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Royal Power and Faith:
The Tudor Children in the English Reformation

Shepherd Aaron Ellis
History Department
University of North Carolina Asheville
Asheville, North Carolina

Faculty Advisor: Eric Roubinek

Abstract

This paper examines the English Reformation in the 16th century under the last Tudors, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I. Research was done with letters, speeches, popular culture, art, and religious texts. The argument presented here is that across the Protestant and Catholic divides of the period there was an effort by the monarchs to build up national identity in tandem with religion. The aim of this project is to assert that royal power, in conjunction with religious reform created this identity. By examining Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the power and limitations of the crown's power shows that despite being an individual office, royal authority was as much a social force as religion and helped to raise early English national feelings.

1. Body of Paper

The period of the Protestant Reformation in England, under the Tudor era was a contentious time.[1] Some "external" causes of the Reformation are identified as an early sense of national English identity, Mary's marriage to Philip II and the subsequent Spanish influence on England, and Elizabeth's geopolitical struggles with Europe. Other "internal" influences can be seen in English conversion through theologians, preachers, and a systematizing of belief through royal legalism. There was also an immense impact the Tudor children as monarchs had through the power of the crown. Royal power exercised by the individual monarchs and those they appointed, in conjunction with religious reform was able to radically alter religious culture in England. This in turn helped to create a feeling of English identity that can be called pre-modern nationalism that was intertwined with religion.

The historiography of this period additionally falls into "external" and "internal" emphases. Neither side is necessarily wrong in this debate on the causes of the Reformation, or what had the most impact on ultimately making England Protestant. In "Cranmer and the Eucharistie Doctrine And the Prayer Books of Edward VI" Fred H. Cate helps to explain this external view. He notes that while Henry VIII brought the church under his control, the dogma had remained Catholic in substance, with Protestant heretics executed.[2] Thomas Cranmer was the bishop and theologian charged with creating the first Book of Common Prayer in 1549 under Edward VI and while his influence on the second book in 1552 is up for debate, he took credit for it. Cate argues that Cranmer's early work was Protestant but did not conform fully to any established Eucharistic doctrine, so as to provide a model of Protestant unity on the Eucharist to cast England as a model Protestant kingdom.[3]

The work of Atlantic Historian Jorge Canizares-Esguerra in *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic* helps to show how the Protestant English and Catholic Spanish were still culturally connected. He argues that English narratives revolved around the glory of conquest, with the Spanish cast as villains, leading to an early rise in English proto-nationalism.[4] This idea would eventually transcend politics and enter English popular culture through propaganda and art, especially in epic literature.[5] The idea of an English identity as defined in contrast to external forces can also be seen in Ted Booth's article "Elizabeth I and Pope Paul IV: Reticence and Reformation" where he

argues that although a dedicated Protestant, Elizabeth portrayed herself as a political and religious moderate to prevent open war.[6] He contends that posturing from Elizabeth and inaction from the Vatican allowed Elizabeth to consolidate an Anglican church, and that by the time of her official excommunication in 1570 it was too late to sever Protestantism in England.[7]

Anne McLaren's article "Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism" furthers the external theory of Reformation. She focuses on the cultural tensions between Mary Stuart in Scotland and Elizabeth. MacLaren argues that Elizabeth and her councilors were able to tie English cultural and national identity with Protestantism and extreme loyalty to Elizabeth herself by portraying her as the "Woman Clothed with the Sun" in Revelations.[8] She concludes that it was Elizabeth's foreign and religious policy, buttressed with her royal image that contrasted England with Scotland and Catholicism, thus shaping early English nationalism and identity.[9]

Robert Whiting's book *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation* is the final external source used here. He holds that most English lacked agency in the Reformation. Whiting shows that the English people had a strong sense of duty to the crown, causing some English Catholics to defer to Elizabeth's settlements.[10] Whiting demonstrates how Elizabeth mixed the English ethnic identity with anti-Catholic sentiments, making the Reformation as much motivated by Protestant zeal as by a kind of xenophobia directed toward a threat to the burgeoning English nation.[11] His book details records for specific parishes in England, and is a valuable source of the history of the common people in the English Reformation.

One of the sources that examines internal factors is *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* by Eamon Duffy. He deftly shows that the Catholic Counter-Reformation was successful at winning many people over through preaching and speeches, to counter the Protestant movement under Edward VI.[12] Duffy contends that while Protestantism made gains in England, due to Mary's efforts, a majority of England remained Catholic. An examination of Mary's reign continues in the article *Mary Tudor as 'Sole Queene'?: Gendering the Tudor Monarchy* by Judith Richards. She explores how Mary and later Elizabeth, supported themselves as independent rulers. Richards shows how Mary and Parliament used legal authority to place her crown over her gender in order to prevent her foreign husband from subsuming the English crown via matrimony.[13] There were also stories about Mary, and later Elizabeth, who claimed marriage to the kingdom, showing that the power of the crown was tied not only to the monarch, but also the Realm itself and transcended gender and traditional marriage roles.[14]

Diarmaid MacCulloch's article "The Myth of the English Reformation" pushes back against the revisionist idea in the 16th and 17th centuries that the Reformation was less than Protestant under Elizabeth. He argues that only the most convinced Protestants were willing to follow her in nationalizing religion.[15] While he does acknowledge that less radical Protestants used the deliberate ambiguities and compromises to their advantage, the doctrine of Elizabeth was fully Protestant.[16] MacCulloch's arguments show that the rigidity of the Elizabethan church shaped religion to help create a patriotic, early national identity.

In his chapter "Pre-Modern Nationalism: An Oxymoron? The Evidence from England" Philip S. Gorski breaks down the modernist and pre-modernist debate on nationalism and provides an in-depth examination of the Reformation. Pre-modern theories argue that the markers of nationalism, from propaganda, national histories and chronicles that would have appealed to people who identified with a nation can be found in pre-modern societies.[17] Additionally, Azar Gat and Alexander Yakobson in *Nations: The Long History and Deep Roots of Political Ethnicity and Nationalism* advance pre-modern arguments. They highlight that specialists in Medieval and Early Modern history argue that ethnic groups and eventually early nations formed before what is considered the modern period.[18]

These internal factors are also scrutinized by Penry Williams and *The Tudor Regime*. He contends that Protestantism had intellectual roots in England before Henry VIII, who faced little resistance in taking the church under the crown.[19] Williams further argues that once Henry and Edward had taken religion under royal power and created Protestant dogmas, it was up to Elizabeth to solidify royal power and advance Protestantism. The goal of this project is to demonstrate that within complicated religious and political conflicts, external and internal as outlined above, the force of royal power, and the personality of rulers helped to drive religious settlements. Further, these religious settlements could not be withdrawn from a rising national identity, and religious reform became integral to the creation of early English nationalism.

Henry VIII brought religion under royal control, but he did not do much to advance a strict Protestant doctrine. Instead, under his reign, growth was advanced by people like Thomas Cranmer and Henry's last wife Catherine Parr.[20] Edward VI kept religion under royal power, while adding Protestant doctrine.[21] This Act of Uniformity introduced the forthcoming *Book of Common Prayer*, created for the first time in the Edwardian reforms. This new standard would take effect by Pentecost, and was written by Thomas Cranmer, a steadfast Protestant.[22] Edward VI and the Protestants around him were using preexisting royal authority to create a Protestant English church, predicated on systematized doctrine and royal power.

Examples of this systematized Protestantism can be found in a sermon by Thomas Cranmer, on Grace, in 1547. In it, Cranmer enunciates the new Protestant understanding of Grace, in opposition to Catholic belief, and it was read as an address by the rector to the congregation.[23] The thesis of the homily was that "Perfect Justification" through faith and acceptance of Christ was more important than empty works.[24] With religion now being under royal control, the new doctrine of Grace, provided by an Archbishop appointed by the monarch, further showed the role royal power had, even beyond Edward VI, as the abstract of the crown presented itself as providing the only correct understanding of Grace, and thus salvation. This nascent approval of royal power is furthered by Cranmer invoking church fathers, and calling Protestantism the "True Church," making his royal patron the "True King," who replaced Papal religious authority as the head of the English Church.[25]

The doctrine of the Eucharist was outlined in the *1549 Book of Common Prayer* in an attempt to nationalize religion with a unified English confessional book. These prayer books contain the doctrine of the Protestant churches and provide interesting comparisons to track shifting belief. This is the first of these books and refers to the Eucharist as "The Lord's Supper."[26] The sacrament also became a way to promote societal harmony, by not allowing anyone to partake who was "betwixt whom he percveieth malice, and hatred to reigne, not suffering them to be partakers of the Lorde's table, until he know them to be reconciled."[27] This was not a radical new Protestant belief, that someone must be prepared to receive a sacrament, but this was the first time it had explicitly appeared in a royally sanctioned prayer book, bringing the Eucharist and societal justice and peace together in one prayer book. It was also a way to keep religious dissenters isolated from the congregation and from God.

This shift in religious thinking, precipitated by royal power, can be seen in *John Bon and Master Parson* a satirical dialogue by a London physician named Luke Shepherd, from around 1548. The satire presents a conversation between an uneducated farmer and a priest. At the start of the dialogue, John misidentifies 'Corpus Christi' as "Cropsi Curtsy."[28] This attack on the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation when John asks how this could be true if the elements still taste the same.[29] The satire ends with a frustrated priest and a farmer who extolls his own reason, presenting Protestantism as more rational.[30] The satire is less a witty dialogue than a short denouncement of Catholic doctrine, but the remarks of John are cutting and represent a growing, zealous Protestantism. This growing culture is directly linked to the official doctrinal changes, precipitated through the crown and those that the monarchs entrusted with policy making power.

As systematized Protestant belief grew, so did the involvement of the crown. Cate notes that while in 1549 Cranmer had wanted to provide a uniform experience of the Eucharist, by the time of the second book in 1552 the limits of a more neutral book had been exposed. At this time, Edward VI was old enough to take a role in government, and as a dedicated Protestant he wanted to change the liturgy and doctrine.[31] In addition to this, Cate argues that conservative parishes could use the ambiguities of the 1549 book to disguise continued Catholicism.[32] Despite the allowances that Cranmer left in the 1549 sacramental text, he did specify that in the celebration the worshiper would "spiritually eate the fleshe of Christ."[33] This prayer book firmly disavowed the doctrine of transubstantiation while allowing for a myriad of Protestant views.

Edward suffered from poor health and died young at the age of fifteen in 1553. He attempted to continue the Protestant direction of the country by making a relative, Jane Grey, his heir. Jane ruled for a total of nine days, before Mary arrived in London, to the acclaim of the people, where she processed into London in the regalia of a Queen Consort.[34] Grey was later executed, along with the Protestant leaders who had fought for her, and Jane gave a last speech where she claimed to not have offended the Queen.[35] Grey also affirmed her Protestant leanings, stating "I trust to be saved by the blood of Jesus Christ and by no other means."[36]

Presented with two legitimate options, the sister of the King, Mary, and the King's chosen heir Jane Grey, England largely held Mary to be the rightful monarch. These events show the prestige royalty held, and how it could transcend the will of an individual, like Edward. It also lends credence that Mary and Reginal Pole, her Archbishop of Canterbury were correct that most of England remained Catholic, beyond a fervent Protestant minority.[37] Despite Edward and his councilors' attempts to forge a Protestant nation, Grey's execution paved the way for the revival of Catholicism. This came swiftly in 1553 when Mary repealed the laws and reforms Edward had passed.[38]

While Mary swept into power with little difficulty, securing power as a sole Queen in a patriarchy required a legal act in 1554 to grant her "kingship" to prevent her husband, Phillip II from subsuming England, in their marriage.[39] Mary would also remind people she was married to the Realm, a claim Elizabeth would subsequently make.[40] This had the dual purpose of supporting a woman monarch in a heavily gendered society, as well as defining the English Realm in relation to that monarch. The laws that prevented Philip from subsuming Mary's crown as a husband helped strengthen Mary's power by giving her a unique position as a monarch before her gender as a woman, even in ordained marriage, where she would typically have become legally and spiritually under his control. Once they were married, they jointly passed laws, including the renewal of heresy laws in 1554.[41]

Mary's attempt to present herself as more Queen than woman was successful, as evidenced by the description given by Giovanni Michieli, the Venetian Ambassador to England. He describes her voice as being "rough and loud, almost like a man's so that when she speaks, she is always heard a long way off" suggesting she sounded kingly.[42] This raw, physical description of her voice helps to elucidate that Mary had a speaking talent, and was able to project her voice, something she would use in speeches to rally people to her side.[43] Michieli paints the portrait of a determined monarch, describing her proficiency in speaking as evidence she is above normal women.[44] This description comes several years after Mary's entry into London and marriage to Philip II. Michieli would not have published this as contemporary propaganda, and some of the descriptions are deeply personal, like her infamous menstrual problems.[45] The letter does show Mary's overall success in projecting herself as Queen, transcending what could have been limitations to her right to rule.

The forceful voice that Michieli attributes to Mary can be seen in her Guildhall Speech, on February 1, 1554, her first speech as Queen. In the speech, Mary condemns a Kentish rebellion against her, and her proposed marriage, orating:

> I am your Queen, to who at my Coronation when I was wedded to the Realme and lawes of the same (the spousall Ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hetherto was, nor hereafter shall be left of) you promised your allegeaunce and obedience unto me.[46]

Here Mary deftly wove together her right to rule with "Realme" or an overarching English national identity the English people belonged to, highlighting the "highly potent" ethnic identity Gat identifies in this period.[47] In her position as Queen, Mary linked herself, her upcoming marriage, and the kingdom together, saying, "empechment of any part or parcell of the royall state of this realme of England: I woulde never consent thereunto."[48] This speech shows Mary and her audience were keenly aware of her unique position as a female sovereign, and what marriage would mean for her. Mary was the first Queen to rule on her own after deposing Jane Grey and had to justify her enthronement in a patriarchal power structure. It also demonstrates that they were aware of the monarch's relationship to the kingdom.

These ideas are not modern nationalism, but her assurances that England would not be hurt by a foreign marriage demonstrate that some sort of English identity had already formed, and the people were anxious about a foreign Spanish presence in England. It shows an identification with an English ethnicity, and a collective investment and concern for their political and cultural stability. Her speech shows that pre-modern English nationalism was forming at this point, as Mary could not summon support for the "Realme" without a collective national identity that she furthered. The speech was successful, and John Foxe, a later Protestant chronicler, admits that the speech was effective in moving the people to her position.[49] These people would have loosely identified as ethnically English dating back to the time of the Venerable Bede in the 7th and 8th centuries.[50] This identification is what Mary was mobilizing through her speech.

While Mary was able to seize civil power, she was a committed Catholic, and the restoration of Catholicism was vital to her. Pope Julius III appointed Cardinal Pole, Mary's cousin and the later Archbishop of Canterbury, to bring England back to Catholicism. The text of this letter of commission survives, and while brief, it outlines the shape of the English-Counter Reformation. Julius starts with his happiness that Mary was proclaimed Queen, restoring a Catholic monarch.[51] The Pontiff then lists the "faculties" that Julius is giving to Pole, namely the power to absolve heretics, up to "even cases reserved to us."[52] This trust makes the Catholic effort in England tied to English identity. The Queen had portrayed herself as quintessentially English, and so married to the "Realme" that she transcended normal gender roles, legally through Parliament and socially through her rhetoric. This investment of Papal trust brings English loyalty officially back to Rome, but in practice, the leader of the English church would be an Englishman, Reginald Pole entrusted by the Pope to lead them spiritually.

Clerical marriage was a Protestant practice that had spread under Edward, and Julius granted Pole the power to dispense with it. Pole was to void the marriage in a return to Catholic custom, while allowing the children to remain legitimate.[53] A further instruction was to restore the *Universitas* of "contracts made to their damage and of perjury so committed."[54] This restoration of the universities to Catholicism was an attempt to stop Edwardian reforms in education, and to course-correct Lutheran influences from Henry VIII's reign.[55] Pole was ordered to re-appropriate ecclesiastical land as well, and one of the Pope's suggestions was to use it for educational financing.[56] Continental support also came from Ignatius of Loyola, one of the future founders of the Jesuits, who wrote to Pole on August 7, 1553 to show his support.[57] Here he echoes the Pope's claim that the schism cannot be blamed on the English people, writing in shorthand that the "schism not people's fault, but ruler's."[58]

Taken together, these instructions for the Counter-Reformation help build the idea of a culturally unified England. Mary had established herself as a national Queen, married to the country, and Pole was installed as the representative of the Pope to enforce his authority, while the locus of ecclesiastical power was contained within England. The binding

of church and kingdom would have repudiated the country's identity under Edward. England was no longer an example for squabbling Protestants in Europe for how to institute organized prayer books and Eucharistic doctrine. Now they had an effective monarch, and an Archbishop who had restored Apostolic succession into the church.

These were all powerful acts that would have clearly demarcated Mary's regime from Edward's and by her own "marriage" to the country, produced a new English identity centered on Catholicism. There were of course limits to this new power and identity Mary held. In a now lost letter from approximately May 13, 1554, Mary asked Pole to inform the Pope of one of these limitations. Her goal was to use the land as a bargaining chip to secure the noble's support for her marriage, which was difficult for the English to accept.[59]

Despite the setback of not restoring Church land, or regaining its revenue, the tone of Pole's policies remained largely reconciliatory. In a letter from November 30th, 1554, Pole wrote to Mary and Phillip to explain his policies, and wrote:

> *Volumus autem ut Parlamenti prefati singulares persone omnes errores a quibus per nos nunc absolute sunt alicui Catholico sacerdoti per eos eligen sacramentaliter confiteri*/ We wish also that the members of Parliament speak their confession, through which we now absolve anyone who confesses sacramentally through a Catholic Priest.[60]

This letter helps to show the merciful side of the Counter-Reformation. Time and time again, the leaders of the Counter-Reformation offered compromise and absolution to make the country Catholic again.[61] This shows a concern for preserving the balance of power, as the nobility was firmly entrenched, and the members of Parliament that Pole offered to absolve declared Edward VI the leader of the church in 1549.[62] The goal of the Counter-Reformation was to assert the civil power of its supporters, while preexisting powers were brought in to buttress the religious goals.

This reconciling approach belies that under Mary, 284 people were executed, and fifty-six of those burned were women. As shown by Eamon Duffy, persecution occurred on both sides of the Reformation. In the 1560s, over 270 Protestants were killed in the Spanish Netherlands, and Elizabeth killed over 200 Catholics in her reign through strangling, dismemberment, or disembowelment.[63] While there were some protests against the burnings, there was not a large outcry of denunciation from the English people. Of the 81 group burnings between January 1556 and November 1558 under Mary, 221 people were killed, and there were six or less disturbances.[64]

As of Mary's ascension, the authority of her reign and the soul of the country required conformity to Catholic worship.[65] Dissenters were offered reconciliation, but the unrepentant were treated as both religious non-conformists and traitors. To prevent Protestants from capitalizing on these executions by making the dead into martyrs, the Marian church used preaching and writing to condemn them after death. An example of the apologetic writing given by Duffy is *A Plaine and Godlye Treastise Concerning the Masse, for the Instruction of the Simple and Unlearned People* in 1555 and went into five editions in six months. It claims that the executed were criminals, and not martyrs.[66] Taken all together, the Marian Counter-Reformation offered both absolution and condemnation and was aimed at building a unified English kingdom centered on Catholicism.

These attempts at building an English national identity around a forceful monarch and the restored Church would end prematurely on November 17, 1558 when both Mary and Pole died, from unrelated illness. The crown then passed to Elizabeth, who ruled from 1558 to 1603. John Foxe's 1563 dedication to Elizabeth in his enormously influential *Book of Martyrs* showcased an appeal to English identity and Protestantism. Foxe compares Elizabeth to the Roman Emperor Constantine, the first Christian Emperor. In the beginning of the dedication, Foxe describes Elizabeth as the "most Christian and renowned princess, Queen Elizabeth."[67] He compares Constantine's patronization of the Christian church in the Roman Empire with Elizabeth's subsequent pacification of religious turmoil in England.[68] He further describes how "God's pitiful grace sent us your majesty to quench firebrands, to assuage rage, to relieve innocents."[69] Foxe concludes by writing a prayer for Elizabeth's reign, and that he and other Protestant evangelicals be anointed by God in spreading Protestantism.[70]

This dedication presents powerful rhetoric in support of Elizabeth herself, and of her agenda. By comparing Elizabeth to the Christian hero Constantine, Foxe is validating her individual reign with his historical connection. He also compares himself to Eusibius, a hagiographer of the early Christian martyrs who worked under the auspices of Constantine.[71] This posturing is reminiscent of Cranmer's efforts to connect his theology to early church fathers in his sermon on Grace.[72] The stories of martyrs under Mary rebukes something her regime sought to undercut, and the whole work celebrates Elizabeth, the martyrs, and her royal Protestant vision. As shown by Gorski, Foxe's religious history helps to advance the case for pre-modern English nationalism. Here Foxe presents an encapsulated argument for the English nation, fitting into what can be called a doctrinally unified national identity.[73]

Culturally, Foxe provided a massive history that defined the English nation through religious history. It came in addition to secular works by William Shakespeare and Edmund Spencer who created work sponsored by Elizabeth to

define a civil English identity, who "were inventing and deploying forms of representation that made it possible to think in national terms- to think of the language, the land, the people, the history, and the church of England."[74] The structure of this vision is shown in McLaren's work, where she argues that Elizabeth and her supporters were able to link anti-Catholicism with the English nation and "True Church."[75] She further argues that it was through writers like John Bale that Elizabeth was able to separate herself from her cousin, Mary Stuart, the Catholic monarch of Scotland. Bale described Elizabeth as the "Woman Clothed with the Sun" from Revelation, while Mary was portrayed as a seductive, promiscuous minion of the Pope.[76] Mary proved to be a unique threat. Her royal blood was never illegitimate as Elizabeth's had been, after the execution of Anne Boleyn, her mother. The prospect of Mary's son James as an heir proved to be tempting to a kingdom not fully committed to Elizabeth's Protestantism, and in the absence of a male heir.[77]

Elizabeth and her supporters bolstered her control of the country and the church to mitigate the threat of Mary. By 1570, when she was declared illegitimate by Papal Bull, she had already cultivated some sense of an English national identity supported by loyalty to herself, and to Protestantism.[78] The Protestant English saw Elizabeth as the eternal virgin Queen, akin to the woman of Revelation and Virgin Mary, while simultaneously being the spiritual mother of the nation.[79] This can be seen in the portraiture of Elizabeth who designed an image to augment her spiritual and royal power.

This began with a portrait from around 1546 of Elizabeth as a princess. She is portrayed as a serious girl with an open tome in the background, a book in her lap, and a cross broach on her dress.[80] After her reign began, and her authority was more established, allegorical portraits became powerful symbols of Elizabeth's ideals and associations. A portrait of her with a sieve called on Roman mythology of Tuccia, a Vestal Virgin who proved her virginity by miraculously carrying water in a sieve.[81]

Imperial ambitions were also portrayed, by showing Elizabeth standing in front of England's Navy fleet, with a mother bird behind her, representing her role as the protector and mother of England.[82] Two allegorical images especially stand out, both from 1569. In one Elizabeth faces the goddesses Juno, Minerva, and Venus, in place of Paris. Instead of making a lustful choice as Paris did, starting the Trojan war, the goddesses are beneath Elizabeth.[83] In a Christian context, Elizabeth's coronation appeared on a 1569 Bishops' Bible, along with the descriptors "God Save The Queene," "Justice," "Mercie," "Fortitude," and "Prudence."[84] These brought Elizabeth and her ideals into a visual media to articulate the national vision and persona she sought to create.

One of the legal ways that Elizabeth set about achieving this association was through her April *1559 Act of Uniformity* which instated an Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer that would take effect after the subsequent Nativity of St. John, on January 6.[85] This law structured harsh punishments for those who violated the Protestant doctrines, stipulating life imprisonment and the seizure of all goods for a third deviant offense against the Queen and church.[86] The law helped establish Protestantism by revitalizing the *Book of Common Prayer* and silencing enemies with prison sentences, which enriched the crown through property seizure.

The reinstated *Book of Common Prayer* built on the previous systematic model left to her by the Edwardian reformers. The section on the Eucharist continued to promote social harmony at the parish level, saying that anyone who has offended the congregation must not "presume to come to the Lords Table, until hee have openly declared himself to have truely repented" with the knowledge of the Curate.[87] In addition, the description of the Eucharist stipulated that in place of an altar, the "Table at the Communion time hauyng a faire white linnen cloth vpon it, shall stand in the body of the Church or in the Chancell where Morning prayer and Euenyng prayer bee appointed to bee said."[88] This was a notable change, because not only had the dogma behind the Eucharist been changed to a Protestant model, the presentation of it was changed as well, by removing traditional altars.

Additional ecclesiastical power was brought into governmental jurisdiction with the *Proclamation to Forbid Preaching* on December 27, 1558. The stated goal of the proclamation was to stop the spread of any misinformation about religion.[89] The possible exception was if the Gospels, Epistles, or Ten Commandments were preached, provided that no "exposition or addition of any manner, sense, or meaning to be applied and added."[90] Those found in violation would face some kind of punishment, which was unclear when the proclamation was given.[91] At the time of Elizabeth's ascension, preaching was a powerful tool for the Counter-Reformation, and this proclamation hindered its effect by limiting the transmission of any Catholic doctrine.

In the same April as the Act of Uniformity, Elizabeth passed her *1559 Supremacy Act, Restoring Ancient Jurisdiction* law, which repealed and reestablished previous laws. One of the major repeals was the stripping of Mary and Philip's policies, leaving the country firmly in Protestantism.[92] The Supremacy Act further reinstated previous laws, including from her father Henry VIII. One of the most interesting of these laws was "An Act concerning the submission of the clergy to the king's majesty" which brought royal power over the ecclesiastical once more.[93] In addition to this restoration, English citizens were also freed from "exactions and impositions heretofore paid to the

See of Rome."[94] This demarcated the idea of an English kingdom, supported by faith in a nationalist identity, governed by the True Church, as it revoked financial links to the Papacy.

The Supremacy Act also helped to advance the idea of English identity, in both civil and spiritual areas. It declared Elizabeth was:

> the only Supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal, and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, has, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.[95]

This statement boldly made Elizabeth the governor of the Protestant church. It also helped tie the truth of Protestantism to the English crown, and thus the kingdom. This firmly enshrined Protestantism as part of the identity, and condemned foreign authority, whether it was spiritual or political.

Not all of the religious leaders in England were happy with Elizabeth taking this personal authority and enmeshing English identity and Protestantism. On December 6, 1559, Elizabeth addressed Bishops in Parliament after they sent her a letter asking her to remain in the Roman Church. Elizabeth began her speech emphasizing her leadership by saying "under the tuition of the Romish pastors, who advised them to own a wolf for their head (in lieu of a careful shepherd)."[96] Echoing Cranmer's invocation of Church Fathers, and prefiguring John Foxe's use of Constantine and Eusibius, Elizabeth called on the English history of early martyrs who were killed by the Roman Church in ancient times.[97]

Following this, Elizabeth turned to her father, saying that it was these specific Bishops who had counselled his schism with Rome initially.[98] In another memorable line she said, "For our Saviour Christ paid His tribute unto Caesar, as the chief superior; which shows your Romish supremacy is usurped."[99] The speech concluded with Elizabeth telling the Bishops that she has mercifully not enacted legal punishments against them, but that she will if provoked again.[100] The tone of the speech is scathing, and Elizabeth used it to rebuke specific Bishops not willing to comply with her will. She also used the speech to celebrate an English identity that does not depend on Rome. Elizabeth declared her own authority on that of the shepherd, a religious icon attached to Christ, while also depicting herself as Caesar, helping to form an English identity centered around her own power.

On March 26 of the following year, Elizabeth further involved herself in the educational and seminarian life of England by writing William Cecil, one of her chief ministers and the honorific Chancellor of Cambridge. In the letter she acknowledged the decay of formal education and attributed it to religious conflict.[101] The subsequent goal of her letter was to provide promotions to budding scholars, and to procure a list of promising talent.[102] Elizabeth herself was a scholar from a young age. Her active interest in forming a growing educated class shows that her reforms and goals for state building and her religious settlement extended beyond the short-term accumulation of power.

This accrual of legal power through the law, and the assertion of it through speeches and letters served to establish Elizabeth as Queen, and Protestantism as the True Church. It does however beg the question of what common people thought of her reforms. Robert Whiting in *Blind Devotion of the People* sought to answer that question. He found that under Edward and Elizabeth, parish churches did accept the new Protestant texts, although they did not move quickly to adopt them.[103] Whiting contends that the lack of sustained Catholic outbursts was born of the English notion of obedience, which during the Tudor period meant submission to the authority of the monarch.[104]

There were also ethnic and sociological reasons for their compliance with Elizabethan reforms. The Spanish presence in England under Mary had been intensely unpopular and resulted in widespread fear from the people.[105] This xenophobia was enough to push some away from Catholicism in order to define their Englishness in contrast to the Spanish.[106] Elizabeth and her councilors were able to intermingle the growing English identity as defined against the Spanish by extending the ethnic tensions to religious tension between Protestantism and Catholicism. This culminated in the gradual cultural repudiation of Catholicism. To be Protestant was to be English.

This dichotomy is elucidated by Jorge Canizares-Esguerra in *Puritan Conquistadors*, and his examination of English epic literature. For political and religious reasons, the English sought to portray themselves in spiritual opposition to the Spanish in the Atlantic world. This can be seen in the work of George Chapman who portrayed Elizabeth's favorite, Francis Drake as a saint, and Philip II as the "Tartessian Caligula."[107] Additionally Chapman and other polemists sought to portray English Knighthood as pious in contrast to the arrogance and heresy of the Spanish.[108] These are examples of the English "Black Legends" used to promote Protestantism and their imperial dreams against the unworthy Spanish. This was all part of the English cultural attempt to bolster their own sense of nationalism and identity, while simultaneously tearing down Spanish and Catholic identities. These sentiments extended as an "antipathy" toward the Anglo-Saxons, and the English grew to have similar disdain for the Lutherans as they did for the Catholics.[109]

In 1530, Lutheran principalities were called upon by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V to elaborate on their religious views. The result was the Augsburg Confession, which became a major Lutheran document, as well as a political statement.[110] The Confession contained 28 Articles. The fourth elaborated the Lutheran view of Grace, which argued that Justification before God came solely from Grace, and there were no praiseworthy actions that could be taken to earn it.[111] Article Sixteen dealt with politics and condemned the Anabaptists for not allowing its adherents to hold office. The Article argued that this was a good thing and concluded that it was right to "obey their magistrates and laws, save only when they command any sin; for then they must rather obey God than men."[112] The aim of this confession was to produce an organized religious settlement, in a context in which religion, politics, and identity could not be extrapolated from one another. In 1538, Henry VIII was offered an alliance with the German Lutherans, but declined the alliance and did not sign the Confession.[113] Despite his refusal to sign, the idea of a political and religious settlement delineated into articles would influence the English Reformation, especially under Elizabeth.

The rise of this Confession is important for understanding Elizabeth's political policy. There was now a Protestant League in Europe, as well as the traditional Catholic kingdoms and the Papacy. Ted Booth describes how these German Protestants achieved some measure of autonomy in 1555 under Emperor Ferdinand. Four years later Elizabeth sent a representative to their 1559 Diet meeting.[114] Some of the Principalities were eager for her to join and promised military support. Elizabeth potentially faced Catholic attack from France and Spain, and when faced with these threats, Elizabeth declined to sign the *Confessio Augustana* but retained cordial diplomatic relations with her fellow Protestants.[115]

Booth goes on to argue that Pope Paul IV did not move against Elizabeth because of her political posturing. She continually teased marriage, potentially to a Catholic. She had refused to formally agree to the Augsburg Confession, seeming to imply she was not a zealous Protestant. In addition, Pope Paul IV was receiving intelligence during her consolidation of power that Elizabeth was unsure of what direction to move England, and he had hope that she may come back to Catholicism, so he did not move against her.[116] Elizabeth was not excommunicated until 1570 by Pope Pius V.

While, for political reasons, Elizabeth was able to present herself as a religious moderate, confused by the world of politics and religion, this was a tactic to forestall war or excommunication. Elizabeth was a dedicated Protestant and had the intellectual brilliance to understand competing strands of theology. This is exemplified in a letter she sent to her stepmother, Queen Catherine Parr on December 31, 1544 when she was eleven, accompanying her translation of the French poem *The Mirror of the Sinful Soul*. In her letter, Elizabeth presents the translation effort as an attempt to keep her wits sharp, and to show her stepmother what she had learned.[117] Elizabeth explains how she translated the French poem into English prose and has now presented it to Catherine in order for her to "rub out, polish, and mend" any flaws in her translation.[118]

The work Elizabeth had chosen to translate is from the Protestant leaning Queen Marguerite of Navarre. In the letter Elizabeth describes "how she (beholding and contemplating what she is) doth perceive how, of herself and her own strength she can do nothing that good is, or prevailith for her salvation, unless it be through the grace of God."[119] At the early age of eleven, Elizabeth had shown the intellectual brio to articulate a complex theory of Justification, that mirrored Justification theologies in Cranmer and the Augsburg Confession. Elizabeth was clearly raised Protestant and had an early commitment to her faith.

Elizabeth's completed prose composition is a confessional, meditative work that is profoundly spiritual. In it she writes "Therefore it is convenient that my pryde be suppressed."[120] This shows her personal dedication from a young age to religious virtues and trying to conform to piety. This is further shown when she writes: "O my God what grace and goodness is this, which doth put out so many fynnes. Nowe maye we see that thou arte full of all good love."[121] With her letter and the translation paired together, it was clear that Elizabeth was a dedicated, articulate Protestant. Her religious settlements were always aimed in that direction. While she did her best to obscure her views for political reasons, it is clear that these were the doctrines she matured with and took into her heart.

Diarmaid MacCulloch further shows how ingrained Protestantism was in the Anglican settlement, specifically how Calvinist doctrine was the official stance of the Anglicans.[122] These Calvinist dogmas were more radical than the Lutheran doctrines. This established connection to more radical Protestantism fit with what Elizabeth personally believed and would have sharply defined the Anglican Church. This was the deliberate goal that the Elizabethan clergy had of advancing in their liturgies. The implementation of the Book of Common Prayer helped them to achieve this goal. One of their main motivations was to have religion influence English law, and they were successful in this.[123] After Elizabeth's consolidation of ecclesiastical power, she and her legally subordinated clergy would produce a lasting coherent statement of faith.

The official confessional statement that solidified the Anglican Church came in 1571 with the 39 Articles. It was a compact statement, but still covered a myriad of religious and civil concerns that stemmed from the formalization of the Anglican Church. The outlook expressed reflected Elizabeth's dedication to Protestantism, as well as the beliefs

of her clergy. Article Eleven concerns Justification, and it adheres to the typical Protestant view that nothing can be done to merit salvation.[124] This view on Justification through faith alone is compounded by the official statement on predestination in Article Seventeen. Here, predestination is described as:

> The everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, He hath constantly decreed by His counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation as vessels made to honour.[125]

This celebration of a Calvinistic doctrine helped to show the ideological commitment that Elizabeth and her supporters both had to Protestantism and their dedication to enshrining their doctrines.

These articles extend beyond abstracted theology. Article Twenty states that the Anglican Church had the right to declare "to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of faith."[126] The church's power is relegated beneath that of Elizabeth, and future monarchs, by Article Thirty-seven, which contended that the:

> Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of *England* and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.[127]

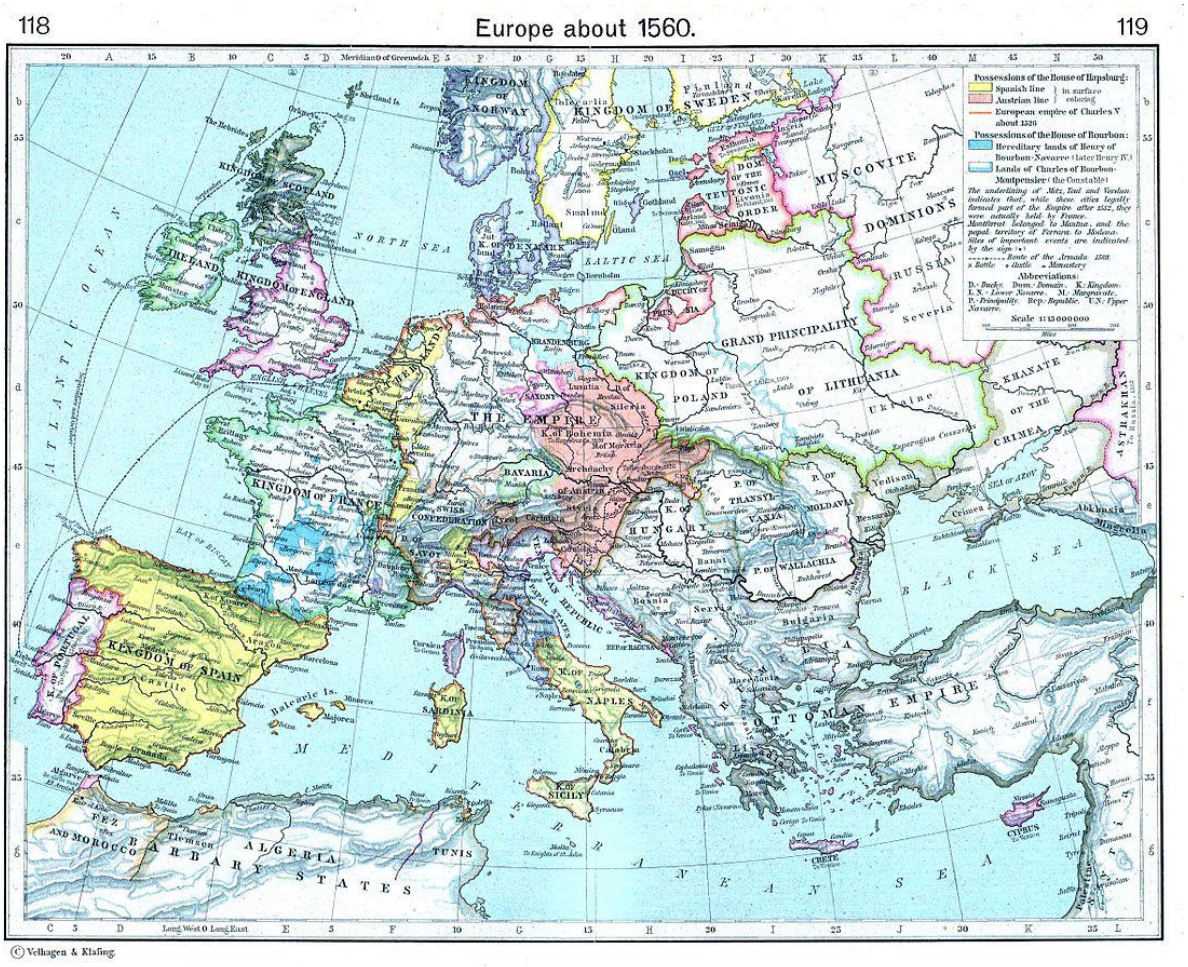
This was the Article that pulled all of Elizabeth's reforms and goals together. By 1571 she had consolidated ecclesiastical and civil power, while deftly maneuvering through European politics, whether Protestant or Catholic, Continental or Scottish. Her efforts were rewarded by clerical support for a religious settlement that largely adhered to her personal faith, and her settlement was ratified.

Altogether, the religious reforms of the Tudor children were largely personality driven. Edward formalized Protestantism, Mary took the kingdom back into Catholicism, and Elizabeth returned again to Protestantism. Each ruler was seeking the "True Church" and each of their unique policies reflect this ecclesiastical ambition. Religious doctrine was the driving force behind each monarch and their supporters.

That said, fostering a sense of what can be described as an early nationalism was important to each of these rulers and their reforms as well. Edward and Cranmer tried to create a Protestant country that could serve as a model for Europe. Popular culture, as seen in the work of Luke Shepherd exalted the idea of Protestant England in contrast to a worldly, educated priest. Mary presented herself as the bride of England, and in the process of legally defining her status as a single and then married Queen, helped define England. Mary and Pole's alternating mercy and execution in an attempt to restore the Catholic tradition helped rebuild Catholicism and furthered the Counter-Reformation until Elizabeth's reign.

Having lived the longest, Elizabeth achieved the most. She created a country were church and state were irrevocably mixed legally and in the popular imagination. Elizabeth defined what it meant to be ethnically English by centering it around Protestantism. This formation of an English national identity, under each of the Tudor children cannot be extrapolated from their religious reforms. Tudor laws, speeches, church structure, liturgy, and art where used by all three of these monarchs to nationalize religion, and to bind English nationalism with a unified "True Church." In many demonstrated ways, this early nationalism was as much the goal as was the settlement of religion.

2. Appendix of Images



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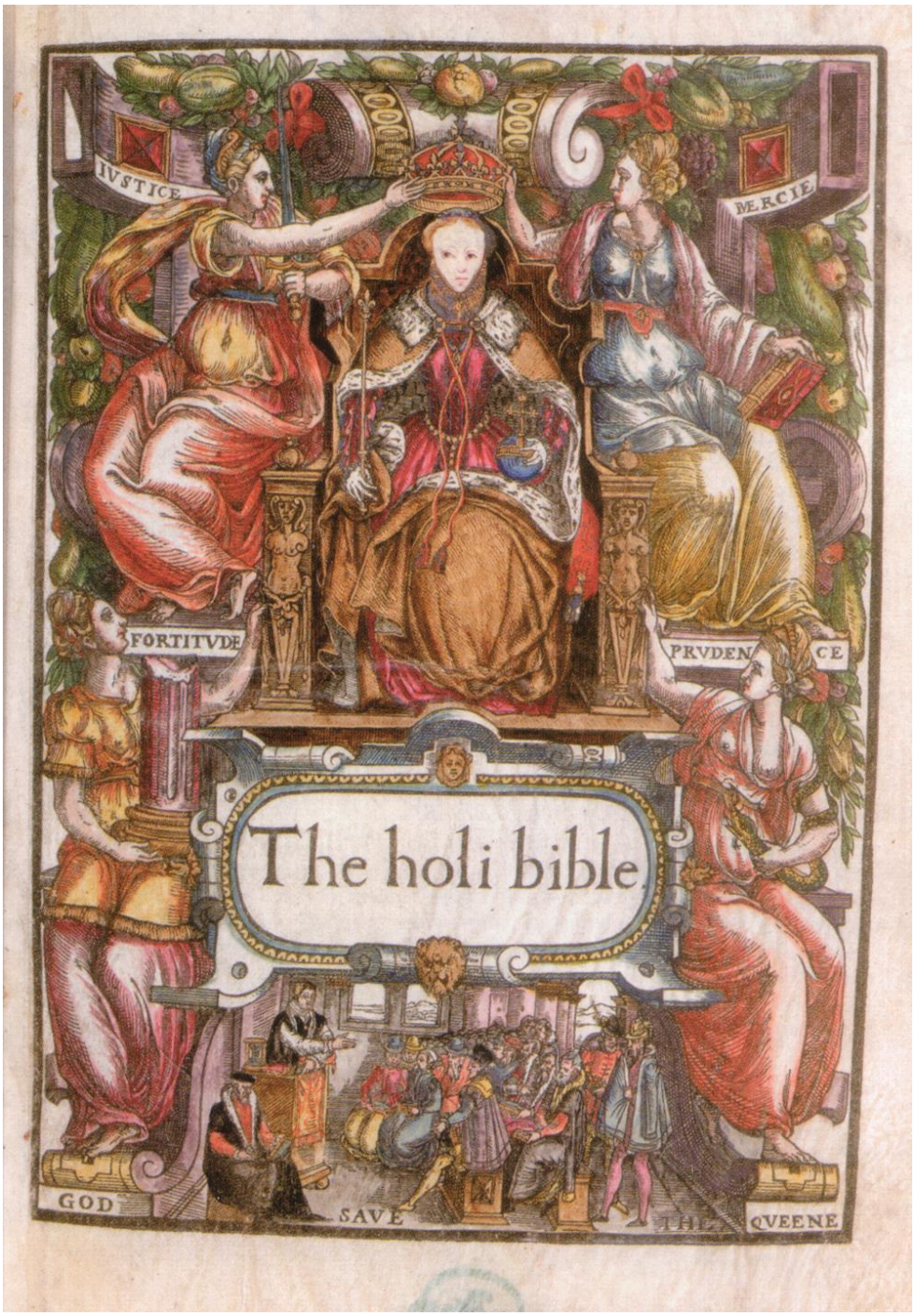

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