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Introduction

When Henry VIII broke with Rome in 1534, the Act of Supremacy established him as Supreme Head of the Church of England. Though his religious convictions and policies were theologically inconsistent, his policy to ensure the supremacy of the prince in both religious and political matters was steadfast. His son, Edward VI, brought greater religious conviction and consistency to the Church of England and made it a truly Protestant church. But Edward's reign was a short six years (1547-1553); he was succeeded by his Catholic sister Mary Tudor. Mary's reign ushered in a re-Catholicization that sought to reestablish the pope as the head of the Church in England. But her reign was also short (1553-1558), and she died without an heir; thus the crown of England returned to a Protestant monarch, Queen Elizabeth. Under Elizabeth the Church both returned to a Protestant theology and to the jurisdiction of the prince through the Second Act of Supremacy, the Act of Uniformity, and the 39 Articles. Religion and politics were woven together under one supreme head.

However, this unification of religious and political policies that had begun under Henry VIII and had become effective in Elizabeth's reign did not happen immediately. The Religious Settlement of 1559 (Elizabeth's first year) still showed some sympathy toward Catholics, and its liturgical ambiguity favored them as well. Catholics had not yet become the greatest enemy to the Crown. But by 1571, parliament passed treason acts against Catholics that clearly established Catholics not only as heretics but more importantly as traitors. The two had become synonymous with one another. A Catholic could not be loyal to his country because he held allegiance to a foreign power--the pope. The 1559 England and the 1571 England were radically different in the intensity and power of anti-Catholic sentiment that found expression in law and policy.

Why? What had happened in those twelve years to bring religious and political policies into one policy? The presence of Mary Queen of Scots, a Catholic queen who was heir to the English throne should Elizabeth die without heirs and thus a legitimate Catholic alternative to Protestant Elizabeth, the Northern Rebellion of 1569, the papal bulls excommunicating Elizabeth from the Catholic Church and calling all English Catholics to rebellion--all culminated in the 1571 Parliament where anti-Catholic treason acts and fiscal legislation were debated and passed according to a religious-political policy that sought to protect both the Church of England and the Crown. To be Catholic meant to be a traitor to Queen Elizabeth and all of England.

However, the treason acts of 1571 and other acts that created an anti-Catholic policy were not necessarily indicative of further Protestant reform. Elizabeth did not support the reforms that the more radical Protestants in the House of Commons proposed in 1571. Rather, her religious-political policy was limited to the protection of the crown. Her policy was an essentially conservative policy interested in maintaining the status quo, and religious policy was both a tool and expression of the maintenance of Elizabeth's power base in England. Religious goals and political goals were intertwined with one another in 1571 but were not yet totally identical with one another. Protestant reformers in parliament hoped to use the politically charged situation of 1571 to further reform within the church, while Elizabeth and the more conservative House of Lords sought to use religious policy as a means to further secure the crown and maintain Elizabeth's supremacy. But both were pursued through one policy. The anti-Catholic policy of 1571 was an expression of radical Protestants' attempt to further reform the Church by excluding Catholic influence. It was also an expression of the crown's attempt to maintain Elizabeth's authority by denying the foreign authority of the pope.

Background

The English Reformation officially began in 1533 with the passing of the Act in Restraints of Appeals by which all appeals from ecclesiastical courts would stop in England and not go on to Rome. This act entitled Henry VIII to end his marriage to Katherine of Aragon and marry his pregnant mistress Anne Boleyn. Thus, Henry VIII and parliament broke with Rome and set the English Reformation into motion. Through the Act of Supremacy, Henry asserted himself as the head of the Church of England and made the break with Rome official.

The "Henrician Revolution," though less clear as to what religious doctrine it set forth, did posit a fairly clear, though new, relationship between the church and the crown. Between 1533 and Henry's death in 1547, the English Reformation oscillated between an essentially Catholic doctrine and more Protestant positions. The more Protestant form of worship advocated by Archbishop Cranmer had some measure of success through the Ten Articles (1536) and the King's endorsement of a vernacular Bible. The Ten Articles recognized only three sacraments--mass, baptism, and penance--and denied the doctrine of purgatory. These articles did away with four sacraments held by the Catholic church--marriage, extreme unction, ordination, and confirmation. But most importantly, the articles denied the doctrine of purgatory, thereby reducing the role of the priests and the church in securing salvation for the faithful. This denial of purgatory was a step toward Luther's doctrine Sola Fide--by faith alone was one saved, meaning good works and the church's indulgences¹ could not affect the condition of one's soul in the afterlife. Though the Ten Articles moved the Church of England in the direction of Protestantism, because

¹Indulgences were made famous by Luther. Indulgences are given to someone to lessen the amount of time one has to spend in purgatory for their sins. Initially these were given for a person's prayers to God. But in the sixteenth century the indulgences were sold for money thus the famous abuse: the selling of indulgences.

the Articles were not officially passed by the parliament or king, their lasting effect was negligible.

The Church of England moved back toward a Catholic form of worship under the leadership of Bishop Stephan Gardiner. Gardner helped promote the Act of Six Articles which upheld transubstantiation in communion,² communion in one kind for the laity,³ and denied priests the right to marry.⁴ Unlike the Ten Articles, the Act of the Six Articles was an Act by parliament and thus had the force of law behind it.

Although Henry's religious doctrines was somewhat inconsistent, his political policy toward the church was clear and consistent: the sovereign was the supreme head of the church and all of England must conform to his religion, whatever form that religion might take. Thus, the Henrician Revolution was a revolution not so much in the sense of religious doctrine, but rather in the relationship between the church and the sovereign. On the title page of the "Great Bible" (the first legal English translation of the Bible), Henry was shown at the top of the page passing down the Bible to the people, all shouting "vivat Rex;" the message was clear: the sovereign was the supreme head of the church and support of the sovereign meant support for the Church while dissent from the Church meant dissent from the King. This theme recurs in Edward's, Mary's, and especially in Elizabeth's reign.

When Henry died in 1547, he left his nine year old son Edward VI as the new King of England and Supreme Head of the Church of England. During his short six year reign, Edward was guided first by the Duke of Somerset and then the Duke of Northumberland. During Edward's reign the English Reformation took a decidedly

²Transubstantiation is the doctrine of the Eucharist that claims that the bread and wine actually become the body and blood of christ. This doctrine was denied by most protestant sects. Transubstantiation would become the focus of disagreement between the protestants and catholics.

³Catholic doctrine held that the laity only needed to receive communion in the form of the bread and not in both the bread and wine. Protestants objected to this practice on the grounds that all of the faithful had the right to communion in both kinds and that it should not be something reserved for the priests.

⁴Most protestants held that a priest had the right to marry as he was not a special class among men, in contrast to Catholicism which demanded chastity for life from their priests.

Protestant form. The first Book of Common Prayer (1549) was issued and the Act of Uniformity was passed by parliament. The Book of Common Prayer set up a Protestant liturgy in the vernacular that reinstated communion in both kinds, disallowed the elevation of the Host,⁵ and attempted to turn the sacrament of the Eucharist into a commemoration of the Lord's Supper. While the Book of Common Prayer attempted to establish a Protestant form of worship, the Act of Uniformity attempted to enforce that form of worship in all of England.

Although the Book of Common Prayer (1549) and the Act of Uniformity sought to impose a Protestant form of worship, because of some of the ambiguities of wordings in the Book of Common Prayer, many parishes continued an essentially Catholic liturgy. In particular, the wording of the liturgy regarding the sacrament of the Eucharist was so ambiguous that it could be taken to mean either transubstantiation or not: "The order for the administration of the Lord's Supper, or holy communion."⁶ This ambiguity combined with the gradualist approach to protestantizing the country taken by Somerset allowed many parishes to hold onto a more Catholic liturgy.

Despite the gradualist approach of Somerset and the ambiguities contained in the 1549 Prayer Book, there was a Prayer Book Rebellion in 1549. This rebellion, also known as the Western Rising because it occurred in Devon and Cornwall, demanded the restoration of the more conservative Six Articles and the mass in Latin. This rebellion represented some of the opposition to the Protestant form of worship.

Because of this type of opposition and for other economic reasons,⁷ the government, under the guidance of the second protector, Northumberland, changed from

⁵The elevation of the Host was performed in Catholic liturgies after transubstantiation is supposed to have occurred. By forbidding the elevation of the Host, the the Book of Common Prayer implicitly denies transubstantiation.

⁶The Book of Common Prayer (1549) quoted from *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Source Book*. ed. David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell. (London: Routledge, 1996).

⁷Many members of the "reformed-religion" were using the government's religious policies to plunder monasteries, chantries, and other church lands. In effect, this left the Church of England very poor by the end of the century.

the gradualist approach to a rapid protestantizing of the Church. Thus, the second Book of Common Prayer came into existence. This Book of Common Prayer (1552) spelled out very clearly that the sacrament of the Eucharist was indeed a commemoration, "Take and eat this in *remembrance* that Christ died for thee, feed on they heart by *faith*." Clearly, the liturgy was being used to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation and to emphasize the role of faith in salvation. Thus, the Church was becoming more Protestant as the liturgy dictated by the Book of Common Prayer became a physical expression of Protestant doctrine. The second Book of Common Prayer taken with the Forty-Two Articles⁸ established a thoroughly Protestant religion in the Church of England.

But just as the Protestant religion was being established, Edward died in 1553 and his Catholic sister Mary succeeded him. Mary instigated a re-Catholicising program that would bring England back to Rome and in alliance (through marriage with Philip II) with Spain. Through the First and Second Acts of Repeal, Mary sought to reassert the supremacy of the pope and the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The First Act of Repeal erased the Edwardian Reformation from the statutes but did not undo the Henrician Reformation where the sovereign was asserted as head of the church and monastic lands were confiscated. In the Second Act of Repeals, Mary attempted to return the Anglican Church to its state prior to the Henrician Reformation. Thus, papal authority was restored but the lands that had been the church's would remain with their new owners, and all official documents, marriages, divorces, etc. would remain valid. Mary was bringing the church back to Rome through the parliament, through the law. Many who wished to hold onto their Protestant faith and not conform to Catholicism, went into exile

⁸The Forty-Two Articles (1552) was a summation of the doctrine of faith according to the Anglican Church in 1552. Thus, the articles profess a protestant understanding of salvation: "we are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification" (Cressy, 62).

on the continent where they encountered a much more virulent Protestantism, of the likes of Calvin and Zwingli.⁹

Mary's marriage to Philip II proved to be fruitless both physically and politically. The Wyatt Rebellion of 1554 represented upper-class opposition to the marriage (and possible Spanish domination), though it failed to prevent the marriage. Mary's marriage to Philip brought England back into war with France and resulted in the English loss of Calais, the last English hold on the continent. For the first time since 1066, England did not have any holdings on the continent. This, combined with Protestant persecutions that gave her the epitaph "Bloody Mary," sealed her fate. Between February 1555 and Mary's death in 1558, over three hundred Protestants were martyred; the most remarkable of which was the martyrdom of Archbishop Cranmer¹⁰. When Mary died in 1558 very few mourned her death, while many celebrated Elizabeth's ascent to the English throne.

Elizabeth came to the throne in 1559 as a welcomed monarch, though most did not know what was to become of religion in England. The first parliament of Elizabeth's reign attempted to work out a Protestant religious settlement that would not alienate Catholics (at home or abroad) and relieve the kingdom from its past strife. It is at this point, that our story begins: the succession of the virgin queen to a throne that had seen two religions and two monarchs in just twelve years.

The "traditional" view held that Elizabeth came to the throne with the intent to regain royal supremacy over the church and unite the nation under a uniform order of worship based on the prayer book of 1552. To achieve this goal, Elizabeth was aided by a loyal Protestant House of Commons in the Parliament of 1559 while the Marian bishops and

⁹The Marian exiles' experiences with this more radical protestantism would become extremely important when Elizabeth came to the throne in 1559 and called her first Elizabethan parliament.

¹⁰Having at first signed a confession recanting his protestant faith, Cranmer then recanted his recantation and was sentenced to die as a heretic--burning at the stake. He supposedly held out his right hand in the fire to have it burn first because it was the hand that had signed the recantation of his protestant faith. His martyrdom would later serve as a rallying point for protestants.

**1559:
Elizabeth and the Restoration
of the
Protestant Religion**

When Elizabeth came to power in 1559, all of England held its breath, wondering what would become of religion in England. Would the nation remain Roman Catholic as Mary I had left it, would the nation return to the strong reforming policies of Edward VI, or would Henrician Erastianism mixed with reforms and a more Catholic liturgy return to England? Elizabeth chose none of these options, although she often claimed to have restored religion to its state under Henry VIII. The religious settlement of 1559 restored most of the 1552 prayer book, which had been established under Edward VI, passed the Elizabeth's Supremacy and Uniformity.

Historians have debated the extent to which the Marian exiles (Protestants who went into exile during Mary I's reign) in the House of Commons and the Catholic sympathizers of the House of Lords had influence over the Elizabethan Religious Settlement of 1559. While some historians claim that the upper house represented the most resistance to Elizabeth's policies, others have placed that resistance in the lower house. Neale forcefully challenged the "traditional view" in his essay "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity" by assigning a strong role to the House of Commons and by emphasizing the presence of a radical Protestant faction within the Commons. The "traditional" view held that Elizabeth came to the throne with the intent to regain royal supremacy over the church and unite the nation under a uniform order of worship based on the prayer book of 1552; to achieve this goal, Elizabeth was aided by a loyal, Protestant House of Commons in the Parliament of 1559 while the Marian bishops and

their allies fought against Elizabeth's and the Commons' unified attempt to establish the Protestant religion in England.¹¹

This view was challenged by Neale who placed the opposition to the crown over the settlement not in the House of Lords because of Catholics, but instead in the House of Commons because of the "puritan faction." In "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity," J.E. Neale claimed that the Religious Settlement of 1559 was largely influenced by the "puritanical" Marian exiles in the House of Commons while the more Catholic House of Lords had little to no effect on the settlement. According to Neale the queen believed she had control over the Lords, and this fact was even observed by Count de Feria, the Spanish ambassador: "the queen has entire disposal of the upper chamber [house of lords] in a way never seen before in previous parliaments."¹² Thus, while the House of Lords was relatively under Elizabeth's control, the House of Commons "could not be so easily kept to heel."¹³

The Commons' strength and opposition to Elizabeth, according to Neale, is demonstrated by their efforts to include communion service instructions into the Supremacy bill. This "vital clue" revived the Edwardian statute, "an act against such persons as shall unreverently speak against the sacrament . . . and for the receiving thereof under [in] both kinds."¹⁴ By inserting this section into the Supremacy Bill, by which all clergy would have to swear, the "puritan" Commons attempted to phase out the Marian bishops and thus pave the way for a very Protestant settlement.¹⁵ Though the Commons tried to put in tougher penalties for defiance of the Supremacy (and by

¹¹Jones, Norman. Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion 1559. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1982), p. 1. Jones offers a description of the major historical debates over the Settlement of Religion 1559.

¹²Neale, J.E. "The Elizabethan Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity." Historical Studies of the English Parliament. Vol. 2 ed. E.B. Fryde and Edward Miller. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 220. Modern historians often question the validity of this statement on the part of the Spanish ambassador because the ambassador was working to promote a marriage between Elizabeth and Philip II; he had a vested interest in portraying Elizabeth in a powerful light.

¹³Neale, p. 220.

¹⁴Neale, p. 222.

¹⁵Neale, p. 223.

extension defiance of the Protestant religion) within the bill itself, the "conservative House of Lords deleted the amendment, restoring the bill to its original form" and in "doing this, the Lords were simply preventing the Commons from materially altering a government measure."¹⁶

Neale presented the Commons as being led by a strong puritan faction that was attempting to repeal Mary's First Act of Repeal (1553) and reestablish an Edwardian Protestantism while the more conservative queen only wanted to repeal the Second Act of Repeal (1555) that had undone the royal supremacy and the Henrician Reformation. According to Neale, the real dynamics of the 1559 settlement revolved around Elizabeth's conservatism in conflict with the more radically Protestant Commons. Thus, the House of Lords had a minimal role, doing little more than providing parliamentary support for the government. In response to the conservatism of the court and the House of Lords, the Commons passed a bill that "no person shall be punished for using the religion used in King Edward's last reign" or in other words "if uniformity on the basis of Edward VI's second prayer book would not be permitted, then a qualified non-conformity should be tolerated."¹⁷ Though this proposal was quickly shot down by the Lords, it represented the "off-stage battle going on at court for the soul, or rather the political mind, of their queen; it was a propaganda demonstration."¹⁸

For Neale, the turning point in the Religious Settlement of 1559 came at Easter, when Elizabeth decided to adjourn rather than dissolve parliament once she knew the Peace of Cateau Cambresis had been signed. Elizabeth could now "feel secure enough on the throne to take the second step in her Religious Settlement," but Neale questions whether that step would "have been taken so soon if the House of Commons had not

¹⁶Neale, p. 228. Neale suggested that the House of Lords was acting in accordance with court government and thus Elizabeth while the House of Commons was acting in defiance of the Court. This furthers Neale's argument that the Commons was "bullying" Elizabeth into a more heavily Protestant settlement.

¹⁷Neale, p. 235

¹⁸Neale, p. 235. According to Jones, Neale was using a cold war understanding of the communist party to relate the power and defiance of the Commons in 1559 (Jones, 4)

fought so remarkable a battle?"¹⁹ Here is the core of Neale's thesis: the House of Commons at the most created the Protestant nature of the religious settlement of 1559 and at the least sped up this "second step." Neale radically departed from the "traditional" view that saw the House of Lords as the source of opposition to the queen and her privy council, and established a new understanding of the Parliament of 1559 where the Commons was made up of powerful puritan leaders who stood in opposition to the more cautious and conservative Elizabeth.

In contrast to Neale, G.R. Elton argued that parliament had little effect on religious policy and rather represented the "public battleground" where different views of the Court were publicly presented. Elton gave a brief history of the religious settlement of 1559 that presented a diminished parliamentary role in the establishment of the settlement. Elton forcefully rejected Neale's position that the House of Commons represented a "party-faction" in opposition to Elizabeth's policies. Although Elton admitted that parliament was a place where Protestant complaints could be made, he maintained that "Convocation (as intermittent), the printing press, and the parish pulpit (always open) mattered more."²⁰ Furthermore, Elton argued that many of the initiatives the Queen disliked came not from the "puritans" but rather from the bishops and councilors²¹. Thus, the House of Commons was not the stage for a strong puritan faction to force Elizabeth to favor a more "reformed church."

The 1559 Settlement made by the passing of the Second Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity met opposition not in the lower house but in the upper house. The making of the settlement--1559 Book of Common Prayer and Thirty-Nine Articles of faith (accepted by convocation in 1563)--met opposition mainly from the Marian bishops and Catholic peers in the Upper House while the maintenance of the religious settlement came to be threatened both by irreconcilable Catholics and later by Protestants who

¹⁹Neale, 237.

²⁰Elton, p. 199.

²¹Elton, p. 199.

sought further reform.²² These "more radical or zealous Protestants" came to make up Neale's "puritan movement," but in actuality this Protestant zeal was present throughout the church and thus it was not surprising that some of this "zeal" came into parliament.²³ Despite some opposition on both ends of the spectrum, the queen had support from both the Catholics and the zealous Protestants because Catholics hoped that the Protestant settlement might be revoked later while most Protestants felt sure that the settlement paved the way for further reform.²⁴ Although Elizabeth had the power to appoint bishops through the Supremacy Act, a bill was passed in the Commons for "the admitting and consecrating of archbishops and bishops;" this bill, however, was rejected in the House of Lords.²⁵ What is significant here is the Lords' opposition to Elizabeth. Quite contrary to Neale's notion that Elizabeth had the Lords firmly under her thumb, the House of Lords was shown here to be resisting royal authority and supremacy. Although the rejection of the bill made no difference because the right to appoint bishops was already secured by the Supremacy Act, the rejection of this bill indicated the presence of opposition to Elizabeth in the upper house.

Elton forcefully criticized Neale's thesis for two main reasons: First, there wasn't a "puritan movement" in the House of Commons; and second, parliament was not a powerful force in government in the making of policy anyway. According to Elton, Neale relied too heavily on an identification of a radical group of Protestants in the House of Commons in 1559 that forced a more Protestant settlement on Elizabeth, but that group and its "victory" were really "figments of the imagination."²⁶ Elton supports his claim by examining the forty-three men who supposedly made up this puritan faction. Of

²²Elton, p. 199.

²³Elton, p. 199-200. Elton set up an argument by which one can understand the House of Commons few reformed Protestants as representative of a part of the church without necessarily being a controlling, unified powerful "faction" that could force Elizabeth's policy making hand.

²⁴Elton, p. 200. Elton admits to differences but plays them down by asserting that all factions (or almost all) supported Elizabeth.

²⁵Elton, p. 200.

²⁶Elton, p. 350.

the forty-three, only twenty two could safely be classified as firm Protestants, and only two or three could "merit the puritan accolade"; furthermore, at least five still had strong ties to Catholicism and eleven held government offices or were clients of the privy council.²⁷ Thus, Elton had effectively destroyed Neale's "choir" and shown that "there is no visible coherence, no clear-cut identity or common purpose, about this collection of individuals"; and even though the "larger part of them supported the reformed Church," they did not constitute a faction in parliament because "few enemies to the established Church either sought or were likely to gain election to Parliament."²⁸ Thus, the Nealian thesis is dismantled as his "choir" is found missing.

Elton completed his criticism of Neale by broadening it to include any and all historians who look for "democratic" tendencies in the 1559 Parliament by looking for a strong House of Commons. Elton contended that Elizabeth often ignored both houses because she was "anxious to avoid provocative measures that might disturb the peace" and she herself was "unimpressed" by many of the principles behind the measures.²⁹ According to Elton, Parliament was "only a secondary instrument to be used or ignored by agencies whose real power base and arena of activity lay elsewhere--at Court or in Council."³⁰ Thus, Parliament was there as a tool, and as a tool could be either ignored or used; Elizabeth ignored this tool when it became too cumbersome in the interest of peace in her realm.

Elton firmly believed that Parliament was nothing more than a tool and a tool for men at court or the monarch. By assigning this supportive role to parliament, Elton effectively reduced the impact of any real or imagined faction in parliament. Both the "crown and nobility at times found it useful to gain voice and noise from the Lower

²⁷Elton, p. 352. one of the five who still had links with the "old church" was Henry Goodere who later "became notorious as a devoted admirer of the Queen of Scots."

²⁸Elton, p. 352. Elton further makes the point that a dislike for Rome and a "passion for Protestantism" did "not make a man a puritan or even eager for further reformation, unless the bishops gave a lead."

²⁹Elton, p. 354.

³⁰Elton, p. 378.

House where policy could become public and likely reaction could be sounded out" because parliament could make "the government of the realm more smoothly effective" (in the interest of the monarch) or it could enable "an exasperated governing order to turn the king's instrument against him" (in the interest of the nobility).³¹ Either way, Parliament was a stage, or a tool at best, where opposing factions at Court and among the nobility could sound out their agendas in a public forum. While under Henry VIII, parliament achieved its aim "because the monarch, proprietor of Parliaments, took the lead"; during Elizabeth's reign "political debates in Parliament and especially in the Commons never achieved anything because the monarch was entirely free to ignore them and usually did."³² Thus, Elton had put an end to "the old established search, beloved by historians, for some growth or development in the political power and authority of parliament and especially of the Commons."³³

While Elton flatly denied any strong role of the House of Commons in establishing the 1559 Settlement and sees Parliament as a "convenient battlefield" for the Court and Councilors, Jones, in Faith by Statute (1982), challenges both the traditional and the Nealian understanding of the role of the parliament in the religious settlement of 1559: both oversimplify the members of parliament into two categories (Protestant vs. Catholic) and rely too heavily on theological beliefs.³⁴ Jones points out that Neale's discussion of the puritans in the Commons relies on an assumption that puritans were active in the sessions of 1559 and 1563 but "there is no concrete proof that they were organized and politically conscious in the early stages of the reign."³⁵ In contrast to Neale's and the traditional argument, Jones argues that because Elizabeth was technically

³¹Elton, p. 378.

³²Elton, p. 378.

³³Elton, p. 378.

³⁴Jones, p. 4. "The old and new interpretations are not mutually exclusive, but no one has attempted to juxtapose them with the documents on which they lean.... By a detailed reassessment of the origins of the Settlement, it will show that, while the traditional story is more plausible than Neale's, both interpretations are too simplistic ... the re-establishment of Protestantism in England was influenced by things which reached far beyond theological beliefs."

³⁵Jones, p. 4.

a bastard according to the Pope she depended upon the "genuine Protestants" (those who had been out of favor during Mary's Catholic reign) to be her loyal supporters, and she had to repay their loyalty. But Elizabeth also had to win over the Marian bishops who controlled much of the House of Lords; thus, Elizabeth was carefully creating a compromise that would repay old debts and pay off new expenses.³⁶ Elizabeth's emphasis was more political than religious: her goal was to solidify her power base in this first year of her reign. Because of the political situation that Elizabeth found herself in she was "almost required" to adopt the 1552 prayer book and defend a more strongly Protestant religious settlement.³⁷ Whereas Elton seemed to indicate that Elizabeth could more or less ignore parliament, Jones argued that Elizabeth had to balance her interests with conservatives and with radicals.

In her attempts to satisfy both Catholics and Protestants, Elizabeth ratified a religious settlement which "kept the peace by avoiding precise and divisive definition."³⁸ Thus, Neale's claim that the Marian exiles were bullying Elizabeth misses the point; Elizabeth was indebted to both Protestants and Catholics. Her policy needed to be divinely ambiguous--the only true compromise--where both parties could read into the policy what they wished. Thus, Jones concludes that

religious ideals alone cannot, however, explain the actions of many of the men in parliament. Votes for the Supremacy were recruited from those who might benefit financially and politically from the change.³⁹

Elizabeth's "political sagacity and sheer luck" brought the Protestant religion back to England.⁴⁰ Thus, it was neither simply the religiosity of Elizabeth herself nor the power

³⁶Jones, p. 9.

³⁷Jones, p. 188. According to Jones, theological and sacramental debates had carried too far for Elizabeth to ever return to the Henrician position. Both her political support and the political climate made a Henrician position virtually impossible.

³⁸Jones, p. 188.

³⁹Jones, p. 188.

⁴⁰Jones, p. 189.

of Marian exiles that brought the Protestant faith back to England, but rather a powerful mixture of politics, timing, and cunning. Catholics were radically different

Neale proposed a radically new understanding of the 1559 Settlement that gave new prominence and power to the House of Commons and showed Elizabeth as a more hesitant monarch. The Settlement wasn't inevitable--there was conflict between the prince and the parliament. But Elton reduced the role of parliament by arguing not only that there was not a strong Commons' opposition to Elizabeth but also that parliament was nothing more than a public stage for the court. In contrast to Elton and Neale, Jones claims that Elizabeth played a balancing act between the conservatives and radicals because she owed both of them--the radicals for previous support and the conservatives for current and future support. To denigrate parliament to the position of a stage or to raise it up to the power of a modern legislative body misses the point: Elizabeth had to work *with* parliament, whether this meant in terms of taxes, treason policies, succession, or religion. As much as she might have wanted to be completely independent of parliament, Elizabeth was not. Thus Jones's interpretation of a balancing act seems to be the best explanation of what happened in the religious settlement in 1559 and indicative of Elizabeth's approach to parliament and religion in 1571.

Jones's explanation furthers the point that there was room for Catholics if not Catholicism in the 1559 parliament. Elizabeth's ambiguous settlement allowed for the possibility of loyal Catholic English subjects that became impossible by 1571. The religious settlement of 1559 re-established the reformed religion and established the power base of the new queen. In 1559, Elizabeth could not afford to alienate the Catholic sympathizers or the more strongly Protestant members of parliament. Thus her religious policy attempted to satisfy both Protestants and Catholic sympathizers and thus meet her political needs. The situation in 1571 was radically different. Elizabeth could not afford to *not* alienate Catholics and Catholic sympathizers if she wanted to retain her power and

Mary Queen of Scots

Mary Stuart, Mary Queen of Scots, Mary Queen of France, Mary heir to English throne--Mary Stuart held all these titles, but the one title she coveted most and that determined so much of her life, was the one she never did hold: Mary Queen of England. She wanted to be Queen Mary II, revitalizer of the Catholic religion in England and Scotland, a powerful woman to be feared, courted, and loved. But Mary Stuart remained Mary Queen of Scots and even that title eventually lost any meaning as she spent the last nineteen years of her life as a pampered prisoner "guest" of Queen Elizabeth. But Mary was not idle. She spent her days in England plotting to overthrow Queen Elizabeth and make herself Queen of England. Mary's presence in England was unsettling at best and a seed for rebellion at worst. Her presence helped bring the terms Catholic and traitor together in the minds of English subjects. Though Mary was completely ineffectual in gaining the title of Queen of England for herself, she was (inadvertantly) instrumental in the unification of religious and political policies that would mark the 1571 Parliament. Her upbringing emphasized her foreignness, her life goal made her dangerous, and her lineage and explosive nature made her one of the most visible and dangerous threats to the English Church and Crown.

Mary was born in Scotland in December 1542 to James V of Scotland and Mary of Guise. Though she was named queen within one week of her birth, she did not assume the role until August 1561. Mary was promised to the Dauphin of France as a child, and she spent her formative years not in Scotland learning how to be a Scottish queen, but in France learning to be a French Queen. Before her marriage to the Dauphin of France (later Francis II) in 1558, Mary Queen of Scots signed away her Scottish kingdom to France in three secret agreements.⁴¹ In the first agreement she "gave" Scotland and her

⁴¹Wormald, Jenny, Mary Queen of Scots: A Study in Failure, (London: George Philip, 1988). p.21

claim to England to the French King if she died without an heir. The second and third agreement made Scotland a "pawn" to France; Scottish interests would always be subjugated to French interests. Mary's priority was France, and thus she gave her native country over to the French.

Mary was crowned Queen of France in July 1559 when her teenage husband Francis II succeeded his father Henri II. These two teenagers enjoyed a short reign because Francis II died in December 1560. Mary was no longer Queen of France, and as a foreign widow of the deceased King, she had no place in France. Thus she returned to Scotland in August 1561. There, Mary was a dismal failure. In pursuit of the English crown, Mary sought to strengthen her claim by marrying Lord Darnley who was next in line for the English crown after Mary herself. Both descended from the same grandmother, Margaret Tudor, the elder sister of Henry VIII, but different grandfathers. Lord Darnley was a brutal and ambitious man who threatened the life of Mary in an attempt to secure the Scottish and eventually the English thrones for himself.⁴² On March 2, 1566, Darnley--jealous of Mary's assistant Rizzio and jealous of her crown--broke into her supper chamber, pulled out the unsuspecting Rizzio, and with the help of his cronies (120 people in total were involved) stabbed him to death. But Mary was able to escape nine days later by riding (she was six months pregnant) to Bothwell's castle. Here, Mary found refuge to give birth to her child, James VI (Scotland) and I (England) while the Earl of Bothwell courted her. Darnley was assassinated at two in the morning on February 10, 1567 when his house was blown up. Bothwell and Mary were immediately implicated in the death of her husband. Her marriage to Bothwell shortly after the assassination did not help the appearance of guilt. Scotland's nobility reacted to Mary's Catholic policies, erratic behavior, and scandalous marriage to the believed assassin of her husband with a *coup d'état* that forced Mary to abdicate her throne in

⁴²Wormald, pp. 142-159. Wormald offers a more detailed account of Darnley's behavior toward his wife and the event leading up to his assassination that brings Mary to her third husband, the Earl of Bothwell.

favor of her infant son James who would be raised as a devout Protestant under the powerful influence of the Scottish nobility.⁴³

Mary found herself homeless and powerless in 1567. Though she made a last stand in May 1568, she left Scotland on May 16 and entered England in hopes of gaining help from Elizabeth. Her hopes were dashed as Elizabeth never did restore Mary to her throne though she did condemn the Scottish lords for their rebellion.⁴⁴ Thus England found this young, audacious, scandalous and Catholic woman in its borders. Mary was a dangerously close Catholic heir to the throne who was considered to be the legitimate queen of England by the Spanish, the French, and the Pope Pius V. Mary spent nineteen years in England as a prisoner in constant pursuit of the English Crown.

Mary was scandalized as a Catholic, a foreigner, murderess, whore, and usurper. According to one contemporary account, Mary "will never cease until such time as she have wrecked all the honest men of this realm."⁴⁵ But for England the primary danger she represented was her claim to the English throne that undermined both the Protestant religion and Elizabeth. Because Elizabeth was considered to be a bastard by the Catholic Church,⁴⁶ the Catholic Church could point to Mary as the rightful ruler of England. To say the least, this was an unsettling situation for Elizabeth and her supporters. Even without this issue of bastardy, Mary was still the next in line for the English throne if Elizabeth had no heirs. Thus, Elizabeth's unmarried status compounded the threat Mary represented. Mary was fully aware of her situation in regards to her claim to the English throne; indeed, it often seemed that was the only reality of which she was fully aware.

⁴³Wormald, pp. 170-181.

⁴⁴Wormald. Because "Elizabeth owed her throne to dubious and inconsistent maneuvers with the rules of succession--maneuvers which had successively bastardized, and then legitimized, her sister and herself" she was "[abhorred] all tampering with legitimately constituted monarchy," p. 181.

⁴⁵*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign series*, v. 8, ed. Allan Crosby. Letter from William Kircaldy of Grange to the Earl of Bedford, p215, letter 1131.

⁴⁶The Catholic Church never accepted Henry's divorce from Katherine of Aragon, and thus his marriage to Anne Boleyn was illegitimate and so was their offspring Elizabeth.

Thus, Mary courted foreign rulers and discontented nobles for support. She would legitimate their interference in English affairs and would become a useful ally for Spain.

Mary was actively pursuing Spanish support for her endeavors even as the Spanish were seeking to make England an ally against France, which could be accomplished through a puppet Catholic queen. According to a letter from the Spanish ambassador in England in 1569, Mary was actively seeking Spanish aid: "The queen of Scotland told my servant to convey to me the following words: 'Tell the ambassador that if his master will help me, I shall be queen of England in three months, and mass shall be said all over the country.'"⁴⁷ Mary sold herself as a Catholic queen who would revitalize Catholicism in England in order to secure help from Spain and play down any "Frenchness." Just as Mary had sold Scotland over to France when she married Francis II, so does she again hand over Scotland and herself to Spain in the hope of becoming Queen of England. Mary promised that if "she were at liberty or could get such help as would enable her to bring her country to submission, she would deliver herself and her son entirely into [King Philip II's] hands" and she would "never depart from [King Philip's] wishes, either in religion or other things."⁴⁸ Mary was hoping to gain support from Philip for a rebellion that would place her on the throne of England. This was the planning stage of the Northern Rebellion of 1569. Northern nobles Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Norfolk were plotting to overthrow Elizabeth, place Mary on the throne as Queen of England and wife of Norfolk, and reinstitute the Catholic religion. The Northern earls and Mary were actively seeking Spanish support for their rebellion.

The success of the Northern Rebellion revolved around two central issues: Mary's liberty, and foreign support from both Spain and the pope. When Elizabeth denied Norfolk's request to marry Mary, she also denied Mary her freedom and severely

⁴⁷Calendar State Papers, Spanish., v.2, p. 97. Here after abbreviated as CSP Spanish

⁴⁸CSP Spanish, 189.

damaged the plans of the Northern rebels.⁴⁹ Though Cecil and other commissioners "showed great desire to blame" Mary and find her guilty of plotting against Elizabeth for the crown, Mary was continually exonerated by the men detained for investigation.⁵⁰ Though Mary would have liked to believe that she was in control of her situation, she was dependent upon these fellow plotters both domestic and foreign. De Spes, the Spanish ambassador in England, reassured Philip that Northumberland (leader of the Northern Rebellion) would do with Mary whatever Philip wished, would marry her to the King's liking, and "try to restore the Catholic religion in this country. They only want to be favored by your Majesty."⁵¹

Through Mary, the rebels hoped to restore Catholicism and their own positions of power. Mary represented a union of religious and political policy, a rebellious policy but nonetheless a policy. In Mary, the rebels found a legitimate Catholic monarch who would bring Catholicism back to England and reestablish the political power of the Northern rebels. Just as Mary represented this unified religious-political hope for the rebels, so did she represent the same kind of religious-political threat to the existing power of Elizabeth and her councilors.

Mary was selling herself as a Catholic princess to gain support from Philip who was interested in Mary's potential as the restorer of the Catholic faith but more importantly as an ally against the French and the Low Country Protestant rebels. His interest in her was religious and political. In Mary Stuart, Philip was hoping to secure Spanish interests in England and the Netherlands just as he had used Mary Tudor, his dead wife, to secure Spanish interests in England. De Spes pointed out that it is the "Catholic religion, in which consists the maintenance of our old alliance and friendship" with England. De Spes then went on to request instruction in case of a civil war and

⁴⁹CSP Spanish, "There is much talk about the marriage of the queen of Scotland with the Duke (of Norfolk), and those who think they understand the matter best suspect that much evil may come of it, both to the parties themselves and those who are concerned in it," p. 193.

⁵⁰CSP Spanish, p. 198.

⁵¹CSP Spanish, p. 201.

again reassured Philip of the rebels loyalty to the Catholic religion, Mary, and most importantly, Philip.⁵² Philip responded to these developments in England with a quiet subversive support of these rebels and the troublesome Irish to weaken Elizabeth and bring the crown to Mary:

The best course will be to encourage with money and secret favour the Catholics of the north, and to help those in Ireland to take up arms against the heretics and deliver the crown to the Queen of Scotland, to whom it belongs by succession. This course, it is presumed, would be very agreeable to the Pope and all Christendom, and would encounter no opposition from anyone.⁵³

Thus, religion and politics were intimately bound up with one another for Philip as he combined his religious interest with his political. Mary was a viable candidate for Philip and the Northern rebels because she combined their religious and political agendas. Just as she was a double boon for Philip, the pope, and the rebels, so was she a double threat to Elizabeth and her councilors.

Though the Northern Rebellion failed and Mary never did succeed to the English throne, her presence in England was a constant reminder of the precariousness of Elizabeth's rule and the Protestant hold over the Church in England. Mary challenged Elizabeth's claim to the throne and her presence in England intensified Elizabeth's and the Privy Council's awareness of that situation. Mary continued to plot against Elizabeth until her death in 1587. For twenty years, Elizabeth endured the presence of this woman who was a threat to her religion and throne. Mary forced the question and answered the question: Can a Catholic be a loyal subject to a Protestant crown? For the English Protestant subject the answer was obvious: No.

⁵²CSP Spanish, p. 212.

⁵³CSP Spanish, p. 217.

The Northern Rebellion of 1569 and Anti-Catholic Sentiment

All you that news would hear,
Give ear to me, poor Fabyn Fly,
At Rome I was that year
And in the Pope his nose did lie;
But there I could not long abide,
He blew me out of every side.
Then he with joy-
Did sport himself with many a toy ...

New news to him was brought that night,
The rebels they were put to flight;
But, Lord, how then the Pope took on,
And called for a Mary-bone ...

So then they fell to mess;
The friars on their beads did pray;
The pope began to bless ...

A post came blowing his horn,
saying, Northumberland is take,
But then the Pope began to quake,
He then rubb'd his nose,
with pilgrim-salve he 'noint his hose,
Run here, run there
His nails, for anger 'gan to pare....

He sware, he tare,
Till from his crowne he pull'd the hair

--"a lamentation from Rome, how the Pope dith bewail that the rebels in England cannot prevail"⁵⁴

This broadside ballad celebrates the failure of the Northern Rebellion of 1569 which attempted to overthrow Elizabeth and the Protestant religion and replace her with her Catholic cousin, Mary Queen of Scots. This ballad illustrates the profound effect the

⁵⁴ This broadside ballad was a popular ballad first published in 1570 just a year after the rebellion. Though, the ballad was not published until 1570, it is likely that the ballad was sung prior to publication. William Chappelle, *Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, (New York, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1965), p. 113.

Northern Rebellion had in intensifying anti-Catholic sentiment that would eventually become law in 1571.

The Northern Rebellion of 1569 signaled the beginning of the official and avid condemnation of Catholics. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland led the rebellion against Elizabeth for two primary reasons. First, some northern nobles were critical of and angry with the influence younger lower class "up-start" men, who were mostly from the south, had at the court and on Elizabeth. The second reason for the rebellion was in defense of Catholicism, their "true faith." The Northern Rebellion, if it had been successful, would have established Mary Queen of Scots as the Queen of England. She would have been a Catholic queen who would have restored Catholicism and been indebted to the northern earls, thus, strengthening their positions at court. In the initial planning stages of the rebellion, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, planned to aid the earls in their rebellion and marry Mary to become the most powerful man in England. But Elizabeth called him back to court, leaving the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland to carry out their rebellion without Norfolk's help.

The Northern Rebellion failed to overthrow Elizabeth and establish Mary as the queen of England. This rebellion failed primarily for two reasons. First, since Elizabeth had moved Mary farther south under close guard, the earls failed to get hold of Mary's person in time. Thus, the earls lacked Mary as a rallying point both for internal and external support. The second reason for the earls' failure was the late arrival of the long awaited papal bull that excommunicated Elizabeth and not only made it permissible to defy their sovereign, but actually demanded rebellion from "true Catholics." The bull didn't arrive in England until 1570, after the rebellion had been crushed.

Though the Northern Rebellion of 1569 had failed to depose Elizabeth, the rebellion significantly altered the government's view of Catholics and its policy toward them. Two official church homilies from 1562 and 1569 illustrate this changed perception and policy. While the first homily mainly operated as a defensive argument

for the break with Rome, the second homily, in the aftermath of the Northern Rebellion, argued against rebellion and specifically Roman rebellion. Though both homilies defend the Protestant religion and the supremacy of the prince, the latter homily took a step further by linking Catholicism to treason.

The 1562 "Homily on obedience" outlined a religious justification for the political and religious break from Rome. By describing the divine order, the Chain of Being,⁵⁵ this homily affirmed the prince's power to rule not only in political matters but in religious as well, and thus asserted the prince as head of the state and head of the church.⁵⁶ First, the homily established the need for rulers and the divine order that governed social life. These kings, princes, rulers, etc. were necessary to God's order otherwise "no man shall ride or go by the highway unrobbed."⁵⁷ Thus, rulers were necessary to every man to govern everyday life, to protect men from each other. The homily displayed a kind of confidence in the divine social order of England that was later marred by the Northern Rebellion of 1569. England had not yet felt the disasters and disorder that result when the Chain of Being was broken. The governing body of England was not only just in ruling but obligated by God's ordination to rule the people of England.⁵⁸ Thus, princes received their power not from Rome but directly from God.

Because princes received their power and authority directly from God's ordinance and the Chain of Being, the prince was able to eliminate the power and authority of the Pope from the church within his realm. According to the homily, all princes should "acknowledge themselves to have all their power and strength, not from Rome, but

⁵⁵The Chain of Being was a commonly held belief in a divine order that ordered all of creation according to God's ordinance. This belief was fundamental to Medieval and Renaissance thought that ordered the world and justified actions according to this Chain of Being that ordered all of society. Each member of society was expected to fulfill his duty according to his position in society: "Almighty God hath created and appointed all things in heaven, earth, and waters, in a most excellent and perfect order."

⁵⁶Although Queen Elizabeth was officially the "supreme governor" of the church and not "supreme head," the homily still affirmed the prince's right to be supreme head of the state and of the church.

⁵⁷"Homily on Obedience," 1562.

⁵⁸"Kings and other supreme and higher offices, are ordained by God, who is most highest," "Homily on Obedience," 1562.

immediately of God," and thus Roman authority remained only Roman, holding no authority over other princes.⁵⁹ But this was a homily to the subjects of England and not a legal treatise justifying the break with Rome. Thus the homily focused on the subject's obligation to obey his ruler, his magistrate in all matters political and religious. All subjects were "bound to obey their magistrates, and for no cause resist, or withstand, or rebel" because God has given these rulers the right to rule.⁶⁰

After having established the prince's right to rule and the subject's obligation to obey, the homily attempted to destroy any possible allegiance the subject may have had to Rome by describing the pope as a great usurper of power. The pope not only usurped power from the prince without explicit scriptural approval, but also in direct violation of the scripture.⁶¹ Papal "authority" was really "usurped power" and the pope "most wrongfully" claimed himself to be the successor of Christ and Peter and thereby have the "keys to heaven." Popes had long claimed to be successors of Peter (the original "rock" upon which Christ built his church) and keepers of the keys of heaven. This doctrine was powerfully expressed in the eleventh century by Pope Gregory the VII who claimed that "the pope can be judged by no one; ... the pope alone can depose and restore bishops; ... he can depose emperors; ... all princes should kiss his feet."⁶²

Obviously, Gregory's doctrine stood in stark contrast to this homily's claim that the prince was subject to none, and especially not to the pope, who was described merely as the "Bishop of Rome" without any special authority. This homily further claimed that the pope's supposed claim to be the successor of Christ and Peter had "no sufficient ground in holy scripture" and stood in contradiction to scripture. Scripture did not teach

⁵⁹This argument had been used since Henry VIII's initial break with Rome in 1533 that began legally with the Act in Restrain of Appeals (1533) whose preamble claims England to be an Empire and thus the prince an emperor with no superior. Thus, Papal authority was declared null and void.

⁶⁰"Homily on Obedience," 1562.

⁶¹Scripture figured prominently in the Reformation, as it was one of three basic tenets that included: (1) by faith alone are we saved; (2) the centrality of scripture to all doctrine and worship; and (3) the priesthood of all believers.

⁶²*Gregorii VII Registrum*, M.G.H. *Epistolae Secotae*, ii, ed. E. Caspar, pp. 201-8.

that the church was above the prince; rather, the church should have subjugated itself to the prince's will in all secular matters. For "Christ and St. Peter teach most earnestly and agreeably obedience to kings, as to the chief and supreme rulers in this world, next under God."⁶³ Again, the rulers were ordained by God to rule, and thus disobedience of the prince was disobedience to God. But the pope violated this teaching when he claimed that followers of the pope were "free from all burdens and charges of the commonwealth and obedience toward their prince."⁶⁴ This papal doctrine reeked of sedition because it allowed disobedience to the prince if it was in accord with obedience to the pope. What could be more threatening to a small island kingdom than disobedience and treason within its own realm? Therefore, this homily of obedience sought to affirm the primacy of the prince over the pope in all affairs, lest the prince find rebellion within his borders.

The homily did not stop with a critique of papal authority, but continued to denounce the pope's (and by extension the Catholic) judgments on religious doctrine. The Catholic religion was "false" and dangerous as it could lead people astray not only from their prince but from their God. And these two issues were interwoven together in a religion that proclaimed the prince the highest temporal authority and a policy that legislated prayer, communion, and sacraments. This homily defended the prince's (Elizabeth's) decision to break with Rome both politically and religiously because that "anti-Christ"⁶⁵ violated scripture and God's ordinance to obey the prince, to "submit yourselves unto your king, your supreme head, and unto thou that he appointeth in authority under him; for that you shall so shew your obedience, it is the will of God."⁶⁶

Whereas the 1562 homily was a defense of England's break with Rome, the 1569 homily "Against Disobedience and Willful Rebellion" attacked disobedience and Rome as the source of the disobedience that caused the Northern Rebellion in 1569.

⁶³"Homily on Obedience," 1562.

⁶⁴"Homily on Obedience," 1562

⁶⁵According to the homily the Pope "ought therefore rather to be called Anti-Christ, and the successor of the Scribes and Pharisees, than Christ's vicar, or St. Peter's successor."

⁶⁶"Homily on Obedience," 1562.

Instead of beginning with the divine order of creation that established princes as the just and righteous rulers of the people, the 1569 homily began with an admonition against rebellion: "what an abominable sin against God and man rebellion is," as the devil was the "first author and founder of rebellion."⁶⁷ Thus, the 1569 homily was an attack against rebellion and disobedience, as it had already occurred, rather than a call for obedience as was the 1562 homily. The homily continued by explaining the reasons for rebellion in general and then describing the popish and terrible nature of the Northern Rebellion. Rebellion was chiefly caused by ambition and ignorance. When men cannot "by lawful and peaceable means climb so high as they do desire, they attempt the same by force and violence"--these were the leaders of the rebellion--while the "ignorant multitude" followed the ambitious and wicked leaders of rebellion.⁶⁸ This was the general cause and support of rebellion. But the Northern Rebellion and the kind of rebellion that threatened England in particular was the Roman inspired rebellion.

This homily not only attacked the pope's usurpation of princely authority but also of ecclesiastic authority. According to the homily, Christ expressly forbade his "apostles, and by them the whole clergy, all princely dominion over people and nations; and he and his holy apostles, namely Peter and Paul, did forbid unto all ecclesiastical ministers dominion over the Church of Christ."⁶⁹ The clergy was not only subject to the princes in temporal matters but also in matters of church; thus, the pope's claim to both temporal and church authority were erroneous. The pope was an ambitious man--like the rebels of the Northern Rebellion, like Lucifer the rebel of God--of the world rather than of the cloth who was at "once the spoiler and destroyer of the church, which is the kingdom of our Savior Christ, and of the Christian empire, and all Christian kingdoms, as an

⁶⁷"Against Disobedience and Willful Rebellion" (here after cited as "Against"), 1569.

⁶⁸"Against," 1569.

⁶⁹"Against," 1569.

universal tyrant over all."⁷⁰ The homily has removed responsibility of the destruction of the unity of Christendom from the Protestants to the pope.

(1572) The pope was a tyrant, an "universal tyrant," who lorded his usurped power over the "ignorant" faithful and caused "God-less" rebellion in Christian kingdoms. The Catholic religion kept the commoners in "ignorance" as the pope used his usurped power to urge subjects unto rebellions against their sovereign lords. This homily sought to break the ties between all English men and women and the Old Faith because Catholicism meant rebellion; subjects could not have two kings or two popes. Both the pope and the prince demanded absolute allegiance from their "subjects." Thus, to be a good English subject meant rejection of papal authority and the Catholic religion while being a good Catholic meant rejection of princely authority when it was in discord with papal authority.

Both the homily of 1562 and the homily of 1569 supported the sovereignty of the prince while accusing the pope of usurping that power. But the 1562 homily emphasized the former, while the 1569 emphasized the latter and thus was more anti-Catholic. The 1562 sermon was a defense of princely authority and the Elizabethan religious settlement that made Queen Elizabeth the supreme governor of the church, while the 1569 sermon was an attack on papal authority and Catholicism in general because it engendered disobedience and treason to the English government. Increasingly, English subjects were called to make a decision between their sovereign and their religion: to be Catholic was to disobey the God-ordained prince.

Four treatises by Thomas Norton, a radical Protestant and member of parliament since 1563, gave expression to this anti-Catholic sentiment according to four main issues: the Chain of Being, the usurping of rightful power, foreign rule, and treason. The four treatises were: "To the Queenes Majesties poore deceived Subjects of the North Countrey, drawen into rebellion by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland"

⁷⁰"Against," 1569.

(1569), "A Warning against the dangerous Practices of Papistes, and specially the partners of the late Rebellion" (1572), "Declaration and Warning against the Bull" (1572), and "A disclosing of the great Bull and certain calves that he hath gotten, and specially the monsterous Bull that roared at my Lord Byshops gate" (1572).⁷¹

The Chain of Being, as indicated in the homilies, was central to the attack on rebellion and the defense of Elizabeth and the Protestant cause. These rebels had "lost the juste name of Englishmen by disturbing the common peace of Englande, with cruell invasion and spoile lyke enemies; and the Queenes subjects you can not well be named, having throwne away your due submission and obedience."⁷² Through rebellion, these rebels had betrayed the natural order because the natural order demanded "subjection and obedience" from the true subject.

The Chain of Being established the prince's authority over his subjects; thus disobedience of the prince was a violation of God's order. The rebellion undermined the authority of the prince and Catholicism in general undermined the authority of the prince by positing the pope as the supreme religious authority. Norton reinterpreted English history as a history of conflict between the pope and prince, where the pope was responsible for disorder and the violation of the Chain of Being.

The kings of England had been "poisoned, whipped, beaten with rodde, murdered, deposed, the land given in conquest, interdicted, made tributaries, robbed"--all by the pope.⁷³ Norton cited the treasons of the clergy against Henry II and the pope's treatment of King John as evidence of the disorder papal "tyranny" caused. Norton focused especially upon King John because his situation bore the strongest resemblance to England's predicament in 1570. Norton described King John's woes in the following way:

⁷¹All such treatises that have been lately published by Thomas Norton, London. John Daye. 1572 "To the Queenes Majestie..." was originally published in 1569 and then published again with the other three treatises in 1572.

⁷²Norton, "To the Queenes Majestie..."

⁷³Norton, "A Warning..."

the deceived barons of England, both at that time specially, and at some other times severally, at the Pope's will and upon pronouncing of his curse against the king, forsook their allegiance, took part with the Frenchman, spoiled their own country, and like most unnaturall children.⁷⁴

It was the evil pope who urged the barons to betray John (never mind other reasons such as political, social, and economic issues) and side not with another Englishman but with a foreigner, a Frenchman. And all of this displacement of loyalties was most "unnatural" because it broke with the Chain of Being. The King John incident would have appeared especially powerful to Englishmen in the sixteenth century because of its superficial similarities to the Northern Rebellion and the Mary Stuart Problem. The threat to John's throne came from a pope who used a Frenchmen to punish John for his disobedience; Mary Stuart, although a dethroned Scottish Queen, was the daughter of a French woman and at one point had been the Queen of France. Mary represented not only Catholic rebellion but French usurpation. Norton's description of the upheaval in King John's reign served as a powerful reminder to the English reader of what could happen if the pope, the papists, and Mary had been successful in the Northern Rebellion.

Catholicism was unnatural because it promoted the unjust usurping of power by the pope. To be Catholic and hold to Catholicism was unnatural and "bestly to joyne with any strangers to the spoyle of their own country. But such is the nature of that false religion, to regard no country, no faith, nature or common benefite."⁷⁵ To submit England to a foreign power, even though a religious authority, was to submit England to a foreign political power. The "traitorous papist" was one that held all the pope's doctrines to be true, that the Catholic Church did not err, and had rightful superiority over other kingdoms and dioceses.⁷⁶ Thus, a good Catholic was a traitor because he

⁷⁴Norton, "A Warning..."

⁷⁵Norton, "To the Queenes Majestie ..."

⁷⁶Norton, "A Warning..."

displaced the loyalty and submission that was owed to his prince and had given it to the pope.

This even applied to princes. Norton recalled the "miserable and dangerous dayes" of Queen Mary when all of England was under the "heavie yoke of strange dominion."⁷⁷ Mary I was a Catholic Queen who had worked to bring England back to Rome and thus for Norton and other Protestants back to foreign and "ungodly" rule. Mary's reign had brought England back to Catholicism just as Elizabeth's reign and religious settlement released England from that foreign rule, the rule of the pope. To serve this "foreign king" was to be an "enemie and traitor, against the majestie and honor of God, against the Crownes and dignities of all kings and temporall princes."⁷⁸ Catholics defied the natural order and were rebels because they placed their allegiance with the pope rather than the prince. Thus, the Catholic would always be a political threat to any prince, but especially a Protestant prince.

All four treatises discussed the treason of Catholics, but each emphasized a different aspect or problem of England's situation in 1569. The first treatise, "To the Queenes Majesties..." sought to explain the reasons for the rebellion and that allegiance to Elizabeth required allegiance to the Protestant religion.

The crushing of the Northern Rebellion and the treason acts of 1571 made the rebels' "dangerous beginnings" into examples to "restrein both your selves and al good subjects from lyke mischiefe hereafter." Norton wrote to those "deceived subjects" who were pulled into the northern rebellion in the hope of reconciling them back to England through his "counsel." His counsel mainly consisted in the rebels recognizing that the rebellion was a "most vile and cruel example odious to God and man, to shake away most peisable government." Through his treatise, Norton attempted to "open [their] eies to give [them] his grace to see truthe and finde mercy at his handes" because the earls that

⁷⁷Norton, "A Warning..."

⁷⁸Norton, "A Warning..."

led the northern rebellion were merely using these "poore deceived subjects" for their own selfish ends.

Norton tried to open the rebels' eyes by showing how support for Catholicism (not just in the case of the northern rebellion) was tantamount to treason and foreign war. Catholicism was "blasphemy" and was "not the path to true Religion, but to error," while the "true religion" the religion of the realm, the Protestant faith led to God. Even though he was a staunch supporter of Protestantism, Norton allowed for mistakes in the state religion, "and yet if errors had been taught [in the Protestant doctrine], this is not the waye [rebellion] to come to amendement." Thus more radical Protestants such as Norton, who wanted further reform in the Church of England, could point to this passage and claim that though the state was usually correct, it was not always, and those who understood better, had the right and duty to set the Church on the right path. Norton and other radical Protestants were playing a careful game of demonstrating support for the government in order to preserve government support for Protestantism while also leaving room for themselves to criticize that very same state for its failure to further reform the Church to their satisfaction.

The Northern rebels had defied the righteous religion and rightful government at the same time. The rebels cannot be called Christians because they "have defaced the Communion of Christians, and in destroying the booke of Christes most holy testament." Furthermore, these rebels of "God's Church" are one in the same rebels of the rightful government. Unlike the Pilgrimage of Grace⁷⁹, the Northern Rebellion was not a protest of religion, but rather an attempt at a *coup d'état*. Thus, reconciliation with the government meant not only allegiance to Elizabeth but allegiance to the Protestant faith: "assay the dayly mercie of our God, and oft approved clemencie of our most gracious queene, whereby you may become agayne preserved Englishmen in Englande, reconciled

⁷⁹The Pilgrimage of Grace was also a northern rebellion, but occurred during the Henrician reformation. This rebellion did not attempt to depose Henry, but merely opposed the break with Rome.

kinsmen and friends, pardoned subjects and reformed Christians, who otherwyse stand in state to undo your selves, your wyves, chyl dren, and properitie for ever" and to feel not only "the sharpe revenge of her majesties ... to die with shame" but also "to die in state of damnation." Clearly, Norton linked defiance of the state with defiance of the state religion. This linkage would manifest itself in treason acts in the 1571 parliament which explicitly made Catholicism a treasonable act: subversion of the church was treason of the state.

Norton concludes his treatise with a call to unity in the commonwealth. The commonwealth was "the ship we sayle in, no one can be safe if the whole do perish" and thus "to God, then to the realme, to the crown, to the lawe and government, your leaders and you and we all do owe our selves and al that we have, in highest degree of duetie." Thus, to serve God was to serve the realm, to serve the crown, to serve the laws and government which a loyal subject observed by following the laws and conforming to the "true Protestant church of England." Norton was defining loyalty to England in specifically religious terms: loyalty to the Protestant Church was loyalty to the crown and vice versa.

"A Warning against the dangerous Practices of Papists, and specially the partners of the late Rebellion" expressed an increased concern with papists "practices," the threat Mary Stuart represented, and suggested a no-tolerance policy toward Catholics that reflected the anti-Catholic sentiment that eventually became policy in 1571. Papists were dangerous because they continued to uphold Roman doctrines such as transubstantiation of the Eucharist, the doctrine of works, and most importantly the primacy of the authority of the pope to determine theological issues and by extension temporal issues. Papists were traitors because they held the Anglican form of religion Elizabeth had prescribed and "delivered" to her subjects to be ungodly and sacrilegious. This blatantly violated the authority of the Queen while upholding the authority of the pope. Because the papists denied the Anglican form of worship, they also believed, according Norton, "our Queene

no queene, or at least they are sorry she is so."⁸⁰ Rejection of the religious aspects of Elizabeth's reign necessarily meant rejection of her political authority and policy. This defiance of Elizabeth was implicit to papists and made explicit by the pope's rejection of Elizabeth's claim to the throne. Elizabeth's status as legitimate heir to the throne of England was precarious from the beginning in Catholic eyes because Anne Boleyn's (her mother) marriage to Henry VIII was never considered legitimate because Henry's divorce from Katherine of Aragon (the "great matter" that broke English ties with Rome) was never considered legitimate. But Elizabeth's problem with legitimacy probably could have been rectified by a papal indulgence. It was her religious settlement and the Acts of Uniformity and the Second Act of Supremacy that ended the possibility of a reconciliation between England and Rome. The pope excommunicated Elizabeth from the Catholic Church and thus voided any Catholic subject's obligation to serve Elizabeth.

According to Norton, English Catholics discontented with Elizabeth's religious policy became dangerous when they realized they could not change her policy. Because papists could not change her policies and could not unmake her their queen, papists became traitors to the realm. These treasonous practices took the form of seditious writings that encouraged Catholicism and rebellion in England. According to Norton, these writing began with attacks on religious policies: "they call her church and religion schismaticall, heretical, devellish" and the "preachers and professors of the religion that her highness setteth forth and professeth, are termed worse than Infedels."⁸¹ For Norton, these seditious writings represented the spark of rebellion because they rejected the Queen's religious policy explicitly, and thus, implicitly, her authority. These "perfecte Papistes" went further and proclaimed the pope head of the church in direct contradiction to the Second Act of Supremacy that had established Elizabeth as the supreme governor

⁸⁰Norton, "A Warning"

⁸¹Norton, "A Warning..."

of the church. Thus, papists were denying Elizabeth a portion of her style or title and thus were committing treason. Loyalty to the pope excluded loyalty to Elizabeth.

If the pope and thus the papists were denying Elizabeth as the rightful ruler of England, who did they consider to be the rightful ruler? Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. Even though kept under house arrest, Mary Stuart stood as a constant threat to Elizabeth's sovereignty since Mary's arrival in England in 1568. Mary, if not directly involved, was at least knowledgeable of the Northern Rebellion and the plot to place her on the throne of England. Thus, the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth was doubly dangerous and powerful because there was a legitimate alternative to Elizabeth and that alternative was Catholic and lived in England. Norton's claim that if papists rejected the sacraments, the clergy, the church service that Queen Elizabeth had established then papists rejected her political authority was reinforced by the excommunication of Elizabeth and the presence of a Catholic alternative to Elizabeth.

Because of the danger Mary Stuart represented to Norton and the practices of the papists, he advocated a "no-tolerance" policy in his treatise. The purpose of Norton's treatise was not only to describe the dangers of the papists but to incite readers into supporting a harsh policy against English Catholics, which for Norton was a contradiction in terms. A neutral policy or "an entertaining of contrary sides in religion with uncertaintie and favor" was the worst possible policy according to Norton because it would "make sure enemies and unsure friends, to lye open to parasites and traitors."⁸² Instead of a timorous policy that attempts to pacify Catholics with religious neutrality, Norton supported a harsh policy that would bring the papists to "repentance" rather than let their faults and sins be "repaid" in the last judgment. Lenient policy would not restrain papists from treason because "treason and papistrie are unseperable while they be kept under, even as crueltie and papistrie are unseperable when they are gotten above."⁸³

⁸²Norton, "A Warning..."

⁸³Norton, "A Warning..."

The first condition where popery came from below the government would translate into treason, as it did in the Northern Rebellion, while the second condition where popery came from government would translate into tyranny as it did in Mary's (Mary Tudor's) reign with the persecution of Protestants. Norton could not reconcile political obedience to Elizabeth with religious obedience to the pope. For Norton, to support the pope was to disavow Elizabeth and princely authority; English religious policy could not be lenient toward Catholics because it would mean leniency toward political traitors.

Norton's understanding that Catholics were necessarily traitors to the crown rested at least in part upon the papal bull that released English Catholics from their obligations to Elizabeth. The papal bull that was granted to Dr. Harding and others gave them the "Bishoply power in court of conscious to absolve them that shall return to the bosome of the church."⁸⁴ By granting absolution to Dr. Harding and other Catholics in the realm, the pope was effectively undermining the Anglican church and Elizabeth's authority to govern both the religion and politics of the realm. The papal bull established the source of the pope's authority and power in religious matters: "and I by the authoritie of almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and also of our holy Mother the Church" do grant this indulgence.⁸⁵ The pope's authority stemmed from God, directly, and from the Apostolic succession of St. Peter and St. Paul, and from the Church, the Catholic church. His authority did not come from a prince, but from God. This was in direct contradiction to the Chain of Being as the "Homily on Obedience" of 1562 established the hierarchy. Whereas the homily had claimed the prince to be the ultimate authority and the church to be in accordance with that authority, the papal bull placed the pope at the top of the Chain of Being, above the world and just below God.

⁸⁴The quotes from the Papal Bull are taken from Norton's reprinting of the Bull just before his own refutation of the Bull in his treatise from 1570.

⁸⁵The preamble to this bull is typical in how it establishes the pope's authority. In many ways, his preamble that explains the source of his authority is similar to a prince's style or title that establishes a prince's authority within his realm.

The preamble of the bull established papal authority to grant such a bull and any other proclamation of a religious nature while the substance of the bull established papal authority and loyalty over all other authorities and loyalties. This bull absolved Catholics from "all irregularities and sentence of excommunication both the greater and the lesser laid upon thee by law or by man" and also from all sins "confessed, contrite, and forgotten." The pope had excommunicated Elizabeth from the Catholic Church and thus, in effect, excommunicated all of England but this bull absolved "good Catholics" from the papal excommunication. This action divided English subjects. Catholic subjects, those who held to the "old religion" and more importantly professed the authority of the pope were absolved, while those other subjects that followed the Anglican church and the Elizabethan religious settlement remained excommunicated. Excommunication in the Catholic world meant a Christian's salvation was in danger. Because Catholic doctrine held that one was saved both by faith and works and those works included the seven sacraments that only priests of the Catholic Church could perform, to be excommunicated endangered one's salvation (at the very least it meant spending a little more time in purgatory). Thus a papal bull that excused Catholics from this excommunication and returned them to the "communion of the faithful" was a very powerful document because it superseded the authority of the Anglican church and its supreme governor, Elizabeth.

The power of this bull lay in two central issues. First, it brought faithful English Catholics back into the Roman Church and forgave their sins in such a way that would concretely affect their salvation. Secondly, this bull divided English Christians into those that followed the pope and those that followed the crown. Norton objected to the bull for precisely these two reasons. As a Protestant, he believed one was saved by faith alone independent of good works and the sacraments; as a parliament man, he objected to the pope's claim to absolute authority and the division that claim made.

In his "Declaration and Warning against the Bull" Norton claimed the bull was religiously harmful and politically dangerous as it encouraged sedition and treason.

Norton announced his warning:

Be it knowen to all the Queene's true subjects, for their warning, to all false traitors and papists for their amendment, and to all the world for their example, that the Pope the common enemy of Christian truth, and of all just crownes and dignities of kings, that granted to Doctor Harding and others sometimes the Queene's subjects, now fugitives and trompetts of treason, a certaine authoritie in nature of an indulgence or pardon to reconcile Englishmen to the bosom of the Romane Church.⁸⁶

Norton wrote his warning for the "true" or loyal subjects of the Queen and for all the world to see the deviousness of the pope, that "common enemy" of Christians. True subjects and true Christians were endangered by this papal bull that granted Dr. Harding, a once loyal subject now turned traitor, the ability to forgive sins and the excommunication by of the pope of all of England. The danger of this bull, according to Norton, was that it attempted to "allure the Queene's subjects with hope of pardon and promise of the kingdom of heaven, to revolt from acknowledging that ancient authoritie"⁸⁷ of the prince. For Protestant Norton, this bull was smitten with corruption both religiously and politically. Religiously, the bull was corrupt because it promised to give salvation by human means what could only be given by divine means. Politically, the bull encouraged subjects to disobey their prince to whom they owed their obedience. As long as the pope upheld his excommunication of Elizabeth and the Anglican Church, any kind of obedience to the pope meant agreement with that excommunication. Norton claimed that the Catholics not only "deadly hated" Elizabeth but also "most injuriously and vilely with prejudice condemned" her because the pope had condemned Elizabeth. For Norton, there was no division between religious and political allegiances. Because

⁸⁶Norton, "Declaration and Warning..."

⁸⁷Norton, "Declaration and Warning..."

Elizabeth was both sovereign of the realm and governor of the church, the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth on religious grounds was also a political attack on her authority.

The great evil of this bull, according to Norton, was that it denigrated the rightful relationship between the subject and his prince, and thus broke the Chain of Being. This bull worked to "the dissolving of the faith, love, and all allegiance to the subjects of this realm toward the Queene our most good, loving, and natural sovereign."⁸⁸ The Queen was the natural sovereign which was to say she was the ordained sovereign--ordained by God to rule England. The papal bull that interfered with the love and obedience subjects owed her broke the Chain of Being, the ordained hierarchy. Rebellion, the attempt to unlawfully and unnaturally usurp power, must have a source; according to Norton, the source of the Northern Rebellion lay in the papal bull. According to the Catholic Church, after confessing one's sins and the reception of forgiveness from the priest, the believer was required to do penance to make up for his sin. According to Norton, the papal bull granted forgiveness and required treason, the Northern Rebellion, to "purge them cleane" not of sin (as the pope may have claimed) but rather of all "honeste loyaltie, faith, and allegiance."⁸⁹ Thus, Norton's interpretation of the papal bull rested on an understanding of the Catholic penitential cycle. Norton had insulted that cycle by identifying rebellion with penance for the Catholic, but more importantly he warned the reader that the Catholic's loyalty lay not with the sovereign or a respect for divine ordinance (as he understood it) but rather with the corrupt usurper anti-Christ, the pope. The Catholic could not be trusted because both his religion and his politics were corrupt.

To further combat the papists and the pope, Norton claimed that the pope was not interested in heaven or salvation but rather only with the material world and material power. Though the pope motivated Catholics toward rebellion in England with a

⁸⁸Norton, "Declaration and Warning..."

⁸⁹Norton, "Declaration and Warning..."

promise of heaven, he himself was only looking at this world and "worldly politike endes" by which the pope became a supreme power in the world. The pope's material ends were made all the worse because his goals cost Christians their salvation. According to Norton, there were some papists who attended Anglican service in bitterness but were attending. And because they were attending, there was hope that they would see the error of their ways. But the papal bull "gave them 'new strength'" which Norton believed to be weakness by which the papists moved back to their errors and made their errors worse by rebellion. Norton's critique of the pope's motives in the papal bull worked to discredit the pope and thereby discredit the bull and all of the Catholic religion and loyalties. In this way, Norton hoped to restore allegiance to the crown.

Norton's warning against the papal bull referred to two bulls: the first bull which came before the Northern Rebellion in 1569 granted absolution and re-entry into the Catholic Church while the second bull which arrived after the Rebellion (it was supposed to have arrived prior to give greater support to the rebellion) not only excused Catholics of the violence of rebellion but required rebellion of them. This second bull, the potentially more dangerous bull, was late for the rebellion and thus could not help the rebellion in its efforts to recruit more members for "the cause." This mistake (for the papacy and the rebels) helped to cause the rebellion's failure. But Norton interpreted the lateness of the bull as further sign of Catholic rebellion; "papistes flie not, stirr not, brag not, nor do any thing, nor leave any thing, undone without hope"⁹⁰ and this bull represented that hope to further rebel against the crown. According to Norton, the Catholic's sole purpose in life was to cause the over-throw of the rightful ruler and replace him with the pope. Thus, Catholics if not current traitors were potential traitors. A Catholic was necessarily a traitor to the realm of England in the eyes of this parliament man.

⁹⁰Norton, "Declaration and Warning ..."

According to Norton, Catholicism was "universal and common treason to all kings and states" because to be Catholic meant to have placed greater allegiance and authority in the pope than in the sovereign and thus to have encouraged foreign rule. The pope was not a domestic leader; he was fundamentally foreign, and as such dangerous. Anti-Catholic sentiment and anti-foreign sentiment were linked by the fear of foreign rule. The Northern Rebellion was not just a social upheaval, it was a political upheaval that placed foreign attachments above domestic ones. Thus, Catholicism, the supposed motivation of the Northern Rebellion, became the source of fear because it seemed to support foreign rule by supporting the foreign pope and by rejecting the domestic governor of the church, Elizabeth.

Norton's fourth treatise, "A disclosing of the great Bull, and certain calves that he hath gotten, and specially the Monster Bull that roared at my Lord Byshops gate," underscores the unnaturalness and monstrous nature of the papal bull and the rebellion, and it brings together the four themes (violation of the natural order or Chain of Being, the pope as usurper, Catholicism promotes foreign rule, and Catholics are traitors) into one myth. This treatise depends upon the double meaning of the word "bull." The papal bull, the document, became the monstrous bull, the minotaur of Greek mythology that begets unruly calves, or unruly subjects. Norton described the papal bull as the unnatural and dangerous monster that lured men through a maze to meet a horrible death. And this monster begat those unruly calves that ate away at the "hedges" of "true religion, obedience, allegiance, faith, and honesties."⁹¹

Norton began the treatise by relating the Greek myth of the minotaur and his unnatural beginnings; this myth served as a metaphor for the writing of the papal bull and the resultant (for Norton) Northern Rebellion of 1569. In the Greek myth, Pasiphae, queen of Creta, was unsatisfied with mean and thus lusted to unite with a bull. To accomplish this fearsome and unnatural task, Pasiphae employed Daedalus to create a

⁹¹Norton, "A disclosing of the great bull..."

hollow cow in which Pasiphae hid herself to mate with the bull. This unnatural union brought forth the minotaur--half man and half bull. Pasiphae had forsaken virtue, honor, God, and her husband for her lust.

The monster of this union, the minotaur was kept in a maze built by Daedalus. Citizens were forced into the maze, where the minotaur awaited them. Hungry and monstrous, the minotaur would eat his lost "guests" as they tried to find their way out of the maze. But the minotaur was finally defeated by Theseus, who with the help of Pasiphae's virgin daughter, found his way through the maze and killed the vicious minotaur.

For Norton, this story mirrored the condition of England in the wake of the papal bull and the Northern Rebellion. "Lecherous Pasiphae" was the treason of the nobility who were still "addicted to papistry, forsaking God's ordinance of human royalle government."⁹² Pasiphae's sin lay in her wanton lust that led her to couple with a beast and thus degrade her humanity. By comparing Catholic nobility in England to Pasiphae, Norton claimed that Catholic sympathies and loyalties were unnatural desires that broke God's ordinance. Furthermore, the Church had often been described as the "bride of Christ"; thus, just as Pasiphae forsook her true husband the king for the beast, English Catholics forsook the Anglican Church (and by extension God) their true spouse, for the beastly pope. English subjects who favored Catholicism were further "licentious" in that they rejected their true sovereign, just as Pasiphae rejected her king. Thus, the papists were traitors by virtue of religious allegiance to the "anti-Christ," the pope.

The adulterous bestiality of Pasiphae was the Catholic treason that "destroyeth good and naturall affection and kindeleth vile and beastly desire."⁹³ Once again, Norton relied on the notion of the Great Chain of Being to establish the "sin" of English Catholics who favored a foreign usurper over their rightful prince. The bull that Pasiphae

⁹²Norton, "A disclosing of the great bull..."

⁹³Norton, "A disclosing of the great bull..."

mates with was a most unruly and violent bull that had killed many mortals. Thus, Norton's reference to the pope as the bull with which English subjects copulate was a double attack. First, the pope was compared to a beast, the bull, and thus the pope lacked reason and intelligence. Secondly, the pope was not just compared to any bull, but to a violent cruel bull that attacked men recklessly. The bull was the enemy of civilization; the pope was the enemy of Christendom, according to Norton.

This "unnatural mixture of a Bull and a woman"--of the pope and the English subject could only result in treason because it surrendered loyalty (or Pasiphae's chastity) to the pope (the bull). Just as the bull was a rampant beast that killed men without reason, the pope was the tyrant who usurped power from temporal princes. A Catholic prince was guilty of "yielding his or her realme to popish jurisdiction" and of allowing the "Spouse of Christ the universall church [to be] ravished by that Bull's force."⁹⁴ The English crown and church had escaped the ravishing of the pope by making the prince supreme sovereign in government and the church. Thus, the English subject doubly owed his allegiance to the prince, politically and religiously.

Pasiphae's sin would not have been possible without Daedalus's help, just as the Catholic treason would not have been possible without the cunning of the "popish clergie," according to Norton. Daedalus did not clothe the bull as a man to bring about the union of Pasiphae and the bull but instead clothed her in the robes of a beast to allow for the adultery. In a similar way, the clergy did not make the pope a friend of princes and "good" religion to bring the pope and English subject together; rather, the clergy brought the Catholic religion and turned men into beasts. To be a Catholic did not just mean disagreeing with the Anglican church; it meant becoming a beast like the pope, a beast the pope could dominate and use to beget monstrous children just as the bull begot the minotaur by Pasiphae.

⁹⁴Norton, "A disclosing of the great bull..."

The mating of the bull and Pasiphae brought forth the monstrous minotaur as the English subject's union with the pope brought about the monstrous papal bull that led to the Northern Rebellion and encouraged further rebellion. The minotaur was a vicious monster and cannibal, destroyer of humanity. For Norton, the papal bull that encouraged rebellion was also vicious and cannibalistic because it encouraged Englishmen to turn against their true sovereign and to turn against each other. What could be more cannibalistic than civil war? Daedalus housed the minotaur in a great maze where the innocent victim found himself lost and vulnerable. Similarly, Norton claimed that the good Christians of England had been lost in the maze of ignorance that the Catholic Church had long kept them. Lost in the maze of sacraments and popery, English subjects found themselves eaten alive by the minotaur, the monstrosity of rebellion.

After relating Pasiphae to the traitorous nobility, the bull to the pope, Daedalus to the Catholic clergy, the maze to the ignorance in which Christians had long been kept, and the minotaur to the papal bull, Norton prayed for a Theseus to save England from the minotaur, from further disunity and rebellion. Just as it was a virgin in love with Theseus and justice who helped him find his way through the maze and slay the minotaur, it is the "virgin Queen" of England who guided the government to defeat the rebellious Catholics. Norton did not want to banish the minotaur and his monstrous calves, the rebels; rather, Norton advocated the slaying of the minotaur and destruction of the rebels. He advocated a harsh no-tolerance policy that would crush any possible seed of rebellion.

Norton wrote so vehemently against the Catholics because he was afraid England was under the curse of Cassandra, who in Greek mythology had the gift of foresight but the curse to never be believed. Norton feared that a few men understood and foresaw the continual danger the Catholics and Mary Stuart presented but were not believed. His treatises sought to convince the reader of the danger of the Catholics, and thus force government ties into passing stricter treason laws against Catholics.

The peaceful phase of Elizabeth's reign ended with the Northern Rebellion; Catholics could not be trusted and there was a Catholic Queen (Mary Stuart) waiting in the wings to take power. Elizabeth's reign had begun with the return to Protestantism and the hope for further reform. The events of 1568-1570 dramatically changed that perception. The hope that marked the beginning of Elizabeth's reign had turned into an apocalyptic vision of the future and the anxiety of war preparation.

The Book of Martyrs in *Acts* abounded with illustrations and through those illustrations established an iconography that established the persecuted and persecuting roles of the two churches. The title page of *Acts* immediately established this

"Acts and Martyrs" will here after be cited as Acts

John Foxe: a Reflection of Change

John Foxe was a radical Protestant reformer who was active in the reforming movements both as a writer and a preacher. John Foxe's greatest literary achievement was his *Acts and Monuments*⁹⁵ in which he describes the history of the English Church and those martyred by the Roman Church, especially the persecution of Protestants in Mary I's reign. This monumental work has gone through multiple publications and editions since its first edition in 1563; during his lifetime alone there were four different editions: 1563, 1570, 1576, and 1583. Foxe's work was instrumental in keeping alive the memory of the Marian persecutions and in shaping English Protestants' view of themselves and of the Roman Church. More specifically, Foxe's work articulated very powerfully the vision of two churches in Christian history: the persecuted Church (the righteous) and the persecuting Church (the ungodly). But Foxe's work was also a powerful reflection of the changes in religious-political views during Elizabeth's long reign. The 1563 and 1570 versions of *Acts* were fundamentally different from one another. The 1570 text was not only longer than the 1563 text but it was less hopeful about religious reform in the English Church and more pessimistic toward any hope of reforming the "papists." The changes in the 1570 text reflected the impact of the Northern Rebellion and the increasing inability to separate religion from politics. Foxe's *Acts* was influential in creating an English martyrology and church history through the vision of the persecuted and persecuting churches, and it was powerfully affected by the Northern Rebellion, making the 1570 version more pessimistic, apocalyptic, and making it more apparent that religion and politics were intricately bound up with one another.

The Book of Martyrs in *Acts* abounded with illustrations and through those illustrations established an iconography that established the persecuted and persecuting roles of the two churches. The title page of *Acts* immediately established this

⁹⁵*Acts and Monuments* will here after be cited as *Acts*.

relationship between the two churches. Christ sits upon a rainbow, an image common in portrayals of the last judgment, surrounded by angels. But below these angels, clouds separate heaven and earth. Here, the division between the churches is clear. On the right hand side of Christ (in order of descent) are the crowned blessed in heaven, the burning martyrs, and the Protestant sermon form of worship. On the left hand side of Christ are the damned, the pope and his bishops performing mass with a raised host, and "popish" worship with prayer beads, pilgrimages--a worship of man rather than God. Thus, Foxe's *Acts* had constructed immediately the way in which English Christians should view the Protestant Church and the Roman Church. This title pages served as "a visual announcement of the double theme" of *Acts*: the "true and false, persecuted and persecuting Churches, suffering martyrs and papal prosecutors."⁹⁶

The title page merely set the stage for the rest of the Book of Martyrs where the stories of the martyrs, especially of those martyred during the Marian persecution, were immortalized in Foxe's text and burned into the visual memories of the reader with gruesome and detailed woodcuts of the martyrs' deaths. The death of Bishop Hooper, who was instrumental in the Edwardian reformation, was carefully recorded in both the text and the illustration. Foxe described the slow death of Hooper: "the tortured man knocked his breast with his hands until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other."⁹⁷ This gruesome description was accompanied by an even more gruesome illustration in which Hooper stands burning alive with his fallen arm burning in the flames of the pyre. This "good" death became the image of the English reformers; they were godly men who suffered great torment for God and for the right religion. Foxe's text reminded the reader that he must not forget their sacrifice as the English church continues to work toward reform.

⁹⁶Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, "The Iconography of the *Acts and Mournments*," *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (England: Scolar Press, 1997) p. 76.

⁹⁷Aston quoting Foxe's *Acts*, p. 1064 of the 1563 version. p. 86

Both the 1563 and 1570 versions of *Acts* emphasized the sacrifice of the English reformers, but the 1570 text not only expanded the number (there were almost three times as many woodcuts in the 1570 version as in the 1563 version)⁹⁸ and extent of these images, it also constructed the sacrifice differently: the text and images became more apocalyptic and less prophetic. Tom Betteridge, an English Reformation scholar, described Foxe's different versions of the *Acts* in terms of the "prophetic," "apocalyptic," and "monumental" correlating respectively to the 1563, 1570, and 1583 versions. Drawing on John J. Wilson's terms, Betteridge describes the prophetic as the presupposition that God's providence works in and through human events towards the realization of the divine plan; the apocalyptic places the emphasis less on human ability to work with God, and more on God's complete control of history to bring man out of the "ominous" present into a "glorious" future; and the monumental is a celebration of that achievement.⁹⁹

The 1563 text was more optimistic about reform and "potentially more politically radical" than the 1570 text.¹⁰⁰ The final part of the 1563 text represented "the English Church and people as set on a continuing process of renewal and reform" as can be seen in the opening passages of this final text.¹⁰¹ Foxe described the opening of Mary's reign as "daies in proceeding without and before any lawe" while Elizabeth's reign opens with lawfulness where "no man presuming to violate orders godly taken."¹⁰² Elizabeth had only been in power for four years when this first version of the *Acts* was published. For Foxe and other reformers there was still hope for and room for further reformation in the Church. Furthermore, Elizabeth represented a welcome reprieve from the "tyranny" of persecution endured during Mary's reign. Elizabeth symbolized order, law, and godly

⁹⁸Aston, p. 101.

⁹⁹Tom Betteridge, "From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History," *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, ed. David Loades (England: Scolar Press, 1997) pp. 213-214.

¹⁰⁰Betteridge, p. 212.

¹⁰¹Betteridge, p. 214.

¹⁰²Foxe, *Acts* (1563), pp. 1708, 1710.

religion because she brought external peace (the peace of Cambresis) and internal peace (the end of the persecutions, the restoration of the Protestant Church through the religious settlement of 1559). In 1563 Foxe wrote prophetically when he described the horrors of Mary's reign in juxtaposition with the promise of Elizabeth's heretofore peaceful reign.

But the 1570 version of *Acts* did not end with Elizabeth's reign and the promise it represented; rather, the 1570 version ends abruptly with an "Admonition to the Reader." Foxe left out the 1563 section that described Elizabeth's ascent to power, the religious settlement of 1559, and Elizabeth's supposedly minimal role in achieving that settlement; the 1570 version ended without addressing Elizabeth's reign and the "progress" made since 1559.¹⁰³ Foxe ended the 1570 version thus because Elizabeth no longer represented the same kind of promise or prophesy that she had in 1563. In 1563, there was a promise for further reform and there was peace internally and externally. But in 1570 the controversies of the sixties had seemed to dash some of that hope for further reform, and the Northern Rebellion not only ended internal peace but shattered any illusion that England was unified under one religion, one "supreme governor" of the Church, one crown.

The 1570 version of *Acts* was apocalyptic in that it no longer looked forward to a promise of glory in the godly actions of the present, but rather looked forward to a glorious release from the ungodly present. The 1570 version reflected the disappointments and tensions of the sixties not only through an increase in martyrology and the absence of a history of Elizabeth's reign up to that point, but also in its construction of political disobedience during Mary's reign. The 1563 version described the secret meeting of the Bowe congregation (reformers) in 1555 and their subsequent arrest. In the 1563 version, Foxe described the letter the congregation wrote to the soon to be martyred Bishop Hooper in which the congregation described the need to obey God's law before man's, in this case Mary's law. But this letter was left out in the 1570

¹⁰³Betteridge, p. 216.

version and furthermore the whole Bowe incident was kept short; the reader was hurried through this show of support for disobedience. In 1563, Foxe had confidence in the further reformation of the Church and the unity of the kingdom under Protestant Elizabeth; thus, the letter was harmless. But in 1570 in the wake of a divided church and the Northern Rebellion, it would not have been politically wise to publish any kind of support for disobedience of the sovereign. Unity and uniformity were of the utmost importance in 1570 precisely because of their absence.

Although the 1570 version was marked by disappointment and an apocalyptic vision of the English Reformation, both the 1563 and 1570 versions constructed an anti-Catholic perspective. But while the 1563 version seemed to hold on to some hope of redemption for the "papists," the 1570 version seemed to have lost hope in papist conversion and instead emphasized their efforts to destroy the "godly" kingdom of England. As was discussed earlier, the title page of *Acts* (it was the same title page for both versions) constructed a Persecuted Church and a Persecuting Church where Protestants were members of the martyred church and the papists members of the ungodly persecuting church. The 1563 version further developed this relationship with an address to the Queen. In this address Foxe compared Elizabeth to Constantine, the first Christian emperor: Elizabeth was "Constantinus" who was called to "cease blood, to stave persecution, to refresh his [God's] people."¹⁰⁴ Elizabeth was the savior of the persecuted Protestant church of England just as Constantine had been the prince-savior of the Christians in the Roman Empire. Here, the 1563 text again articulated a prophetic vision—one of hope and promise: Elizabeth would save the godly in England just as Constantine had in the Roman Empire. Foxe characterized the papists as the "bitter blast, what smarting storms" that have been felt in England during Mary's reign.¹⁰⁵ The

¹⁰⁴*Acts*, p. B.i.

¹⁰⁵*Acts*, p. B.i.

papists were the rage, the scourge of England until God's "grace sent us your Maiestie to quench fier brandes, to asswage rage, to release innocents."¹⁰⁶

Foxe's address to the Queen was an expression of the prophetic as it portrayed Elizabeth as the mercy and grace of God that was sent to relieve the suffering of the persecuted church but Foxe went further. Foxe addressed the papists in 1563 both to chastise them and to call them to repentance. In his address, "To the Persecutors of God's truth, commonlye caled Papists, an other preface of the author," Foxe called the Papists' attention to the "heapes of slayne bodies, of so many men and women, both old, young, children, infantes"¹⁰⁷ so that they might repent their sins. And though these papists were "charged with the blood of so many martyrs," if they just

repent your murders, cease your persecutions, strive not against the Lord, but rather beware your [faults] which thought they be great and greater then you are aware, yet they are not so great, but Christ is greater, if ye repent¹⁰⁸

Foxe was still hopeful in 1563 that the papists could repent their evil ways and find God again in the true Protestant Church of England. In 1563, the papist was a sinner because he did not follow the right church, because he had participated in the unjust killing of Protestants during Mary's reign, because he did not know yet the true way. There was still hope; God could forgive the papists their evil ways; the papist could be brought into the fold of the godly. Foxe wrote in 1563 to keep the lives of these martyrs from falling into "the pit of oblivion,"¹⁰⁹ to celebrate the promise that Elizabeth represented, and to call the papists to repent and come into the fold of the Protestants. But in 1570 England had changed and so had Foxe.

¹⁰⁶*Acts*, p. B.i.

¹⁰⁷*Acts*, a second preface.

¹⁰⁸*Acts*, a second preface.

¹⁰⁹*Acts*, "A declaration concerning the utilite and profit of thys history." Foxe recognized that the "worlde is to replenished with suche an infinte multitude of bookes, dayly put forthe every where" and so he set out to justify his own work.

Foxe's 1570 version of *Acts* and his sermon "A sermon of Christ crucified..." (1570) both reflected a pessimism and antagonism toward papists and religion in England that reflected the Northern Rebellion's negative impact on England. Foxe wrote his 1570 version in response to criticism that the *Acts* was not a true account of the martyred English reformers. But he also wrote because of the renewed danger of "popery" in England represented by the Northern Rebellion and Mary Queen of Scots' involvement in that rebellion. The Northern Rebellion proved very forcefully the lack of religious and political unity and their direct relationship to one another; Foxe responded to this threat with a call for unity:

God hath so placed us Englishmen here in one common wealth, also in one Church as in one shippe together; let us not mangle or divide the shippe, which being divided perisheth . . . No storme so dangerous to a shippe on the Sea, as is discord and disorder in a weale publicke.¹¹⁰

Foxe had directly referred to the conflict of the 1560s both inside the Church and outside the Church in terms of the controversies of the sixties and the Northern Rebellion. The realm would be destroyed if it continued to be divided against itself. While the 1563 text opened with the saving grace of Elizabeth, the 1570 version opened with an apocalyptic vision of the realm, a vision that was rooted concretely in the "disorder" and the acknowledgment of disunity in religious and political matters that the Northern Rebellion represented. The Northern Rebellion and Foxe's response to it in the 1570 text represent a changing view of papists and of unity in England.

Foxe's address to Elizabeth and his address "To all the professed friends and followers of the Popes proceedings" in the 1570 text brings out the change in attitude toward Catholics and the urgency for religious and political unity in England after the Northern Rebellion. Unlike the 1563 address to Elizabeth, in 1570 Foxe did not compare

¹¹⁰*Acts* (1570), p. iiiii.

her to Constantine and her role in bringing England out of persecution and into God's light; rather, Foxe attacked "English Papists" and admitted that that was much of the purpose of the 1570 version, to defend his book against the English papists. But perhaps more revealing of this shift was the address to the papists who in 1563 were referred to as "Persecutors of God's truth" but in 1570 were referred to as the "friends and followers of the Popes proceedings." In 1563 the emphasis was placed upon the papists' role as ungodly and blasphemous whereas in 1570 the emphasis was placed upon the papists' role as a followers of the pope rather than loyal English subjects. This subtle shift that politicized religion was indicative of the further unification of religion and politics.

In 1570, Foxe wrote a much more apocalyptic version of *Acts* and thereby was reflecting the disappointment of the sixties and the fear that the Northern Rebellion had produced. Just as his 1570 version of *Acts* expressed a more antagonistic and fearful approach to the papists, so did his famous sermon, "A Sermon of Christ Crucified..." (1570). In this sermon, Protestants were reminded of the pope's previous domination over England and the danger that See of Rome would always represent. Foxe recalled the days of Queen Mary when Cardinal Poole came from Rome to ask the Court to be once again reconciled to the Pope; Foxe "translated" this request as the following:

that is to say, that the Queen with all her nobilitie and sage Counsell, with so many learned prelates, discrete Lawyers, worthy commons, and ye whole body of the Realm of England, should captive themselves, and become underlings to an Italian stranger, and friarly priest sitting in Rome, which never knew England, never was here, never did or shall do England good.¹¹¹

Foxe placed great emphasis on the *political* evil of the papists in a way that he hadn't before 1570. The Northern Rebellion served as a forceful reminder of what the papists stood for--foreign rule.

¹¹¹A *Sermon of Christ Crucified...*, John Foxe, (1570). pp. 2-3. Hereafter cited as "Sermon."

Foxe ended his sermon with a prayer for the church and the state and with a "Postscript to the Papists" where he once again warned English Protestants of the political and religious danger that the Catholics represented in 1570 and a final call to the papists that they might return to the church and reject the pope. For Foxe the pope was a "mischief as great, or greater then the other, for the Turk with his sword is not so cruel, but [the pope] on the other side is more fierce and bytter agaynst us."¹¹² The pope was so dangerous because he could divide the English subjects against themselves, shaking their resolve to be Protestant, "sturring up hys Byshops to burne us, his confederattes to conspire our differences, setting kings agaynst their subjects, and subjects agaynst their princes."¹¹³ And though Foxe made one last attempt to call the papists back to repentance in his sermon because "blood and persecution is no way to find truth"¹¹⁴, the papists were still more a danger to the rest of the realm than to themselves.

John Foxe's *Acts* constructed persecuted and persecuting churches in both the 1563 and 1570 versions. However, while the 1563 version tended to be prophetic, the 1570 version was more apocalyptic and reflective of the impact of the Northern Rebellion. The papists became a solid threat to the Church and the state in the rebellion of 1569; Foxe's *Acts* and sermon were representative of that shift. The papists were dangerous because they held allegiance to a foreigner and that foreigner was bent on destroying the unity and order of England. Catholics were characterized as the persecuting church in Foxe's monumental work, and just as he was influential in constructing that vision of "papists," so was he also profoundly influenced by the Northern Rebellion that shattered any illusion that England was unified either religiously or politically.

¹¹²Sermon, I.iii.

¹¹³Sermon, I.iii.

¹¹⁴Sermon, I.iii.

The 1571 Parliament

The Northern Rebellion left an indelible mark on the face of English attitudes towards Catholics and towards politics. Thomas Norton's treatises, the sermons of 1562 and 1569, and John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*--all bear witness to this shift and unification of religious and political policies. The 1571 parliament brought to fruition this union of religious and political goals that resulted in an anti-Catholic policy. This policy was at the root of fiscal legislation and the treason and fugitive acts of 1571.

The Lord Keeper's opening speech in 1571 was markedly different than in 1563. Sir Nicholas Bacon's opening speech in 1563 set out the continuance of the religious settlement and general laws as the purpose of the parliament:

Now the matters that are in this parliament to be proponed consist altogether in two parts: the former in matters of religion for the mayntenaunce and setting forthe of God's hounour and glorye; the second in matters of policie for the more perfitt unhouldinge and establishinge of the Queen's Majestie's honour and royall estate and the preservation of the common weale committed to her chardge.¹¹⁵

In 1563, England had not yet experienced the Northern Rebellion, and its relationships with foreign powers were fairly peaceful. In 1563 Bacon mentioned religious policy in the context of continuing the religious settlement of 1559, "for the better maynetnaunce and settinge forthe of God's honour and glory." Bacon's speech in 1563 spoke of religion by itself without direct relation (although there was an indirect relation) to political policies.

In stark contrast to the 1563 parliament, the opening speech of 1571 parliament emphasized the defense of the realme and religion as part of that defense:

¹¹⁵T.E. Hartley, *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*. (Great Britain: Leicester Press, 1981). Bacon's speech, p. 80.

The causes of your callinge . . . be chiefly two: th'one to establishe or dissolve lawes as best shall serve for the good governance of the realme, the'other soe to consider for the crowne and state as it may be best preserved in the time of peace and best defended in the time of warre, accordinge to the honour due to it.¹¹⁶

The purpose of parliament in 1571 was to defend the realm within and without; the mention of war was indicative of the defensive posture the English government was taking toward internal rebels, specifically Catholics, and external enemies, specifically the pope and increasingly Spain.¹¹⁷

Though both the 1563 and 1570 speeches mention religion, Bacon's speech in 1571 talked about religion as a support of the state, a state preparing for war; government should pursue the "advancement of God's hounour and glory" because "the pollicy of every good publicke weale is to be erected and builte" upon the "chief pillars and buttres" of religion.¹¹⁸ Religion was the foundation of policy in 1571 in a way that it was not in 1563. In 1571, religion was the "pillar" "wherewith [the commonwealth's policy] is continually sustained and maintained."¹¹⁹ This relationship between religious policy and political policy that revolved around a defensive war-like attitude helped determine the fiscal legislation and the legislation regarding treason.

Fiscal legislation was at least in part debated and passed based upon its relationship to the Northern Rebellion. Bacon's opening speech justified the Queen's request for more funds with:

First, the great chardge in suppressing [the] late northern rebellion, when chardges above in reforminge those the Queene's Majesties' enemys in Scotland that assisted the rebells and made roads into England . . . to these three chardges [Ireland, Scotland, and Northern England] by land you may add a fourth by sea, as the

¹¹⁶Hartley, p. 183.

¹¹⁷Relations between Spain and England were strained by Mary Queen of Scots, the papal excommunication, and Elizabeth's decision in 1569 to keep intercepted Spanish goods. The good will and peace between England and Spain was coming to an end after 1569.

¹¹⁸Hartley, p. 183.

¹¹⁹Hartley, p. 183.

preparacion and settinge foorth of ships partly for the defence
against all chances of forraigne forces suspected and intended.¹²⁰

Bacon urged parliament that part of their purpose was to grant the money needed to make up for these war expenses and to cover possible future problems abroad. The peace that England had enjoyed for the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign ended because of the "Romanistic rebelles."¹²¹

The legislation that Bacon had called for in his opening speech came about in "An Acte of Two Fifteenes and Tenths and One Subside" whose preamble was related directly to Bacon's justification for the request of further funding. The preamble began by recognizing that England had "been for long tyme kept in peace with forraigne Realmes, and quiet within ourselves, more happylye than in any former tyme."¹²² The preamble then related the reason for its existence: "certayne, evyll disposed, unnaturell, and unkynde subjectes of your Majestie, enemies to God, and to your hyness [made an] unnaturall, popishe, and rebellious attempt" on the throne and religion of England.¹²³ Because of this attempt parliament granted this money.

The preamble to this legislation was important for two reasons. First it revealed the heavy impact the Northern Rebellion had on the treasury.¹²⁴ But second and more important, the preamble reveals the powerful link between religious and political policies in the 1571 parliament. The rebels were "unnaturall, popishe, and rebellious"--they were rebels both religiously and politically. Their "popery" was not only ungodly and repugnant to Protestant worship, but also dangerous to the security of the crown. These "Romanistic rebelles" had ended internal peace and encouraged external discord. This fiscal legislation was a response to the Northern Rebellion not only as compensation for

¹²⁰Hartley, p. 186.

¹²¹Hartley, p. 185.

¹²²At the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster the Second of April ... etc. 1571, ch. xxvii

¹²³Parliament, ch xxvii.

¹²⁴For a detailed account of the cost of armies during Elizabeth's reigns and the abuses within the army that raised those costs, see C. G. Cruickshank's *Elizabeth's Army*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1966).

loss of funds; this legislation was also a policy statement about the state of domestic and foreign affairs. The time of peace and accord had ended with the Northern Rebellion; the time of war had begun.

Fiscal legislation yielded the money needed to pursue this war-like policy, but it was the treason acts and fugitive act that concretely and forcefully articulated the union between religious and political policies.¹²⁵ The first treason act, "An Acte whereby of certayne offences be made treason," was a direct reaction against the Northern Rebellion. According to the preamble, the purpose of this treason act was to protect Elizabeth from all harm and rebellion; thus it made any threat or denial of Elizabeth's rights to the throne, her style (including her title as "supreme governor" of the church) or her position as queen, an act of treason.¹²⁶ In this way, parliament protected Elizabeth's right as Queen and right as "supreme governor" which meant that a subject could not affirm Elizabeth's right to the throne while denying her right as the supreme governor of the church. English Catholic subjects were forced to choose between the Queen and the pope. In this way, this first treason act reinforced the union between religious and political policy. Catholics were traitors.

While the first treason act made any action, word, etc. against Elizabeth treason, the second treason act made any Catholic action that showed affiliation with the pope not only illegal but treasonous. This act, "An acte against the Bringing in and putting in Execution of Bulls and Other Instruments from the See of Rome," began with a justification for the purpose and existence of the statute that was

very well ordained and provided, for the abolishing of the usurped power and jurisdiction heretofore unlawfully claimed and usurped within this real and the other dominions to the Queen's Majesty belonging that no person or persons shall hold or stand with to set

¹²⁵England had not declared war on a foreign power, and the rebels of the Northern Rebellion had been crushed. But England was entering a war-like frame of mind that would determine much of its policy in the 1571 parliament and onward.

¹²⁶Parliament, ch I. This treason act makes any act within or without the realm that denies Elizabeth's right to the throne by word or action or silence treason.

forth, maintain, defend, or extol the same usurped power, or attribute any manner jurisdiction, authority or preeminence to the same, to be had or used within this realme or any the said dominions upon pain to incur the danger, penalties, and forfeitures ordained the sixteenth year of the reign of King Richard the Second.¹²⁷

This treason act clearly set forth that support of the pope and the Catholic church through transportation, possession, and reproduction of the letters of the pope or other papal "things" was treasonous because it supported the usurping of authority, the displacing of loyalty from crown to the pope. This treason act made Catholics into traitors, or at least declared them as such.

Catholic activity became identified with "sedition and rebellion within this realm, to the disturbance" of the realm.¹²⁸ Papal bulls were identified as the source of rebellion; this was the purpose of Thomas Norton's treatises discussed earlier. Norton wanted a more severe policy against Catholics because he believed Catholics necessarily to be traitors to the realm. The English subject could only be a subject of Queen Elizabeth, the legitimate prince; he could not split his loyalties and support the pope and Catholic religion because the pope was a foreign usurper. Because Catholics gave obedience to the pope the "further danger of this realm is hereafter very like to be renewed if the ungodly and wicked attempts in that behalf be not by severity of laws in time restrained and bridled."¹²⁹ Not only had Catholics been traitors in the past Northern Rebellion, but they were likely to continue to be rebels as long as the crown resisted papal authority. Laws were necessary to prevent the Catholics, the rebels, from succeeding any further in embroiling England into rebellion and possibly civil war. This act against Catholics represents the translation of anti-Catholic sentiment into concrete government policy.

While the first two treason acts focused upon those still within the realm and what Catholic rebels might import into the realm, the third treason act, "An Acte agaynst fugitives over the Seas," was directed against escaped rebels. This act prevented

¹²⁷Parliament, ch. II.

¹²⁸Parliament, ch II.

¹²⁹Parliament, ch II.

fugitives from collecting money from their estates in England.¹³⁰ By mandating a complete forfeiture of all fugitives' rights as English subjects, parliament has forced the decision: be Catholic or be an English subject. This act prevented rebels from setting themselves up in a foreign country with money from their English estates, consorting and conspiring with other fugitive rebels and Catholic foreigners, and then returning to England to stage another rebellion. This fugitive act completed the treason acts that began with making any denial of Elizabeth's princely rights treason, were furthered by making any bringing in of "popery" treason, and finally the fugitive law made the return and possible profit of those who had escaped the other treasons impossible.

These treason acts were preceded in the royal proclamations that followed the Northern Rebellion. Proclamation 577 (July 1, 1570) and 580 (November 14, 1570) served as precedent for the treason acts of 1571. Proclamation 577, called "Ordering Arrest for Circulating Seditious Books and Bulls," pronounced that

the Queen's Majesty, being of late certainly informed of the traitours boldness of certain wicked and seditious persons, that envying and making the good universall quiet of her realm and subjects, do by secret manner contrive and scatter certain infamous scrolls and bills in some parts of her realm, and into some other parts bring in traitourous books and bulls, as it were from Rome.¹³¹

This proclamation was clearly a reaction to the Northern Rebellion and the papal bulls that excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570. This proclamation was a forerunner to the 1571 treason acts and thus is an indication that the crown was in firm support of the treason acts and introduced them into parliament through the privy council.

While Proclamation 577 served as forerunner to the first two treason acts, two Proclamation 580 served as a forerunner to the fugitive act of 1571. Like the fugitive act

¹³⁰Parliament, ch. III.

¹³¹P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, ed. Tudor Royal Proclamations, vol. II, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), p.341.

of 1571, Proclamation 580 was directed against escaped rebels and the possibility of their further activity against the crown:

sundry secret malicious solicitations of certain fugitives and revels being fled now and remaining out of the realm, by their seditious messages and false reports sent into the same tending to provoke others to be partakers of their malicious treasons.¹³²

Helpers of these fugitives and any persons found distributing their seditious tracts were to be apprehended under this proclamation. Thus, the treason and fugitive acts of the 1571 parliament originated not in parliament but with the crown less than a year earlier. It was not just the increasingly Protestant House of Commons that took up this anti-Catholic policy; the crown was pivotal in establishing an anti-Catholic policy that brought together religious and political policies into one policy: the protection of the crown.

Though the crown supported the treason acts of 1571 and seemed to support a unification of religious and political policies, it did not support the reform efforts of the more radical Protestants in the 1571 parliament. Mr. Strickland and Mr. Norton, radical Protestant members of the House of Commons, both supported the *Reformatio*, a combination of bills and religious reforms to further reform the Church of England in terms of "popery." Mr. Strickland, a "grave and ancient man of Great Zeal,"¹³³ introduced the "book" into parliament with Mr. Norton's help. These two men and others in support of further reform proceeded in ecclesiastical matters with great caution and deliberation because "they desired to give no occasion of distaste to her Majesty; who ever for the most part, shewed her selfe very averse to their intermedling with anything concerning Church matters."¹³⁴ This account of the affairs in parliament indicate two very important aspects of the parliament of 1571 and the legislation passed. First, this passage shows that there was a desire for greater reform in the church. But secondly and

¹³²Hughes, p. 347.

¹³³D'Ewes, Simond. The Journals of all the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I, p. 156.

¹³⁴D'Ewes, p. 158. Thomas Norton, *Parliament Man* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994 p. 297.

more importantly, this passage indicates Elizabeth's resistance to making laws involving Church affairs. Although Elizabeth was in favor of treason laws that made Catholicism illegal, she was not interested in and even somewhat angered by the parliament's effort to further reform the church. Elizabeth united religious and political policies only to the extent that it would secure her power on the throne and negate the power of Catholic rebels. The Catholics had indeed become traitors, but the crown was not yet ready to submit to further reform. The crown was taking an essentially conservative stand on religious and political issues; the question was not how to purify the church of popery, the question was how to preserve the sovereignty of the crown and the church that had come under attack by the same force: Catholicism.

After considering the crown's conservative policy, it was not surprising that the *Reformatio* was not passed into law, with the exception of two "alphabet bills" (so named because of how they were listed together in the House's agendas). The *Reformatio* was a combination of bills that would have furthered reform in the Anglican Church. The *Reformatio* was stopped by either the House of Lords or by Elizabeth herself. The bill to confirm the articles of religion was stopped by Elizabeth while the bill against corrupt presentations (ceremonies) was turned down by the House of Lords. The rejection of this bill eliminated two other related bills. Only two bills were passed: one that was against simony and the other that required all clergy to subscribe to "all the artycles of Religion which onely concerne the Confession of the true Christian Faithe and the Doctrine of the Sacraments."¹³⁵ This statute was ambiguous and thus allowed the bishops to pick and choose to what they would subscribe. In this way, less radical Protestants resisted further reform and sustained the status quo. Elizabeth's refusal to pass the first bill for the confirming of religious articles is indicative of her conservative policy that parliament should only interfere with religion to the extent that it further maintained her power.

The union of religious policies and political policies would not in 1571 give the

¹³⁵Graves, Thomas. *Thomas Norton: Parliament Man*. Oxford. Blackwell Publishers, 1994. p. 297.

Conclusion

more radical reformers the leverage they needed to further reform the church in 1571. Though the Northern Rebellion clearly brought to the fore the common enemy of the Protestant Church and Elizabeth, it did not equate church reform with state protection. Rather, the English government went on the defensive as it sought to protect the institution of the Protestant church and the institution of the crown. The union of religious and political policies in the 1571 parliament was an essentially conservative union that was a reaction to the lawlessness of the Northern Rebellion and the increasing incommensurability of two terms: loyal English subject and loyal Catholic. Thus, the union of religious and political policies did not give the more radical reformers in parliament the reform they sought in the church. However, it did make the radical reformers' argument against Catholics more powerful and allowed for the further isolation of Catholics government and the Church. Though Elizabeth blocked radical reform for the duration of her realm, the anti-Catholic policy of 1571 further isolated Catholics and thus further reduced their influence in religious and political policy.

Elizabeth's ascent to power in 1559 brought Protestantism back to the church of England as she became the "supreme governor" of the Anglican church. Elizabeth worked with parliament in 1559 to establish both a religious settlement and to establish her political power in England. There was not as of yet the "puritan choir" in the House of Commons that would become so influential from the 1570's onward, but parliament wasn't just a "court tool" either. Rather, it was in parliament and in the religious settlement of 1559 that Elizabeth asserted her political power and hoped to secure its maintenance, alienating neither Catholic sympathizers nor more radical Protestants. Elizabeth needed the support of both groups, both internally and externally.

By keeping the religious settlement ambiguous, Elizabeth managed to give hope for religious change in either direction to both those more attached to the "old faith" and to those who were more radically Protestant. In the same way, Elizabeth hoped to keep foreign powers guessing as to how Catholic or Protestant she would be. By doing this,

Conclusion

In 1534 Henry VIII broke away from Rome and asserted himself as the supreme head of the church and state. Under one person, the jurisdiction of the church and the prince came together. Less interested in theological consistency, Henry sought to solidify his position as the supreme head in England. His son Edward VI was much more concerned with theological consistency as he moved England toward a greater reformed church. Edward's reformation was legally undone by his sister Mary who attempted to bring England back to Rome and back to the Catholic religion. Mary used her authority as head of the church to reject that very same authority and place the English church back within the jurisdiction of the pope. In her attempt to bring the country back to Catholicism, she persecuted Protestants and gained the title "Bloody Mary." Many Protestants escaped persecution by fleeing to the continent. They only returned after Mary's death when Elizabeth ascended to the throne.

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she hoped to avoid conflict with Spain. In 1559, Elizabeth's primary objective in the religious settlement seems to have been to use religion as a way to establish her power in England, secure that power, and avoid further conflict abroad.

Elizabeth resisted reforms in the church that would have further alienated some of the more powerful nobles who were still tied very closely to Catholicism. But after the arrival of her cousin, Mary Stuart, in 1568 and the Northern Rebellion in 1569, Elizabeth could no longer afford this strategy. Mary Stuart's presence in England served as a powerful reminder that Elizabeth was not a "legitimate" Catholic heir, and there was someone who was not only legitimate but stood next in line to the throne if Elizabeth died without heirs. Mary Stuart became the rallying point around which the Northern earls hoped to reassert their power at court and return the country to Catholicism. The Spanish also looked to Mary Stuart as a possible pawn to their own plans for England that would make England a dependent ally. The Northern Rebellion forced the question that heretofore had been avoided: Could a Catholic subject be a loyal English subject to a Protestant Queen?

Norton's four treatises answered this question over and over again with a loud almost deafening "no." For Norton and other Protestants, both those more conservative and radical, the Northern Rebellion proved without a doubt that Catholics had divided loyalties and that could not be tolerated in an English subject. Catholicism was equated with treason as Norton equated the pope with foreign rule. Catholicism was not simply a matter of religious worship, it was intimately bound up with politics and the maintenance of Elizabeth's power as the head of the church and the state. Norton used the Northern Rebellion as evidence of the intrinsic corruption of the Catholic religion and thus reason why it should not have been tolerated in England. In this way, Norton used the political situation to further his theological goals of further church reform. This would take the form of the *Reformatio* in the 1571 parliament. Norton and other more radical Protestants attempted to use the Northern Rebellion as political justification for further

religious reform. Although their efforts failed for the most part, the 1571 parliament made the radical Protestant presence in parliament stronger because the 1571 parliament took the all important step of making Catholicism treason. Once Catholicism was considered treason, radical Protestants could justify further reform both in religious and political terms.

The crown's resistance to further reform and further parliamentary interference in religious matters was clear in both Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* and in the parliament of 1571. Foxe's more apocalyptic vision in the 1570 version of *Acts* illustrates both the impact of the Northern Rebellion and Mary Queen of Scots' presence in England and the disappointment of the 1560's. The 1570 version excluded any mention of Elizabeth's role in reforming the church because Foxe was less hopeful that she would further reform the Anglican church. Foxe was not only less hopeful of further reform in 1570 but he was also more wary of the Catholics and any hope that they might be won over to Protestantism. The Northern Rebellion had illustrated without a doubt the lack of religious and political unity in England that was so badly needed. Foxe's work was the negative perspective of radical Protestants while Norton represented the more hopeful perspective. Norton still believed that the government, if not the Catholics, could be won over to further reform if shown the political danger that Catholics continued to represent to the sovereignty of Elizabeth.

While Norton demonized Catholics both politically and religiously in order to gain further reform in the church, Elizabeth resisted these tendencies in the 1571 parliament by rejecting bills seeking further reform. Elizabeth was only interested in anti-Catholic policy as a means to secure her throne and not as a means toward further reform. As D'ewes Journals show, Elizabeth was annoyed by parliament's attempts at further reform and thus they were careful to couch that reform in terms of political policy.

Religious and political policies came together in the 1571 parliament in an anti-Catholic policy but are not completely united in terms of an ultimate goal. The crown's support of the anti-Catholic policy was guided by its desire to maintain Elizabeth's power, while the radical Protestant's support of the anti-Catholic policy was guided by the hope for further reform in the church. Both the crown and the radical Protestants in parliament supported this coalescence of religious and political policies but only to the extent that it would further their own agendas. Thus, Elizabeth did not support further reform. But this anti-Catholic policy that emerged out of the 1571 parliament strengthened the radical Protestant cause and further alienated Catholics. Because Catholics were further alienated, their influence in government and the church was further limited.

Though Elizabeth resisted alienating Catholics and Protestants in the religious settlement in 1559, she was forced to begin alienating Catholics in the wake of the Northern Rebellion and Mary Stuart's presence in England. Despite Elizabeth's and the more conservative House of Lords attempts to resist further reform in the church, their agreement with the radical Protestants to establish an anti-Catholic policy to protect the crown ultimately allowed for the possibility for further reform in the church. Thus encouraged, radical Protestants continued to fight for greater reform despite Elizabeth's continued resistance. Religion and politics had come together in 1571 in an anti-Catholic policy that opened the way to the "puritan movement," which was very influential and powerful in the seventeenth century.

Figure 2. Title Page of the *Acts and* **Appendix** (1563)

Figure 1, Tudor lineage: 1485-1603

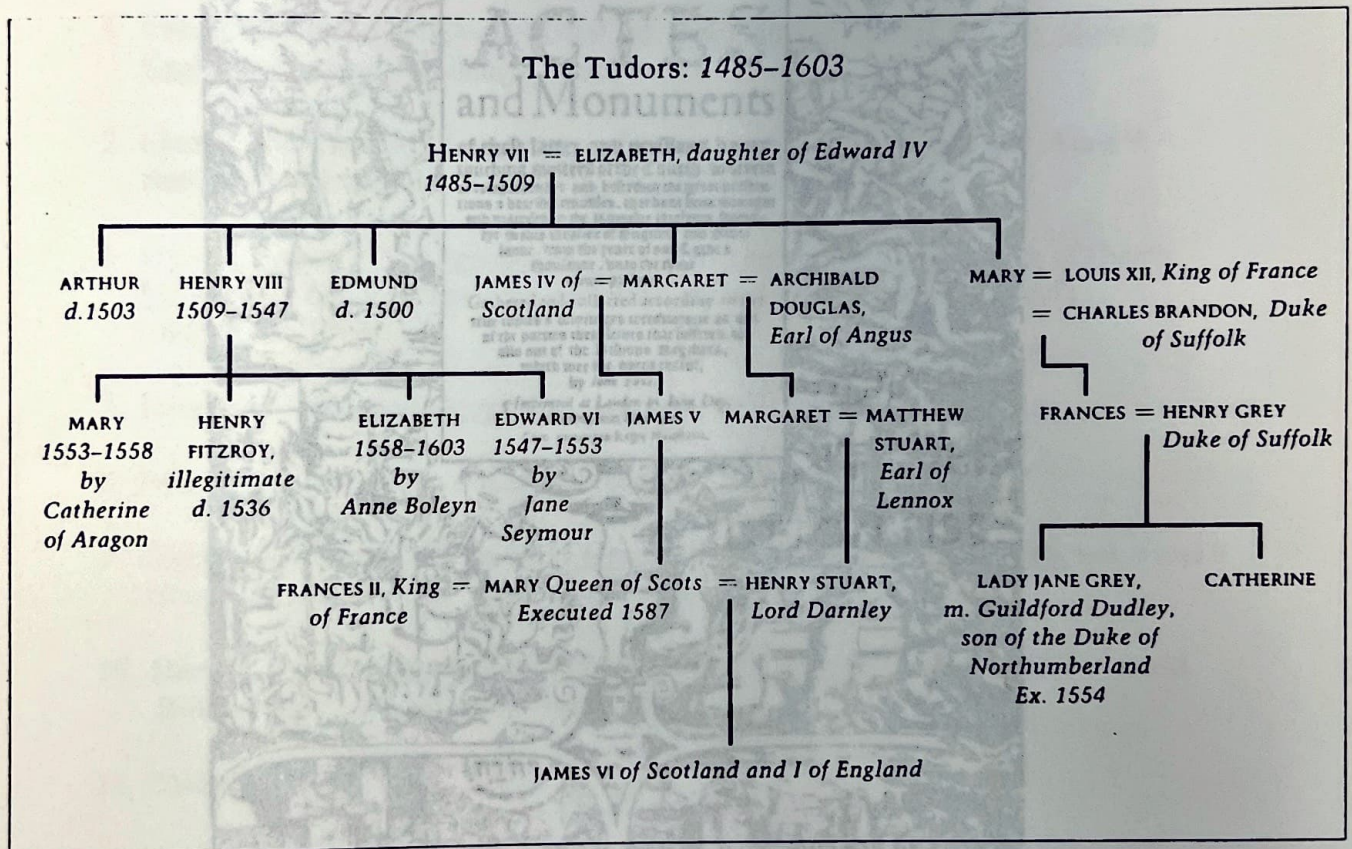
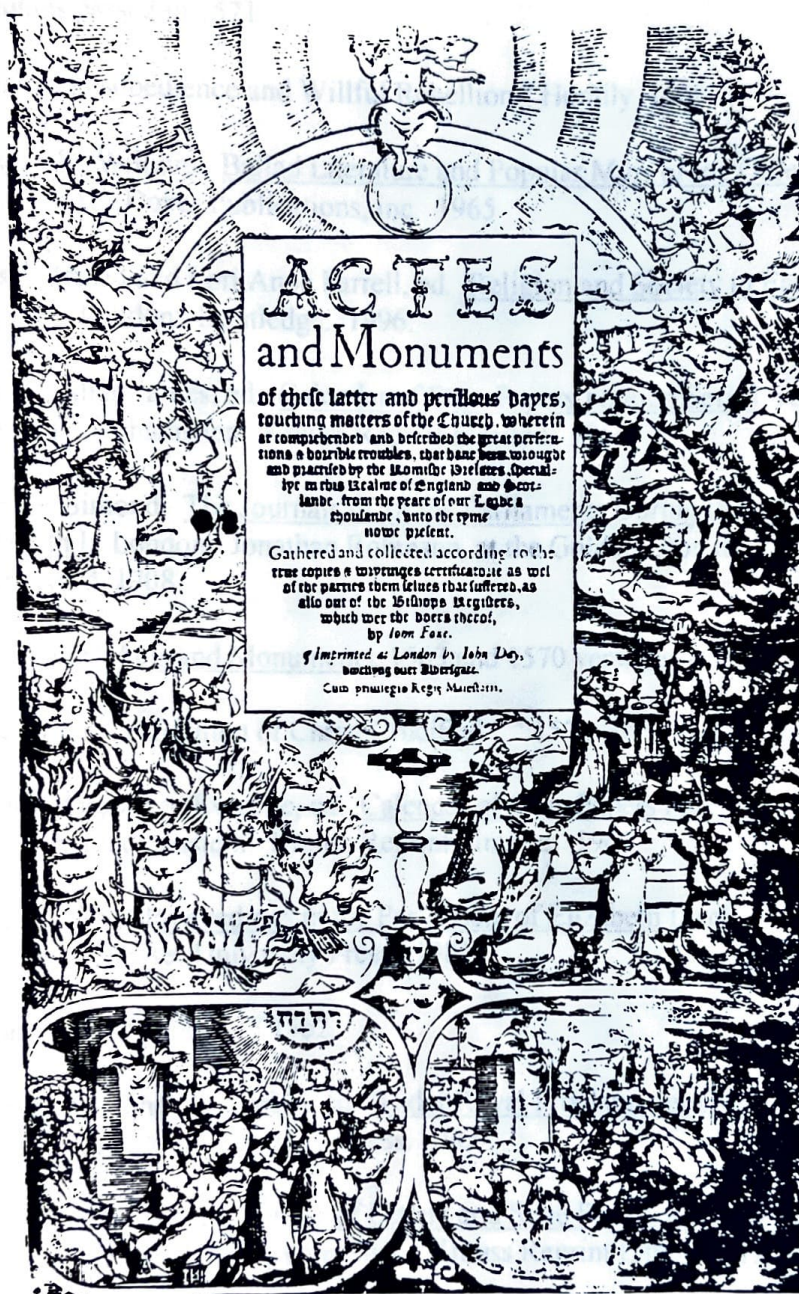


Figure 2, Title Page of the *Acts and Monuments* (1563)



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