required by the Czar to convey messages of a political character to the Queen. The regular ambassadors from the Queen as well as these agents were taken over on company's ships and ordered to act largely on the instructions of its officers and for the company's interests.

Since the company might travel throughout Russia, they tried to extend trade routes south to Persia, but were hampered by wild Tartar and Turkish tribes. The Turkish government favored the merchants who came from Mediterranean ports, and the bonds which the Muscovy traders had knit with the Persian government broke under the strain of Turkish conquest. In 1580 the last attempt of the Muscovy company to establish trade on the shores of the Caspian failed. However this

> "failure does not detract from the impression of boldness of conception, vigor of action, and adaptability of temperament made on the mind of the reader of the narratives of these journeys from England around the North Cape, into the White Sea, up northerly flowing

rivers, across the water-shed, down rivers flowing to the south, across an inland sea, and far into the heart of Asia." 1

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1 Ibid, p. 325.

The year the Persian trade was abandoned saw also the failure of the last effort of the company to carry out another of its early objects, the reaching of China by a northerly sea passage. All through the development of trade relations with Russia, and the efforts to extend this trade to the eastward and southward overland, had persisted the idea of reaching the Indies by sea to the northward and eastward. The company was an exploring as well as a trading body. In 1556, 1568, and 1580 explorers had been sent out by the company. No one then had any conception of the vast stretches of Siberian coast nor the navigation difficulties which were not to be solved until our own time. 1

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1 Adopted from Hakluyt, R., Op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 322-344.

Trade in the Baltic Sea

On the Esthonian coast, far up in the Gulf of Finland, lay the city of Narva, long a port of entrance to the districts inland as far as Novgorod, and a valuable mart for goods brought there by merchants from the Hanse towns. English merchants trading to the Baltic first found their way there in 1560, soon after its capture by the czar. This interested the Muscovy Company for their charter gave them control of all English trade to the dominions of the czar and it might easily be interpreted to include these new acquisitions. Another clause gave them the monopoly of the use of

all new lines of discovery to the north and east under which the trade to Narva apparently fell. It was evidently a much shorter and more direct way to reach Russia than the long and half-frozen route by the North Cape, the White Sea, and inland, and might readily be used as an additional route. On the other hand, if merchants not members of the company should make a practice of going from England to Narva, the company's monopoly of Russian trade would be lost. Many unauthorized English merchants did barter in Narva from 1565 onward. Suits between the company and merchants followed with the government usually trying to protect its patentees. 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., Op. cit., pp. 327-9.

This intercourse with Russia through Narva brought another group of Englishmen into the service of the Muscovite government. The fleet of galleys which the czar was so keenly interested in creating during the time he possessed Narva was largely designed and built and partly officered by Englishmen. In 1572 sixteen of the officers of the Galleys were English. 2

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2 Wright, T., Queen Elizabeth and her Times, Vol.I, pp.416-22.

By 1586 the Muscovy company had reached a crisis in its history. Its career on the whole had been successful. It was estimated that the charges of the first discovery, the erection of warehouses, the gifts so widely bestowed in Russia, and the "losses entailed by the malfeasance of some of the early officials amounted to 80,000 pounds, equal in modern value perhaps to $2,000,000. 3

3 Cheyney, E.P., Op. cit., p. 333.

Although the continuous financial records of the company have been destroyed, it is evident that the voyages of certain years between 1560 and 1580 brought great profit to the shareholders. Surely the interest on the original investment well repaid the "venture". But the company's difficulties were increasing for about 1580 the Dutch appeared in the White Sea as rivals. It was said that they had been induced to come by some dissatisfied English servants of the company. Anyhow they secured a share of the trade and joined in the struggle of the next century for the whale fishery. Flemings and Frenchmen also came in as traders. The English merchants no longer had the influence at the czar's court which enabled them at an earlier period to preserve the monopoly of all the White Sea trade.

The company had as much difficulty with the private trading of their own servants as with the intrusion of outsiders. Since their trade was administered on a joint-stock basis, purchases and sales made on private account by servants were injurious to this common interest. The business profits which might have belonged to the company were diverted from them. 1

1 Ibid, p. 335, Adopted.

There came gradually to be many Englishmen in Russia no longer in the employ of the company, over whom control was very slight, and these often traded illicitly in collusion

with the company's servants or shipmasters. The queen was finally petitioned to order all English traders in Russia to come home except such as had a license from the company. But notwithstanding these devices and constant espionage such intrusion on the company's chartered rights was continuous.

In 1586 a reorganization of the company took place, the old common stockholders agreeing to transfer the stock of that year to twelve or more wealthy members who would direct the affairs for three years. New efficient agents were installed, better wages and promotion tended to satisfy them and insure loyalty to the company's interests. Somewhat later there were fifteen directors and about one hundred sixty members of the company at large. Its trading activities continued, but the importance of the company to the government diminished. 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 337-341.

The Baltic sea trade had been expanding in the sixteenth century and was closely allied to the rise of England's navy. For masts and yards, tar and turpentine, cables, hemp and flax, Britain had to go to either Russia or the Baltic. Even iron was largely imported, as were nitre for gunpowder and strings for bows. These both usually were brought from the Baltic trade center, Dantzig. Also large amounts of wheat and rye were imported as England's population grew and sheep farming rather than grain raising made their home grain supply insufficient.

In the other direction, the numerous populations of the Baltic towns made good customers for English cloth. Many of the Muscovy company members were also interested in ventures sending shiploads of kerseys and other cloths to Dantzig and nearby ports. The war between Sweden and Denmark, from 1563 to 1570, offered opportunities for carrying of munitions to one if not both parties. Sovereigns of the Baltic states in their desire to get rid of the domination of the Hanse offered special facilities for trade; and the growing demand for Baltic goods in England united with the increasing pressure for the sale of English manufactures abroad to increase the activity of English merchants in that region. Before the year 1588 more than a hundred English trading ships yearly sought the Baltic. 1

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1 Ibid, p. 344.

The Eastland Company

Since the whole spirit of the time favored supervision, organization and control, and monopolies were considered necessary, it was natural that a Baltic or Eastland company should form. The occasion came for organizing when the English Baltic traders were made to pay certain losses due to English piracy. The privy council granted monopoly of Baltic trade in 1578 to these merchants in return for their payment of claims advanced by Danish subjects. The sixty-five charter members, many already in the Muscovy and other Adventures' companies could have the Baltic trade all except that with Narva. The new monopoly under title of "Eastland"

company entered upon a career similar but not so extensive as that of the Muscovy merchants, and their operations became intermingled with diplomatic negotiations to be discussed later. 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 345-8.

Under the encouragement of the two Henries, English ships entered the Mediterranean. In 1490 Henry VII had made a treaty with Florence, by which the English merchants obtained a monopoly of the sale of wool in the Florentine dominions, and the right to have an organization of their own there, which should settle disputes among themselves, or share in the settlement of their disputes with foreigners. 2

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2 Cheyney, E.P., Industrial and Social History of England, p. 168.

The English began to bring back from the Levant by way of the Mediterranean those spices, silks, and other luxuries for which England had hitherto been dependent upon the galleys of Venice. The Venetian fleet came less and less frequently on British trade expeditions as their monopoly was broken down. "Under Henry VIII for a period of nine years no fleet came to English ports; then after an expedition had been sent out from Venice in 1517, and again in 1521, another nine years passed by. The fleet came again in 1531, 1532, and 1533, and even afterward from time to time occasional private Venetian vessels came, till a group of them suffered shipwreck on the southern coast in 1587, after which the Venetian flag disappeared entirely from those waters." 3

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3 Ibid, pp. 167-8.

To trace the beginning and growth of Mediterranean trade,

Hakluyt searched the account books of certain London merchants of his day and found "divers tall ships" of London, Southampton, and Bristol were sent regularly to Sicily, Crete, Scio, Cyprus and the Syrian coast. This intercourse took place between 1511 and 1534, and irregularly until 1579, because during that time the connection between England and the Baltic was so much closer and, besides, many available ships were put in the nation's service to protect her from Spain.

The Levant Company

Interest in trade with Turkey was revived when several enterprising merchants traveled overland to Constantinope and secured fairly liberal and definite trading privileges from Amurath III. Since the Persian oriental trade was abandoned about 1580 by the Muscovy company through Russia, a small group of London merchants were granted a patent forming the Turkey or Levant Company to supply the desired eastern goods. In 1583 an ambassador from London was allowed to establish a permanent residence just outside Pera on the other side of the Golden Horn from the Turkish capital. Professor Cheyney says:

> "(The minister's) commission gave him so full a power to govern all English subjects and to control English trade in the dominions of the sultan that it diminished to a great degree the independence of the company whose formation had led to his mission. In accordance with this authority he busied himself appointing consuls for Cairo and Alexandria in Egypt, Aleppo, Damascus, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli in Syria and Tripoli in Barbary. There was much occasion for his energy in securing justice for merchants from the violence or exactions of the Turkish officials, and equal need of his efforts to secure safety for the company's vessels and crews from the corsairs of the Barbary states. The sultan's letters to his ministers and vassal rulers were easily obtained, but his commands were not so easily enforced, and letters, gifts and messages from

the Queen herself and from the London merchants, much diplomacy and some threat of force were necessary to obtain even partial immunity from such attacks, or reimbursement for loss." 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., A History of England, Vol. I, p. 379.

In his very first grant of privileges, in 1580, the sultan was induced to agree that all English slaves in his dominions, if they had not become Mussulmen, should be released. Notwithstanding the sultan's commands, however, the English traffic to the Mediterranean for the time rather increased than decreased the number of such prisoners. Crews from small merchant ships were sometimes captured by the vessels of these Mahometan rules, and, unprotected by a common religion, reduced to slavery, chained to the oars of the galleys, or sold into private servitude. The company frequently served as an intermediary in the process of ransoming captives.

In spite of the many difficulties, the company carried on from the beginning an extensive trade. In one of their earliest years they sent seven ships to the Levant. At first they hired ships for their trade, as the Muscovy company did, but soon they had three ships built for themselves, yet were still forced to seek a license to secure others for their increasing trade. By 1584 they had put into their venture 45,000 pounds capital which they were using as a joint-stock. They were sending ships into ten ports in the eastern Mediterranean, and applied to the queen for the loan of 10,000 pounds weight of silver to enable them to keep up their stock and shipping at these numerous ports. They of-

fered to repay the loan in six annual installments and besides give the queen 3,000 pounds worth of spices, Turkey carpets, and such other foreign products as should please her, to the value of 500 pounds each year. The twelve members who signed this request included the mayor and six aldermen; two others signed as representatives of the Muscovy company, which had in its corporate capacity taken a venture in the Turkey company, and the remaining three signers were also prominent London merchants. 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 384-5.
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While the northern merchants were restricted by weather conditions to one voyage a year, those going south found no such check, and within five years the company was able to point with pride to the fact that they had employed nineteen ships and seven hundred and eighty-two mariners in twenty-seven trips, and that they had paid almost 12,000 pounds into the treasury in customs. They exported from England in addition to cloth, tin, pewter, and rabbit skins. Their imports from the south were much more varied than the goods from the White and Baltic Seas and strikingly different from them. They included raw silk and cotton, and goods manufactured from those materials, carpets, indigo and other dyes, and the alum used in dyeing, drugs, spices, currents, olive oil, soap, and similar articles, some of them the products of the eastern Mediterranean, others brought by the ancient oriental trade routes that reached the eastern Mediterranean overland.

Similar to the trade development of the Levant company,

another group of merchants working on a smaller scale imported dried currents, olive oil, and sweet wines from Venice. There was some friction between these two companies trading in the Mediterranean for naturally both wanted sole rights in certain localities. The quarrels were carried to the privy council at different times when the charters of the two companies had to be renewed. Merchants outside the corporations wished to join and share the trade privileges and so the Levant company did take in fifty-three new members in 1592, but nevertheless it had to suffer from the antagonism of dissatisfied rivals. Complaints of tariffs for arming the vessels, war with Spain, and loss of ships in battle or by pirate seizures show the difficulties under which the Levant company operated. Nevertheless its trade was profitable.

> "In March, 1599, the company reports that they have at least twenty of their own ships in Italian waters at that time. We hear of seven or eight English ships in the harbor of Venice at one time, of nine or ten arriving at London together. In 1600 they own fourteen ships of their own, employ over 600 men, and have freighted in the year sixteen other vessels giving occupation to 600 more men. In the same year there were 82 members of the company with 189 servants in their employ. Besides these, 57 sons and servants of members had died and been buried in the East, since 1588." 1

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1 Ibid, p. 402.

Toward the end of Elizabeth's reign, the company disputed its customs charges continuously with the government and finally relinquished its patent rather than pay 2,000 pounds in arrears on its yearly farm of 4,000 pounds. It was not until well into the next reign that all disputes were settled, the Levant company obtained a new and broader

charter, and entered upon a continuous career that was to last for more than two centuries. 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 404-6.

Other trading companies, such as the Barbary group which failed and the Guinea company which engaged in slave trade and more or less marauding expeditions, figure in England's exploration history. The ever impelling desire for new markets and products, shortened routes or unhampered trade sent fearless Englishmen around the globe.

The East India Company

The incidents which led to the forming of the East India Company in 1600 fall in the Tudor era, but the development of this, the greatest trade corporation, carries forward the building of empire through the later centuries. In "1583 Ralph Fitch, sailing in his ship 'The Tiger' to Tripoli and thence proceeding to Aleppo, commenced the eight years' journey, in which he surveyed the Persian Gulf, India, Siam, and Malaya, and laid the foundations of the East India Company." 1

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1 Pollard, A.F., The Political History of England, Vol.VI, p.390

In 1591-94 Sir James Lancaster, preferring the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope to that taken by Fitch, sailed to India, broke into the Portuguese monopoly, and brought back such profits that the East India Company was formed. Richard Hakluyt gives most interesting accounts of these eastern voyages in his "Principal Navigations of the English Nation," and the records of the organization and earliest days of this "Companie of merchants preparing to trade to the East Indies" are preserved in the State Papers. Drafts of the charter,

notes on the stock fees subscribed and equipment gathered, and minutes of the daily meetings of participants show that like other commercial ventures of the period, this was looked upon in a certain sense as a national project. The queen wrote letters to be presented to the princes of the eastern lands that the merchants expected to visit. The government helped collect Spanish gold coins to be taken along for trading where no market existed for English wares, and the privy council appealed to those who had promised and not made good their subscriptions for the project. 1

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1 Cheyney, E.P., A History of England, Vol.I, pp.435-53. Adopted

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The first fleet that went under the company's charter, commanded by Lancaster, stopped at the site of modern Capetown, then Madagascar, the Nicobar Islands, and Sumatra. In the Malaccan straits a laden Portuguese ship was captured and this cargo together with their English goods was exchanged for principally pepper, cloves, and cinnamon. After a stormy passage the company's ships and their profitable cargoes came home in the late summer of 1603. 2

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2 Wheeler, H.F.B., The Story of the British Navy, p. 80.

Mr. Cheyney concludes his discussion of England's sixteenth century commercial enterprises with saying:

> "The deliberation, system and skill with which this, the last of the Elizabethan companies was formed, and the success of its first expedition show what progress had been made in this sphere of activity since the early days of the Muscovy, Eastland, and Mediterranean companies. England had already, by the close of the reign of Elizabeth, established a certain kind of external dominion, the forerunner of the empire whose foundations were to be laid by colonization

and conquest during the next century. It was a trading not a colonial empire. A few Englishmen scattered in various distant countries in the service of the commercial companies; administrative rights from the home government possessed by these companies; certain semi-political privileges from the rulers of the countries in which they were established; embassies from the English government to Russia, Denmark, Poland, Turkey, Morocco, and somewhat later to Indian potentates, supported by the respective companies; their operations looked upon as partially at least official actions; their monopolies, powers and duties enforced by the privy council, the star chamber and the law courts, -- such was the dominion of the chartered companies which we have seen built up during the period of this survey.

It is impossible to tell the exact number of persons connected with this system at home, but an estimate can be made of the number of members and employees of the companies settled in foreign lands at any one time that will not be far from the truth.....Perhaps some six or eight hundred men were, about the year 1603, stationed in foreign lands as representatives of the English commercial system. At the time some forty or fifty vessels, the property of the joint-stock companies or of individual merchants trading under the corporate privileges of the companies that did not use a joint-stock, must yearly have sailed between London and the distant parts of this commercial empire, an empire that was a characteristic product of the trade, enterprise, and exploration of Elizabeth's reign." 1

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1 Ibid., pp. 458-9.

Chapter II

England's Share in Geographical Discoveries

That Renaissance urge to satisfy intellectual curiosity, to risk all in order to find out what lay beyond the confines of immediate medieval surroundings, and to possess the riches of newly discovered lands was a powerful motivating force to which brave Englishmen responded throughout the Tudor era.

The discoveries of Columbus and the proof of wealth to exploit which Spain exhibited to the continent aroused the commercial instincts of the great English middle class. The explorations added to the impetus for trade during the sixteenth century were to change England from an outpost of Continental Europe to an island in the middle of the world. Henry VII made the other European rules respect England as a truly national state. Henry VIII burst the bonds that tied her to Rome, and the fall of Calais destroyed the bridgehead for adventures in France. But England had lagged behind Spain and even France in the exploitation of the New World, and when she did come into the field it was characteristically enough, not, except indirectly, as part of State policy, but by the enterprise of individual Englishmen. The conditions of Elizabeth's reign gave the trans-Atlantic adventurers the golden opportunity for coming into their own. Even before Elizabeth's accession, English bucaneers had been abroad, pushing into the ice of the arctic winter in quest of the North East Passage, or pursuing some well-laden Spaniard trading between Antwerp and Cadiz.

Great Seamen of Bristol

In the fifteenth century the men of Bristol were in constant communication with the great seamen of other nations and some of the earliest undertakings to reach India by a new path were sent out from Bristol harbor. John Cabot as leader of the Bristol voyages of discovery did not achieve much until he succeeded in gaining Henry VII's interest and support. Five ships were fitted out and Cabot, starting in May, 1497, sailed westward until the 24th of June when he touched the mainland of North America, probably on the coast of Labrador. Some writers, Mr. J. R. Green and Mr. L. F. Salzman, say that he first landed on Newfoundland or Cape Breton Island and then made his way to the new continent. Wherever he may have touched North America, the importance of the voyage lies in its establishing England's claims in the West.

Back in England, Cabot was the hero of the day, with a pension for life, and dreams for other expeditions. A second visit, next year, proved the land was neither Asia nor a land rich in spices, and we hear little more of John thereafter. The voyage, undertaken with such high hopes of wealthy returns, seemed a failure and Henry VII placed little confidence in John's successor, his son Sebastian. Other patents were issued by Henry to the merchants of Bristol, but their voyages proved them little more than the bold pioneers whose daring first led the way to future greatness for their countrymen. 1

1 Busch, W., England Under the Tudors, pp. 159-163.
Pollard, A.F., Reign of Henry VII, Vol. II, pp. 325-37.
Williams, C.H., England Under the Early Tudors, pp. 257-9.

Perhaps England's geographical position favored the development of hardier seamen than the Italian peninsula could condition on the inland seas. Necessity caused the creation of stout ships which could weather and navigate on northern ice-strewn oceans. Instead of the galley type propelled with oars and sails, lower built strictly sailing craft became more suited to their needs. We know well what the elements of nature and the peculiarly English styled and constructed ships did to establish her sea supremacy in 1588.

John Cabot's voyage in 1498 was the last time when the State directly supplied ships for exploration. For the next half century after Columbus' voyage English sailors accomplished little that was remarkable, though William Hawkins set the example, which was to be followed by his more famous son, of voyaging to the Guinea Coast and to the Brazils.

Search for the Northwest Passage

For some years the search for the Arctic route to the Indies, either on the north of America or to the north of Europe, occupied British navigators. The voyage of Willoughby and Chancellor in connection with the Muscovy Company has been spoken of. Hakluyt gives "a testimony of the voyage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest", and later notice of a "pension granted by King Edward the 6 to Sebastian Cabota, constituting him grand Pilot of England in 1548" in honor of his many exploratory voyages. 2

2 Hakluyt, R., The Principal Voyages....of the English Nation, Everyman's Library Edition, Vol. V, pp. 88-91.

Ten "Capitulos" written by Sir Humphrey Gilbert to prove a passage to be on the North side of America to China give evidence of how the idea persisted in men's minds. 1

1 Ibid., pp. 92-131.

In 1578 Martin Frobisher began a series of voyages for the Arctic regions in search of passage. In the course of his three trips he explored much of Frobisher's Sound, which he supposed to be a strait. Descriptions of his equipment and the regions visited are fascinating reading in Hakluyt. 2

2 Ibid., pp. 131-276.

A few years later, from 1585 to 1587, John Davis carried Arctic explorations still further; and again we find vivid accounts by Hakluyt. Success might have rewarded the efforts of Frobisher and Davis if physical daring were the determinant. The use by mariners of quadrants, telescopes, and maps on Mercator's projection all began in the reign of Elizabeth, as did many other inventions, but the conquest of the Polar regions had to await further navigation solution coming in our own time. 3

3 Corbett, J.S., Drake and the Tudor Navy, Vol. I, pp. 367-409. Wood, M., Elizabethan Sea-Dogs, p. 238.

Predatory Expeditions

Since Spain and Portugal were in possession of the whole American tropical belt, leaving little room for the intervention of any other nations, England had to "muscle in", in our modern style. She wanted a share of the New World's riches during the waiting years for the discovery of what might become her exclusive trading regions in the Orient. Naturally the English government could not openly approve of the marauding expeditions of her fearless seamen that became the subject for diplomatic complaints from Spain and France before Henry VIII was dead. Often, in order to avoid being caught when encroaching in other nation's preserves, the English were forced to sail a round-about course for home; and these experiences enlarged man's knowledge of navigation and geography. 1

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1 Hakluyt Society Publication, New Light on Drake, Series II, Vol. 34, Parts I, II.

A state of war existing between England and Spain after 1569, put the seamen of either nation in fearful position when captured by the other. Sir Francis Drake, the protagonist sailing the Spanish Main, knew that his life would be taken if ever Spaniards caught him. His daring attacks in Spanish harbors and feats of navigation which he skillfully performed in making his escape often took him into unknown waters. Drake did more than any other one English commander of Tudor period to establish facts and clear conjectures on distances, trade routes, and locations of oriental regions.

Drake's Circumnavigation of the World

In 1577 Drake started with five vessels on his most famous voyage. Hitherto no man had succeeded in following the course which Magelhaës had taken fifty years before through the dangerous strait which bears his name. It was generally believed that Tierra del Fuego, on the south of that strait, was the extremity of an Antarctic continent. The only route which navigators knew to the Pacific was round the Cape of Good Hope, but Drake chose the Strait of Magellan for his gateway. It was not used by the Spaniards, who carried the mineral wealth of Peru partly overland to the Gulf of Mexico. Twelve months after he started, Drake and his famous ship, the "Pelican", afterward called the "Golden Hind", sailed into the Peruvian port of Valparaiso, and thereafter spent several weeks in clearing ports and treasure ships till the "Pelican" was a full as she could hold of silver, gold, and precious stones. The appearance of Drake along the west coast of South America was totally unexpected, and his ship could outsail and outmanoeuvre anything the Spaniard had in those waters. The rest of his ships had floundered or gone home from the Strait of Magellan, but before he made his way up the Pacific he appears to have satisfied himself that the sea was open on the south of Cape Horn.

After securing as much booty as he could carry, Drake continued his voyage northward, touching on California; but after going a good deal further north than any of his predecessors in the Pacific, presumably with the idea of finding a northern passage home, he returned to California. About

thirty miles north of San Francisco he eracted a brass tablet and laid claim to the country for "her majesty". 1

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1 Burrage, H.S., Early English and French Voyages, 1534-1608, pp. 153-173.

After having there refitted, he started to cross the ocean by way of the Spice Islands, and so round the Cape of Good Hope back to England. In the sixth month, January 1580, the Pelican grounded on a reef and was all but lost. In June the Cape was rounded, and in September the ship was back in Plymouth Sound. 2

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2 Summary of Drake's voyage adopted from reference above. Also, Corbett, J.S., Drake and the Tudor Navy, Vol.I, pp. 226-324.
Innes, A.D., England and the British Empire, pp. 226-7.

For two reasons the year 1583 is particularly notable in the story of English expansion; for that year witnessed the departure of Newbery and Fitch on an eastern journey through Syria, and also the first attempt to give effect to the idea of colonization conceived in the brain of Humphrey Gilbert. Newbery and Fitch travelled by land to the head of the Persian Gulf, and thence were conveyed by sea to Goa, the principal Portuguese station on the west coast of India. In India Fitch remained for some years, traveling over the vast dominions of Akbar, even visiting Ceylon, returning in 1591 to give inspiration for the East India Company. 3

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3 Cheyney, E.P., A History of England, Vol.I, pp. 433-8.

Desire for Colonies

Sir Humphrey Gilbert dreamed not only of a northwest passage, but of planting across the seas an English colony, a new home for Englishmen -- altogether different in conception from the Spanish colonial idea. In Gilbert's "Discourse" of 1576 he speaks of finding in America a home for needy Englishmen, whose unemployment often led them to crime and to the gallows; and in 1578 he obtained a charter "to inhabit and possess at his choice all remote and heathen lands not in the actual possession of any christian prince." 1

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1 Hakluyt, R., Op. cit., Vol. V., pp. 116, 349.

Sir Walter Raleigh had shares with his brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in an expedition which started with intent to colonize in 1579, but which turned aside to attack the Spanish West Indies, to no great purpose. In 1583, however, Gilbert led an expedition to "New Founde land", to which England had laid a vague sort of claim ever since its discovery by John Cabot. An order from the queen herself alone prevented Raleigh from accompanying his brother. The attempt was a failure; three of Gilbert's five ships deserted or floundered, and when the last two were sailing home another, the Squirrel, went down in a storm with all hands and Gilbert.

Raleigh's New World Ventures

In the remainder of the Tudor Era efforts to colonize continued to be failures. In 1584 Raleigh dispatched an expedition, not so far to the north as Gilbert's, to find

a suitable spot for carrying out the scheme of a colony. The site chosen was Roanoke, and there next year Raleigh planted the colony to which he gave the name of Virginia in honor of Elizabeth. The expedition was led by Sir Richard Grenville; the colony of one hundred men was left under the governorship of Ralph Lane. But when succours were sent to them next year, it was found that the colonists had thrown up the attempt, and had been withdrawn aboard of Drake's squadron fresh from the raid on Cartagena. Thrice again Raleigh attempted to plant his settlers; thrice they were wiped out. "But the great idea survived, to be given effect by other men when Raleigh was eating out his heart as a prisoner in the Tower, and Elizabeth was in her grave. 1

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1 Creighton, M., Age of Elizabeth, p. 224.

, Of the English voyages after the defeat of the Armada, the Guiana expedition of Raleigh deserves mention. He explored the Orinoco River in 1595, mainly with intent to discover the fabled Manoa, the city of Eldorado, which was rumoured to exist somewhere in the heart of South America. Raleigh did not discover the gold he sought, but he did bring home very valuable geographical information as to what he had seen, as well as marvelous reports of what he had only heard. 2

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2 Adopted from numerous references including, Chidsey, D.B., Sir Walter Raleigh, That Damned Upstart, pp. 288-302.

One more incident in the East which has no connection with the great India Company: A gentleman, William Adams,

passing through the Straits of Magellan in 1599, and across the Pacific, landed in Japan in April, 1600. There, unwillingly at first, he made his home and married a Japanese wife; he built the first navy of Japan, and lies buried on a hill which overlooks Yokosuka. An annual celebration is still held in honour of the Elizabethan seaman who forged the earliest link between the two great naval powers of the East and West. 1

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1 Pollard, A.F., The Political History of England, Vol.VI, p. 478.

Piracy, slave-hunting, gold-seeking, war with Spain, and arctic exploration were romantic incidents in the building of the empire; its foundations were colonies to be successfully planted in the seventeenth century. Elizabeth had lived to see England an established Sea Power.

PART III

Development of Foreign Relations

Chapter I

Diplomacy

"If political entities possessed no instincts of expansion, there would be no occasion for diplomatic policies....but since no state is isolated international relations are necessary with diplomacy becoming a creative agent." 1

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1 Hill, D.J., A History of European Diplomacy, Vol. II, Introduction p.IX

Medievel Diplomacy

Within the diplomatic field also came change during the Tudor century. The Universal Church through its missionaries in every land had often assumed the task of settling disputes between aggrieved rulers. Appeals to the Pope had sometimes brought special embassies to Rome. High church men within any nation easily assumed the duties of foreign ministers along with their religious ones for the clergy were not conscious of national bounds and were furthering the power of Rome when promoting peace. Because of their superior education and experience in the king's councils, church men long continued to act as the nation's diplomats after direct relations between England and the Pope ceased. But in the Tudor century much of the field of their endeavor lay in the most earthly realm of aggressive nationalism which modern Europe reflects.

King Craft of Henry VII

Early in the reign of Henry VII, Italy was promoting a policy of balance of power among European monarchies

which included far off England. The Catholic sovereigns of Spain desired English support for future war against France and this was arranged in the Treaty of Medina del Campo, March 12, 1489. One of Henry VII's chaplains, afterwards Archbishop of York, helped negotiate this treaty which provided for the future marriage of the Princess Katharine of Aragon and Arthur, Prince of Wales, to cement the alliance. Princes were used as pledges for nations to keep faith with each other. During his life time, Henry managed to maintain peace with his neighbors by arranging three different royal marriages -- those of Katharine and his sister Margaret.

Though England lost Brittany in 1491 and made peace with France at Etaples in 1492, the alliance with Spain remained the cornerstone of English foreign policy until the divorce of Katharine of Aragon and the breach with Rome.

After the French king Charles VIII invaded Italy and conquered the Kingdom of Naples in 1494, the alliance of England was cultivated more intensely than ever by the states seeking to check the preponderance of France. 1

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1 Mowat, R.B., History of European Diplomacy, 1451-1789 Adapted from p. 37.

The Pope and Ferdinand of Spain urged Henry to join the Holy League.

While this favourable atmosphere existed, Henry promoted trade negotiations with Ferdinand's son-in-law, Archduke Philip, then the ruler of the Netherlands. Per-

sistently in his kingcraft it may be noted that Henry realized England's prosperity would be in trade backed by national production and not in military glory. So on February 24, 1496, the "Treaty for peace and Intercourse" which Bacon first called the Magnus Intercursus (1) was

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1 Bacon, F., History of Henry VII, p. 260.

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signed at London. By this pledge, chiefly negotiated through Bishop Fox of Durham, commerce with Flanders was restored after a disruption of ten years through the "support given by Flanders to Yorkist pretenders to the English throne." 2

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2 Mowat, R.B., op. cit., p. 38.

In 1496 Henry signified his adhesion to the Holy Alliance, thus ensuring the fulfillment of the marriage agreement of the Medina del Camp treaty. The Infanta Katharine arrived in England and was married to Prince Arthur in 1501.

Next year another momentous marriage treaty was concluded. Outbreak of fighting at Norham on the Scottish border caused Bishop Fox to go to Melrose to regulate the troubles existing and there he proposed a marriage alliance for England and Scotland. Naturally the plan could not be easily accepted when antagonism had existed for 300 years. Some months later the Scotch commissioners went into conference with Fox, then recognized as England's best diplomatist, at London. The successful conclusion was

evident in the treaty of June 24, 1502, which arranged for the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor, sister of the English king. This union consummated August 7, 1502, though not happy was effective for maintaining peace during the rest of Henry VII's reign.

When Prince Arthur died in 1502, Katharine asked to return to Spain, but Henry did not wish to lose the Spanish alliance or dowry and made all sorts of excuses for detaining the Princess of Wales. His claim that part of the marriage settlement had never been paid was countered by Katharine's appeals to her father that she was almost a prisoner with her wardrobe worn ragged. Isabella urged her daughter's betrothal to Henry's surviving son and the extreme youth of the pair in the first union seemed to warrant asking for a dispensation which Pope Julius II granted. Though the betrothal was recorded in 1503, the participants were not allowed to see each other and Katharine's position was not secure for several years. Henry having become a widower, canvassed with avidity for the most valuable princesses in Europe for himself and his son. Spain's victories in Italy gradually increased Katharine's prestige and toward the end, Henry VII counciled the wedding. He died a few months before this consequential marriage on June 3, 1509, between Katharine and Henry VIII. 1

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1 Ibid, p. 39, and
Hackett, F., Henry the Eighth, p. 29.

Those last years of Henry VII had been spent in peace

at home and security that comes with amassed wealth. Always desirous of promoting trade advantages to increase his income by sharing in adventures or by receiving patent and monopoly fees, Henry saw an opportunity to push English woolens on the Flemish market. In 1506 Archduke Phil and his wife on their way to Spain were forced to land in England and while awaiting favorable weather Henry royally entertained them at Windsor. He persuaded Philip to agree to a treaty of alliance and to leave behind him an authority for a treaty of commerce which was signed at London, April 30, a week after Philip's departure. So the cloth merchants of the Netherlands lost the monopoly of their home market and by 1600 this commercial treaty was being called the Malus Intercursus by the Dutch.

Toward the end of Henry VII's life the Venetian government sent a skillful negotiator, Badoer, who established the first permanent embassy in England. But the suggestion that France was becoming too powerful in Italy did not move the cautious old king. 1

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1 Mowat, R.B., Op. cit., p. 34.

On the continent during the next few years Ferdinand and the Pope were succeeding in defeating the French and gradually winning back Italian states. In 1513 Henry VIII joined the League of Cambrai and his part in the war was personally to lead the invasion of northern France and to send an expeditionary force to Guienne. However, the League "was not interest in the mediaeval design of the English to hold French provinces; and so Henry's ardour in the cause of the League soon cooled." 2

2 Ibid., p. 39.

Diplomacy of Thomas Wolsey

Influenced by Fox and the new and rising councilor Wolsey, Henry made peace with France at London, July 10, 1514. The Anglo-French alliance was ensured by marriage between Louis XII and Henry VIII's sister Mary. Thomas Wolsey received credit for bringing about this great revolution in English foreign policy, and his capacity for handling diplomatic affairs became almost unrivaled in Europe.

In 1515 Francis I came to the French throne and turned his attention toward regaining Milan. His victory at Marignano gave him this and more for during the next six years western European monarchs tried to secure a universal peace. Equilibrium could be maintained if England favoured no one party for the continental monarchs were in desperate need of money and England had both men and money. Instigating negotiations, Wolsey arranged an elaborate exchange of special embassies, and under the mediation of the Pope, a treaty of alliance was signed between France and England on October 2, 1518. The treaty, which took the form of a league against the Turks, enunciated the principle not simply of Anglo-French peace, but of "universal peace." "The signatory powers mutually guaranteed each other's possessions; other powers were to be invited to adhere to the peace, which would then be under the guarantee of the principal contracting parties. All the numerous allies of the contracting parties were stated to be

comprehended within the league." 1

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1 Brewer, J.S., The Reign of Henry VIII, Vol. I, p. 352

Charles V joined this League on January 14, 1519, and Pope Leo X adhered through the legate at London on December 2, 1519. Thus the three young monarchs, Henry VIII, Charles V, and Francis I, were in alliance to make peace endure. Pageantry on exchange of royal visits and treaty renewals were witnessed in 1520. Wolsey would have wished to have formed a general confederacy, but Maxmilian's death and the Imperial Election came to disturb European affairs.

Charles and Francis vied for the title and began negotiating for electorial votes. At first the Pope backed Francis, but later he favored the Hapsburg Charles. While the uncertainty of the election existed the money demands of several electors rose as either side bargained. A papal letter to Campeggio in England asked for Wolsey's opinion on the wisdom of a third competitor and this gave Henry a chance for candidacy. Richard Pace was sent to Germany to study the prospects though Wolsey was indifferent, realizing the hopelessness of this vain gesture. The final result was the election of Charles to hold the Imperial title with little power in it.

Mercurino Gattinara, one of the greatest diplomats of the early sixteenth century, regarded France as a natural and hereditary enemy of his master, Charles V. He was to institute a system of alliances which led France to take counter measures resulting in struggle for defence of

rights lasting thirty-eight years, until both sides were exhausted. 1

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1 Mowat, R.B., Op. cit., p. 46.

Balance of Power

England's position was that of continued mediator. Whichever of the European powers should be inclined to begin hostilities would be disposed to seek England's aid, or at least an assurance of neutrality. Upon this necessity was based the power which Wolsey was soon to exercise with the will of an autocrat for years. He arranged a tripartite conference at Calais, the chief representatives being himself for England, Gattinara for Charles V, and Duprat for Francis I. Wolsey was recognized as mediator, but Gattinara seems to have been determined to make the conference a failure. After a month of the conference, a secret treaty of alliance between England and Charles was concluded against France. While English diplomacy was holding the balance of power, England's relative importance among the European nations was enhanced. 2

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2 Hill, D.J., History of European Diplomacy, Vol.II, pp.362-6

The pacific Cardinal had decided that England must be on the stronger side in the inevitable war. Besides, the influence of Charles could make Wolsey Pope, and Leo X could not live much longer. Pope Leo did die on December 1, 1521, but Charles used his influence to have Adrian of

Utrecht elected. Not long afterwards the prize of the papacy again eluded Wolsey when Clement VII was chosen.

On May 28, 1522, offensive alliance and war declaration was made public to satisfy the nation's feelings aroused by French seizure of English goods at Bordeaux. But a premature assault and fruitless campaign against France discouraged Henry VIII from further action. For the next two years war measures were pushed with little energy. When on February 24, 1525, the defeat and capture of Francis I at Pavia put Europe at the feet of Charles V, it was apparent that England, the natural mediator on the Continent, had actually used all its weight to ensure universal domination to the Emperor.

A year later a French mission to England succeeded in getting the treaty of Moore for peace and alliance, and perhaps this inclined Charles to granting liberal terms to Francis. The quarrels of these two dragged on and during the twenty years following Charles' troubles included defensive campaigns against the Turks in Hungary, the Reformation and territorial ambitions of the Princes within the Empire, and the question of Katharine of Aragon's and Henry VIII's divorce which seemed likely to make Henry a permanent enemy.

England's Independence during the Reformation

England could not escape the tenacles of the Reformation movement on the continent, but the schism brought about by Henry was a policy of state, an "act of political independence for which the nation had long

been preparing." 1

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1 Ibid, p. 416

Wolsey met his downfall in this repudiation of the Pope's authority.

The long standing entente between England and France was being changed by the series of domestic happenings concerning Henry VIII. The Act of Succession which made no attack on the legitimacy of Mary, daughter of Catharine of Aragon and grand-niece of Charles V, seemed to cancel the cause for hostility between England and the Emperor. In June, 1538, Charles had proposed to Henry the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Infante of Portugal, but the Truce of Nice and recent interview between Charles and Francis I had excited the suspicions of Henry VIII, who feared a compact between France and Germany might be directed against England. When the French ambassador arrived at London in April, 1539, the situation was not only equivocal, but the country was arming against a possible French invasion.

Henry's marriage in 1540 to Anne of Cleve, daughter of a powerful lutheran prince, was promoted by the Protestant Thomas Cromwell. But when the friendship of Charles and Francis was shown to be shallow and Catholic reaction set in, the marriage was annulled and Cromwell beheaded. 2

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2 Ibid, p. 453.

In 1544, for a brief campaign England was again drawn into the duel between Charles and Francis when it was feared

that France might annex the Netherlands and destroy the English wool trade. Henry himself crossed the channel intent upon capturing Boulogne which he took but promised to return in the Treaty of Ardres, 1546. 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 459-468.

The deaths of Henry in January and Francis in March of 1547 left Charles supreme in control of Europe, but his decision to divide his vast dominions gave indications that his own demise might not be far distant.

The French diplomacy encouraging coalitions with German Protestant princes in the next few years rose to a science and the Peace of Augsbury was Charles' effort at compromise to hold control in Germany.

Spanish Dominance in England

Plans for the future of his son Philip occupied the negotiations of Charles' last years. That he might carry on the work for Catholic unity, Philip was urged to wed Mary, now Queen of England. Spanish counsels succeeded before the devout Queen, and after a short civil war and diplomatic duel between Spanish and French ambassadors, Parliament sanctioned the union which took place in July, 1554. 1

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1 Ibid, p. 479.

Thus Mr. Hill sums up the prospects and purposes of Philip II:

> "His marriage to Mary and the return of the dynasty to the Catholic faith had inevitably allied it with the Hapsburg system; and for a time it had appeared that an Anglo-Spanish regime, with Spain as the predominant

partner, was about to unite the Spanish kingdoms, England, the Netherlands, and Italy under a common rule; thus rendering that system supreme on the sea as well as on the land, while the Austrian Hapsburgs would hold the balance between the disunited princes of Germany, and France would be reduced to a condition of impotence and isolation. With the riches supplied by the American colonies, with a reasonable expectation of ultimate succession to the crown of Portugal, and with England as his partner, Philip II seemed likely to realize a domination more real and more extended than Charles V had ever possessed." 1

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1 Ibid, p. 482.

English representation in Venice was entrusted to the resident Spanish ambassador and the Venetian representative to England was accredited to Philip at Brussels where he resided.

The blow for Philip was Mary's death in 1558 without leaving an heir to bind England to the Hapsburg system.

On April 2, 1559, the truly important treaty of Cateau-Cambresis was enacted for the peace of Europe. "It put an end to the exhausting wars for Italy; it also terminated the wars fought by England for French territory since the year 1066. It registered the definite swerve of French policy from the aim of Italian empire to the aim of making a "natural" eastern frontier in Lorraine and Alsace. Cateau-Cambresis was the first of the series of great European treaties. Its chief provisions, except as regards Italy, still stand in the public law of Europe." 2

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2 Mowat, R.B., op. cit., p. 57.

The center of diplomacy had moved northward from Venice to France and during the early period of wars of religion from 1559 to 1583, the England of Queen Elizabeth truly held the balance of power. "It was the only powerful Protestant state of Europe; to it the struggling Reformed peoples of the little states of Germany and the agonized Huguenots of France looked for help or at least for a refuge. Against England, Pope and Spaniard employed

> first their blandishments, next their conspiracies, finally their military strength; and to each new device Elizabeth offered a secret diplomacy that was artful, persistent, widespread, and daring." 1

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1 Ibid, p. 62.

International Conspiracies of the Counter-Reformation

It was a period of plot and counterplot between the forces that represented the two camps into which the princes of Europe were dividing. The great organized movement of the Counter-Reformation backed by Paul IV and Philip II appealing to good Catholics everywhere was opposed by the Protestants struggling for existance and upholding dynastic interests. Nationalism was fighting for realization with allies chosen because of religious harmony.

Scotland became and remained a source of menace to Elizabeth until the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587 stilled her claim to the throne of England. The House of Valois and the Catholic champions worked around Mary hoping to ultimately unite Scotland and England with the French crown and to stamp out heresy on the British Isle.

> "The Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis almost seemed like a league against Elizabeth. Among its secret pledges was the union of Spain and France for the extinction of heresy. The vengeance of Philip II on account of Elizabeth's rejection of his suit and his wish to render England Catholic now appeared to be offered an inviting opportunity of gratification in promoting the claims of Mary Stuart, whose Tudor blood made her a possible rival for the throne of England. ....To meet the animosity of Spain and the pretensions of France, therefore, only one course was open to Elizabeth: to base her policy solely upon the national interests of her people, their independence of a foreign power, and the safety of their northern frontier." 2

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2 Hill, D.J., op. cit., pp. 496-7.

Calvinism and French regency rule brought Scotch revolt in 1559 which Elizabeth aided. The Treaty of Edinburgh in 1560 established Mary Stuart as the Scotch queen and ended French control. Civil war in France kept the royal families occupied there.

Elizabeth gained when Mary Stuart's indiscretions caused her enforced abdication in 1567 and the coronation of the infant James under a Protestant regency.

The international scope of the conspiracies centering around Mary and Elizabeth occupied the cleverest diplomats of western Europe and furnish reason for adventure and romance. Agents of Mary begged for Spanish aid, which was given secretly for some years as long as Philip feared the loss of the Netherlands if Elizabeth should be provoked into helping them.

The continuance of English privateers despoiling Spanish commerce gave caused for the dismissal of the English ambassador, Dr. Man, in the spring of 1568, and the seizure of English property in Spain. The long existing commercial rivalry between England and Spain was thus spurred on as retaliation measures inspired their boldest seamen to expand trade activities.

In England, the Queen's chief minister, William Cecil, was anxious for war. As a Protestant, he knew that his own security and that of his co-religionists depended entirely upon Elizabeth's tenure of the throne, and he well understood that nothing would rally the nation round her as an attack by the King of Spain; but Elizabeth herself, though willing to harass her enemy, wished above all to secure the

peace of her kingdom.

On the Spanish side, the Duke of Alba and Philip would have been pleased to aid both in the restoration of Mary to her Scottish throne and her plans to become Queen of England; but they suspected France, and dreaded a possible alliance between France and England.

> "The prompt energy with which Elizabeth's government discovered the plots against her, took possession of Mary's person, arrested the Duke of Norfolk, suppressed the Catholic rising in the North, and thus rendered abortive the conspiracies that filled the summer and autumn of 1569 suddenly changed the situation, and the assistance that the conspirators had sought from Spain, and which, if it had been available a year earlier, might, perhaps, have been effectual, was then seen to be untimely.
>
> The excommunication of Elizabeth by the bull of Pope Pius V, which the English Catholics had long desired, was finally published on February 25, 1570. Like the aid expected from Spain, it had come too tardily to be of use to the English conspirators, and produced an effect quite contrary to their expectations, rallying the nation round the Queen.... In forbidding the English people to recognize Elizabeth as their sovereign, the Pope had forced them to regard Protestantism and patriotism as for them only different aspects of the same reality." 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 508-9.

Prompt seizure of opportunity again increased Elizabeth's advantages over her enemies in 1571. Because of temporary peace with the Huguenots in France, Elizabeth could offer willingness to marry the Duke of Anjou thus securing the benefits of prospective alliance and safety from foreign attack.

The massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day ended the friendship of Charles IX and Elizabeth, but the French ambassador stayed in her court and a few years later entered again into marriage negotiations for the Duke of

Alencon. This last matrimonial threat prevented French action against the English or Dutch for three years.

In 1583 a plot was arranged between certain English Catholics and the Duke of Guise for a French landing in England. The Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, and Philip II knew of it. Upon confession of the agent Throckmorton, ambassadors were recalled and diplomatic relations ceased between Spain and England in 1584. Mendoza removed to Paris and conducted an intelligence bureau through which English events were known to him from his spies in England and the English ambassador Stafford in Spanish pay.

English ministers perceived the need of a new policy. By the death of William or Orange the revolted Spanish Provinces were in need of a protector and the occupation of the Netherlands as an outpost for the defense of England seemed important. Elizabeth refused the Dutch offer of sovereignty, but sent troops which determined Philip to action.

To avert the calamity of Spanish conquest, Elizabeth tried to keep Philip occupied upon the sea and in his colonies as well as in the Netherlands; and for this purpose Drake plundered Vigo on the coast of Spain, sacked and burned St. Domingo and Carthagena, and swept the Atlantic in search of Spanish treasure ships. 1

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1 Ibid, p. 533.

The discovery of the Babington plot to assassinate Elizabeth brought the execution of Mary Stuart and frank hostility between Elizabeth and Philip. James VI of Scotland could not seriously think of avenging his mother's death

upon Elizabeth when she was defending and Philip II was attacking James' own right of succession to the throne of England; and Henry III of France could not make strenuous exertions in behalf of the rights of a Guise princess when the Guises in alliance with Philip were preparing to rob the French King of his royal power. There was, therefore, no real danger for Elizabeth except from Philip II, or from a Guise triumph in France.

> "While the Queen was still cherishing the illusion of a peaceful arrangement with Philip, in the spring of 1587 Drake made his way into the harbors of Cadiz and Coruna, destroyed many Spanish ships and a great quantity of stores, and thereby considerably delayed the fitting out of the Armada with which Philip II designed to conquer England. When, at length, in July, 1588, the vast fleet of Spain intended for invasion arrived in the Channel loaded with priests for the conversion of England and carrying an army of more than twenty thousand soldiers who were expected to be reinforced by the army of the Prince of Parma, in spite of Elizabeth's frugality in preparing for defence, a practically equal English force was there to meet and to destroy it....It was there that the visible glory of the Elizabethan Age began. Thenceforward to the end of her reign, Protestants and Catholics alike identified the rule of Elizabeth with the life of England. In resisting the imperial spirit of Philip II, whose design was to become an emperor in fact if not in name, the English people well understood that they were battling for their independence as a self-constituted state." 1

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1 Ibid, pp. 538-9.

Results of Elizabethan Diplomacy

The remaining years of Elizabeth's reign saw the failure of every one of the most cherished purposes of Philip II. England, Scotland, and the Netherlands had become officially Protestant, and were now beyond his power either to recover or to punish; and France, although still officially Catholic, by sacrificing religious uniformity to political unity, had

baffled his intervention.

Mr. Hill says that Philip II's championing of the Counter-Reformation had "created among his opponents a combination so strong as to produce a temporary equilibrium....The greater part of Southern Europe was Spanish and Catholic, while the North had become almost entirely Protestant." 1

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1 Ibid., p. 546.

England had been able to hold her own and equal other European nations in the field of diplomacy, and as the Tudor century closed she was the most powerful champion of the Northern Protestant nations.

Conclusion

In summarizing the accomplishments of the Tudor century which allowed England to take a dominant place among the nations of the world, the cultural manifestations should be briefly mentioned.

The Protestant Reformation and its literature in England was closely bound up with the growth of national patriotism. The policy of Henry VII in suppressing factions, concentrating all power in the Crown, and causing England to take a prominent place in European politics gave the English an interest in and admiration for their own country.

The manysidedness of artistic expression characterizes the start of the seventeenth century. Music, poetry, prose and drama voiced the rejoicing of Englishmen after the defeat of the Armada when they became conscious of their national strength. In the realms of painting, landscaping, and architectural achievement beauty and richness appeared. Even the humble cottage reflected a greater comfort in furnishings.

There were diversified manifestations of learning. Popular interest in history and in the classics may be traced through Shakespeare's plays as well as the flood of various writings then appearing. Raleigh's scientific experiments also show the inquisitive mind reaching out for knowledge similar to modern exploration. 1

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1 Chidsey, D.B., Sir Walter Raleigh, That Damned Upstart.

A higher standard of education was prevalent in the sixteenth century than in the eighteenth. The mere ability to read was probably stimulated in the lower ranks of society less by the Renaissance than the Reformation, which led to the enthusiastic study of the Bible and the works of religious controversy. On the other hand, although England was late in coming under the influence of the Renaissance, its effects were remarkable and the pursuits of learning, under the direct encouragement of royalty, became fashionable. The Tudor monarchs all patronized and practised scholarship. There was the rough country gentleman who scorned it, too. Though universities flourished and scholars from the continent praised English achievements, schools were not modern and superstitions swayed the masses. 1

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1 Einstein, L., Italian Renaissance in England.

The rise of Puritanism and the ensuing political and civil conflicts halted scientific advance and freedom of expression. More than a hundred years had to pass before there was true appreciation of the cultural accomplishments of the Tudor era. Not until the eighteenth century was there universal recognition of the greatness of Shakespeare, Spenser, Bacon, and many of their contemporaries; and, therefore, discussion of their work did not enter this thesis.

Tudor England's prestige was founded on material wealth and maritime prowess. Made confident by the knowledge of their national strength, Englishmen were ready to demand respect from the world. Gone were the days of independent isolation. The stage was set for the rise of modern times.

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Bourne, H.R.F., English Seamen under the Tudors, Bentley, 1868, London, Vol.I, pp. 304, Vol.II, pp. 308.

This two volume study gives the careers of great leaders in English navigation. The first volume deals with efforts to reach the Indies and the beginning of colonization in America and India, the Cabots, Frobisher, Gilbert, and Raleigh. The second book discusses efforts against Spain, Elizabeth's navy, exploits of Hawkins and Drake in the Spanish Main, around the world, the Armada and consequences. The Hakluyt Society publications are the chief sources. The style is readable and the pages footnoted for originals.

Bradshaw, Fredrick, Social Life in England, W.B. Clive, University Tutorial Press, 1927, London, pp. 406.

Presents sections on Medieval village life, town life, the Tudor solution of economic problems, State control and the Mercantile system. The last half of the book was not used in this thesis as it deals with the making of modern England.

Brewer, John S., Reign of Henry VIII: From his Accession to the Death of Wolsey, John Murray, 1884, London, Vol. I, pp. 609, Vol. II, pp. 479.

Is calendar of public records interpreted and arranged after years of research. Is valuable as source book to the historical student - not the general public. Is interesting to note literary style of the times as well as historical developments.

Busch, Wm., England under the Tudors, A.D. Innes & Co., 1895, London, Vol. I, pp. 445.

Was published first in the German language, then translated. The work is scholarly and scientific, but H.A.L. Fisher's "Political History of England", Vol. V, is better and more authoritative. Trade and economic policies of the first Tudor are sell stated.

Callender, Geoffrey, The Naval Side of British History, Little, Brown & Co., 1924, Boston, pp. 280.

This is an admirably told story of British sea power from its beginning to the present in one volume. The author is instructor in naval history at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich and an authority using vivid yet scholarly style.

Cavendish, G., Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1905, Boston, pp. 192.

This manuscript work was first published in 1641 and contains the contemporary's interpretation of Wolsey's character. The author was the trusted servant of the cardinal during the later part of his life. The modernized printing enables the student to enjoy this picturesque record of events and great personages.

Cheyney, Edward P., A History of England, from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth, Longmans, Green & Co., 1914-26, London, Vol. I, pp. 560, Vol. II, pp. 580.

Since the two volumes of some eleven hundred pages cover just the last fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, one can imagine the detail to which the author expands. The social life of the times is stressed and much space is given to exploration for trade. The second volume is valuable for giving a complete account of the administrative system during the years ending Elizabeth's rule. Rich in quotations from the State records.

Cheyney, Edward P., An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England, Macmillan Co., 1929, New York, pp. 368.

Part of this treatice discusses the break-up of the Medieval system in England and this section, pages 116 to 152, proved useful. National affairs

in Tudor times including economic changes, trade expansion, and the paternal government's actions were concisely treated.

Cheyney, E.P., Social Changes in England in the Sixteenth Century, Univ. of Penna. publisher, 1895, Boston, Vol. VI.

Part I deals with the Rural changes when England saw the breakdown of the old manorial life. With the dissolution of the monasteries, cessation of grain raising and inclosures for sheep raising, the treatice gives much detail of governmental attempts at regulation of land holdings.

Chidsey, D.B., Sir Walter Raleigh, That Damned Upstart, John Day Co., 1931, New York, pp. 315.

Attempts to estimate the worth of Raleigh's amazing variety of activities and tells of them in chatty, columnist style. The book is not the usual novel-hero type, but a biography which makes the reader appreciate the many talents and accomplishments of Sir Walter and to regret that he could not fully attain success in his lifetime.

Corbett, J.S., Drake and the Tudor Navy, Longmans, Green & Co., 1898, London, 2v.

Volume I discusses naval art in the middle ages and sixteenth century, Drake's early years, Hawkins, Drake's career through the circumnavigation voyage, his knighting, and part played in the navy to 1588. Volume II continues with the chief part given to the Armada story, through Drake's disgrace and last voyage to the New World. Drake had been the master directing mind, the author thinks, when England launched on the path to bring victory of the seas.

Corbett, J.S., Successors to Drake, Longmans, 1900, London, pp. 464.

A sequel to "Drake and the Tudor Navy" continues the story from 1596 to 1603, and discusses England's naval policy and military affairs in detail, giving much data on ships, design, and tonnage, guns, etc., making the work useful for research in that field.

Creighton, Mandell, Age of Elizabeth, Scribner, 1890, New York, pp. 244.

As the author tells in the preface, he has grouped European history round the history of Elizabeth to make appeal to the English reader. He regarded the political history of chiefest importance, and only in the case of England found space for social or literary history.

Creighton, Mandell, Queen Elizabeth, Longmans, Green & Co., 1899, London, pp. 307.

Is a summary of many works on Elizabeth produced up to 1899 and is a character sketch rather than the history of her time.

Cunningham, W., Growth of English Industry and Commerce, University Press, 1882-1905, Cambridge, Vol. I, pp. 500, Vol. II, pp. 686.

This is considered a standard work covering the subject from earliest times to the present day. Subjects are treated in great detail, analysist, and commentary. Pamphlet literature has been extensively drawn upon and the statutes elaborately used. It is best reference available stating economic legislation, but gives no discussion of its actual operation.

Devereux, Wm. & Lovell, Stephen, Raleigh, J.B. Lippincott Co., 1910, Philadelphia, pp. 319.

Romance of Elizabeth's Court founded on the successful drama "Sir Walter Raleigh" as played by Lewis Waller. It depicts Raleigh's life while he served Elizabeth, the court plots and intrigues, and describes the great characters in public affairs.

Einstein, L., Italian Renaissance in England, Columbia University Press, 1902, New York, pp. 420.

This monograph on English renaissance during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries describes the Italian influence on English scholarship, court life, political ideas and poetry, Italian churchmen, artists and travelers in England, English travelers in Italy, and Anglo-Italian commerce.

Einstein, L., Tudor Ideals, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1921, New York, pp. 340.

The author analizes the spirit and tendencies of the age in its political, social, and literary aspects without regard for the sequence of events. Tudor England in many respects marks the disintegration of an old world and the beginning of a new amid more or less of violence and disorder. The content further shows how the modern conception of English life dates from Elizabeth during whose reign the results of the renaissance became apparent.

Fisher, H.A.L., The History of England from the Accession of Henry VII to the Death of Henry VIII, Longmans, 1906, London, pp. 518.

Published as Volume V of the Political History of England edited by Pollard, the work may be considered a detailed treatice. The material on Henry VII was gathered largely from foreign archives, but the view of him has not changed much since Bacon's estimate of him. The reign of Henry VII is considered as a prelude to that of his famous son. Mr. Fisher is more cautious than Froude in statements to trace sources. Mr. J. Gairdner claims that this work is the only one to give complete account of Henry VIII's reign based upon all and most recent information.

Fletcher, C.R.L., An Introductory History of England, E.P. Dutton & Co., 1907, New York, pp. 545.

Printed in two volumes it covers the events of the years from 1485 to the Restoration. The chapter headings mention personages, but the material is factual and yet told in interesting style. Much of the Tudor period content was borrowed from Mr. Pollard.

Froude, J.A., English Seamen in the Sixteenth Century, Longmans, 1895, London, pp. 228.

This collection of nine lectures traces sources of English naval power, its early exploits, and triumph over the Spanish Armada.

Froude, J.A., History of England, from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth, Scribner, 1899-1929, New York, 12 volumes.

A new edition of this important work appeals to the reader for it is vivacious in style and as interesting to read as a novel. As history, however, it is not impartial nor strictly judicial.

Gairdner, J., Henry the Seventh, Macmillan, 1889, New York, pp. 219.

This biography shows that Henry was a king whose direct influence was not only felt at home and on the continent at the time, but was of an abiding character. His policies are described at length to show that he looked ahead and kept the end in view in his kingcraft, so making a place for himself in history as a great statesman.

Gibbons, H. de B., The Industrial History of England, Methuen & Co., 1890-1926, London, pp. 233.

Pages 79 to 111, the fourth period of the book, pertain to the sixteenth century conditions of agriculture, industry, commerce, and general social conditions. It offers readable material and is designed for a textbook.

Gilliat, E., Heroes of the Elizabethan Age, J.B. Lippincott Co., 1911, Philadelphia, pp. 335.

Romantic tales of heroism and biographies of the various brave adventurers who were fired by loyalty to the young queen and later by religious antagonism against Spain are related in popular style. The volume is avowably written to inspire appreciation of these Elizabethan heroes and their work in bringing about the greater ease, refinement, and security of our day.

Green, J.R., A Short History of the English People, American Book Co., 1888-revised ed. 1916, New York, pp. 1039.

Has brief treatment of details of foreign wars and diplomacies, personal adventures of kings and nobles, the pomp of courts -- and dwells at length on incidents of that constitutional, intellectual, and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself.

Hackett, F., Henry the Eighth, Horace Liveright, Inc., 1929, New York, pp. 521.

This popular biography portrays the life of the king who needed money and sons and who managed to

turn everything he did to some dynastic advantage. The historical background notes at the end of the volume are valuable to the lay reader.

Hakluyt, Richard, comp., The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1907, New York, 8 volumes.

Ed. Goldsmid of Edinburgh first edited and published this collection between 1885 and 1890 in sixteen volumes. Contents: Vol. I & II describes voyages about Northern Europe; Vol. III & IV, Northwestern Europe and adjacent countries; Vol. V, Central and Southern Europe; Vol. VI, Madeira and the Canaries, ancient Asia, Africa, etc.; Vol. VII, England's naval exploits against Spain; Vol. VIII-X, Asia; Vol. XI, Africa; Vol. XII-XV, America, West Indies and Voyages of Circumnavigation; Vol. XVI, Voyages of Circumnavigation.

Hannay, D., A Short History of the British Navy, Methuem, 1898, London, pp. 463.

The first volume gives naval history to the year 1688 in popular style. It is well written and trustworthy.

Harrison, B.B., An Elizabethan Journal, Years 1591-1594, Cosmopolitan Book Co., 1929, New York, pp. 452.

The collection of gossip mirrors the times and is a rich source for contemporary thought and expression. It proves the manysidedness of Elizabethan interests.

Harrison, G.B., England in Shakespeare's Day, Harcourt, 1928, New York, pp. 239.

Is a presentation of English literature to 1700. One may receive vivid impressions of the social life and customs of Shakespeare's contemporary England from this work.

Harrison, G.B., Second Elizabethan Journal, being a Record of those Things most talked about during the years 1595-98, R.R. Smith, Inc., 1931, New York, pp. 412.

The author successfully presents the Elizabethan richness of personality and incident. Here is a vivid chronicle, authoritative, and filled with curious details.

Hill, D.J., A History of European Diplomacy, Volume II, The Establishment of Territorial Sovereignty, Longmans, Green & Co., 1906, New York, pp. 637.

Presented from an international point of view with emphasis on diplomatic rather than military operations, Mr. Hill offers the general reader an account of the political development of Europe from Feudal times to 1648. Divisions of the work include: The Formation of the Modern States, Diplomacy of French Expansion, Struggle for Supremacy in Italy, Ascendency of the House of Hapsburg, The International Influence of the Reformation, and The Development of a Sovereign State System.

Hume, Martin, Two English Queens and Philip, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908, New York, pp. 487.

The chapters list chronological events from 1552 until 1588. The work is included in the romance-historical series edited by Mr. Hume, told in thrilling manner, illustrated with portraits of the characters concerned, and is carefully indexed.

Innes, A.D., England and the British Empire, Macmillan, 1913, New York, 4 volumes, Vol. II, pp. 507.

Gives detailed attention to economic affairs, to Scotch, Irish and colonial history. It is scholarly yet readable.

Innes, A.D., England Under the Tudors, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, New York, pp. 427.

Mr. Innes has carefully interpreted each Tudor reign with consistency and unity which will make his book especially valuable to young and general readers to whom it is more particularly intended to appeal.

Jameson, J.F. & Burrage, H.S., eds. Original Narratives of Early American History, Scribner, 1906-17, New York, 19 volumes, Vol. III, pp. 342.

"Early English and French Voyages" is the title of Volume III edited by H.S. Burrage. The material consists of contemporary accounts of voyages of the Cabots, Drake, and others.

Kendall, E.K., Source-book of English History, Macmillan, 1900, New York, pp. 482.

This collection is for use in schools and is brief in treatment of the numerous topics with which it deals. Parts relating to the Tudors are pp. 129-206, Chapters VIII, IX, and X dealing with the Reformation, struggle with foreign foes, and a collection of writings on sixteenth century life.

Klarwill, Victor von, ed., Queen Elizabeth and some Foreigners, Brentano's, 1928, New York, pp. 439.

Translated by T.H. Nash, the work consists of letters from the archives of the Hapsburg family. Correspondence relating to the courtship of Elizabeth for the Archduke Charles of Austria gives pictures of the times. Court intrigues hinge on theological doctrines and the match-making schemes of the sovereigns. The letters afford knowledge of minor episodes in diplomatic history.

Lumsden, C.B., The Dawn of Modern England, Longmans, 1910, London, pp. 303.

Is a history of the Reformation in England, 1509-1525. The author goes back before anyone talked of breaking with Rome in an effort to prove his own theory that the highly organized life of the Middle Ages was already giving way to individualism and love of money before the Reformation came. He finds a stream of tendency in social and industrial matters coming down even from the fifteenth century to the modern struggle between capital and labor. An admirable account is given of the first sixteen years of Henry VIII's reign.

Moberly, C.E., Early Tudors, Henry VII:Henry VIII, Scribner, 1887, New York, pp. 246.

Deals with the development of national unity through the period of the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII. There is chronological treatment of events with summary of social, literary, scientific, and economic conditions in England up to the time of Elizabeth.

Mowat, R.B., History of European Diplomacy, 1451-1789, Longmans, 1928, New York, pp. 300.

This work goes back to the rise of the diplomatic profession in the middle of the fifteenth century, and closes with the end of the ancient regime in 1789. It is comprehensive, compact, brief, and readable. The continual change and development in the aims and methods of diplomacy are stressed. The period of the Reformation struggle was most useful in this thesis.

Muller, K.A., Stephen Gardner and the Tudor Reaction, Macmillan, 1926, New York, pp. 429.

Professor Muller has produced a biography of Gardner by studying the works of the man himself, public and private papers of the day, and by quoting at length. The English Reformation movement is reflected in its relation to Gardner through the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary.

Mumby, F.A., Elizabeth and Mary Stuart, Constable & Co., 1914, London, pp. 390.

Traces the feud between these two women by presenting letters taken from calendars of State Papers and other sources. It shows the diplomatic intrigues of the early years of Elizabeth's reign and the disputed course of events which led to the death of Mary Stuart. It is illustrated with portraits of personages mentioned in the story.

Oppenheim, M., A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of the Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy, John Lane Ltd., 1896, London, Vol. I, pp. 391.

First appearing in manuscript to be argued over as to data, it was later considered authority on exact numbers, dimensions, equipment, and other details of the Elizabethan navy. The ships built during the reigns of the Tudors are given and compared with the Spanish galleons. Much research went into the work.

Pollard, A.F., England Under the Protector Somerset, K. Paul Trench, Truber & Co., 1900, London, pp. 362.

The work is considered an authority on the reign of Edward VI, being based on documentary

sources and secondary works. There is vigor, clarity, and positiveness of expression in depicting Somerset as a defender of popular liberties.

Pollard, A.F., Factors in Modern History, A. Constable & Co., 1907, London, pp. 287.

Deals with the development of nationality, the advent of the middle class, the new monarchy under Henry VIII, the English Reformation, Parliament, social revolution, political ideas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Church and State, and colonial expansion.

Pollard, A.F., Henry the VIII, Longmans, 1905, London, pp. 470.

The book is the result of great research and industry compiled with abundant footnotes and references. The author is favorable to Henry and does not show that Henry's selfishness combined with power and a wonderful deal of diplomatic cunning worked out the career. A large part of the book is given to divorce of Catharine of Aragon and the break with the Church.

Pollard, A.F., The History of England, Williams & Norgate, 1912, London, pp. 247.

Professor Pollard herewith presents a study in political evolution. Chapter IV on the progress of nationalism from 1485 to 1603 is one of most use to this thesis.

Pollard, A.F., ed., Political History of England, 12 volumes, author of Vol. VI, History of England from the Accession of Edward VI to the Death of Elizabeth, Longmans, 1910, London, pp. 524.

The second half of the Tudor period is herewith treated as impartially as possible for the author cites authorities without trying to conceal or prove a case. Chapter XV gives acute analysis of the parties and policies which were struggling for mastery in Elizabeth's council. Theological interest is dominant. There is a valuable twenty-three page appendix of sources.

Pollard, A.F., The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources, Longmans, 1914, London, 3 volumes, Vol. I, pp. 332; Vol. II, pp. 348; Vol. III, pp. 322.

The first volume offers narrative extracts; the second volume presents constitutional documents relating to social and economic history; and the third discusses ecclesiastical affairs and Ireland.

Pollard, A.F., ed. Tudor Tracts 1532-1588, Archibald Constable & Co., 1903, London, pp. 502.

Is the second printing of an English Garner with an introduction by Professor Pollard. Beginning with Henry VIII's visit to Francis I at Calais in 1532, the contents covers important events concluding with three ballads on the Armada fight. The material is classified, spelling modernized, and the texts of the rare originals echo the actual characters' voices to impart life to the Tudor Times.

Rayner, R.M., England in Tudor and Stuart Times, Longmans, Green & Co., 1930, London, pp. 375.

Designed for a text book, this work gives a chronological account of the Tudor century in the first two "books" or parts -- "The National Monarchy" and "The Age of Elizabeth".

Rhys, E. ed., Growth of Political Liberty: Source Book of English History, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1921, London, pp. 331.

Readable articles on various subjects from the time of Alfred to about 1914 were collected for this work. The compiler selects from first-hand sources, chronicles, memoirs, etc., in an effort to show growth in the "common rights of Englishmen". Use was made of material on suppression of monasteries, decay of tillage, Shakespeare's London, and other topics for this thesis.

Salzmann, L.F., England in Tudor Times, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1926, New York, pp. 143.

The author reviews contemporary sources giving a cross section of life during the sixteenth century in England. Chapters deal with life in town and country, the Church, and adventures on land and sea. The work stresses the less known aspects at the expense of those familiar to all likely readers.

Seebohm, F., Oxford Reformers, Longmans, 1887, London, pp. 510.

The work concerns Colet, Erasmus, and More as three students at Oxford and covers the period from 1496 to 1520 in the lives of these thinkers. Their writings and discussions of religious questions of the day are here offered as translated source materials.

Strachey, G.L., Elizabeth and Essex, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928, New York, pp. 296.

This novel weaves romance about Elizabeth at fifty-three admitting to intimacy the handsome Essex, then a youth of twenty. The author treats this tragic history admirably.

Thane, Elswyth, The Tudor Wench, Brewer, Warren & Putnam, 1932, New York, pp. 390.

Is a life of Elizabeth to her coronation, covering the first twenty-five years of her life, tracing the difficulties which she met and conquered while she was immature. It is a scholarly presentation, carefully documentated, and has a most useful bibliography.

Trevelyan, G.M., History of England, Longmans, Green & Co., 1926, New York, pp. 723.

In this one volume is an excellent summary combining modern historical research with fluent lucid style. The author attempts to analyze the social development in England in relation to economic conditions, political institutions, and over sea activities. The narrative form is brief and yet substantial and critical knowledge is given.

Trevelyan, W.C., & C.E. eds., Trevelyan Papers, published for the Camden Society, 1855-72, London, Vol. III, pp. 311.

These publications give source documents dating from 1477 to 1646 and are chiefly records concerning the Trevelyan family; but value lies in the introduction to volume III which pictures the condition of the west counties in Tudor Times.

Waldman, M., King, Queen, Jack, Longmans, 1931, London, pp. 276.

Elizabeth as the young queen of twenty-six uses her native wit against King Philip II of Spain and his ambassador, the "Jack" of the story. The book is largely based on the letters exchanged between the Spanish diplomat resident in London and his king during a four months' period when Elizabeth played off France and Spain against each other.

Waldman, M., Sir Walter Raleigh, Harper & Bros., 1928, New York, pp. 255.

The author accurately and vividly portrays this versatile and gifted gentleman, Raleigh.

Wheeler, H.F.B., The Story of the British Navy, McBride, 1922, New York, pp. 383.

Is an account of the exploits of the British navy during its one thousand years of history from the time of King Alfred through the World War. The book is entertainingly written, full of heroic tales, and minute strategical details.

Williams, C.H., England under the Early Tudors, Longmans, 1925, London, pp. 267.

Presents contemporary sources for the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII from 1485 to 1529. The book is divided into political, constitutional, ecclesiastical, social and economic groupings of exerpts from original documents such as Parliamentary decrees, Court records, State Papers, Chronicles of various cities, and letters. Book IV has divisions dealing with social life, education, internal trade and industry, agriculture, foreign trade, commercial treaties, and colonization.

Wood, W., Elizabethan Sea Dogs, a Chronicle of Drake and his Companions, Yale University Press, 1918, New Haven, Vol. III of Chronicles of America Series, pp. 252.

Beginning with the Cabots and ending with Raleigh, this work treats of those English seamen that were feared by Spaniards upon the high seas. Giving a real picture of the times, the chapter entitled "Life Afloat in Tudor Times" contains seamen's songs, nautical terms, and quaint excerpts from Hakluyt.