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The history of England
by
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THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

PART THE FIRST.

REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH:

COMPRISING THE

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE COMMENCEMENT

OF

The English Reformation.

BY

SHARON TURNER, F.S.A. & R.A.S.L.

THIRD EDITION.

VOL. II.

London:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1828.

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MODERN
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

CHAP. XVI.

RETURN OF FRANCIS TO HIS KINGDOM—WOLSEY'S MACHINATIONS FOR ANOTHER WAR — NEW CONFEDERACY — BOURBON TAKES THE COMMAND OF THE IMPERIAL FORCES —ENGLISH EMBASSY IN SPAIN.

CHAP. XVI.

BEFORE they quitted Spain, the bishop of London and his two associated doctors rested at Madrid, to congratulate the French king on his approaching liberation, as Charles had granted them, without any display of mistrust, the liberty of unrestricted admission [1]. Francis received them after his dinner, introduced by his two diplomatic agents [2], and accompanied by the vigilant D'Alarçon. They

[1] They apprized Henry, on 28th January 1526, 'Yesterday we arrived in Madrid. The emperor gave orders that we might speak with the French king; which he said, he had done already: and we might have free access to come whensoever we would.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 222.

[2] The archbishop of Ambron and the president of Paris, who had been long privately negotiating for his release. Ib.

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BOOK I. 1526.

found him in a chamber in the castle, with the grand master of Rhodes, and expressed what joyous tidings his accommodation with the emperor would be to their own sovereign. The royal prisoner declaring his deep-felt obligations to Henry, and the affection which they had excited in his bosom[3]; the bishop assured him that the festive interview at Ardre had created a personal attachment to him in their master's mind, which could never be extinguished[4].

But as this pacification between Charles and Francis advanced, Wolsey, whose mind was bent on harassing the emperor with another warfare, became more earnest than ever to prevent it. Louisa saw his disturbing intentions, and kept his ambassadors in her court, very dexterously, at bay. On 12th January 1526, she told them she had not heard from Spain for twenty-three days[5]. This only increased the cardinal's warlike anxiety; and to rouse the French cabinet to arms he wrote on the 18th of that month, that his king desired to have Italy rescued from Charles, and would unquestionably join the league; and on this event, the pope would certainly not unite with the emperor, whatever promise he had given, but would combine with the

---

[3] He answered, 'That he is most bound to your highness of any prince living; for if ye would have been stiff with him, it might have been in your power to have undone his realm and his children in this his captivity: whereunto since your grace inclined not your mind, but to take appointment with him so kindly as ye had done, ye had so won his heart, that whensoever God should send him to his liberty, ye shall understand him not to be a prince ingrate.' MS. Vesp. C. 3. p. 222.

[4] 'Whereto we answered, 'that your familiar assembly and meeting at Ardres and in Guynes, had kindled in your heart such a spark of love on your part, that it was not possible to be totally extinct by nothing which might happen.' MS. ib. 222.

[5] See the ambassadors' dispatch. Cal. D. 9. p. 136.

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league, as soon as France and Venice had made it. He therefore urged the conclusion of this federation, as delay would only hurt the French monarch[6]. So Wolsey reasoned; but Francis had judged for himself, and four days before that letter was composed, signed the treaty of Madrid, and thus defeated the cardinal's scheme at that time, of plunging France into a new war[7]. CHAP. XVI.

As the two eldest sons of Francis were to be delivered to Charles as hostages, for the due performance of this treaty, it became a point of wary adjustment how two mutually mistrusting parties should arrange the securest mode of exchanging the father for the children, without either being deceived by the other.

The lady regent setting out from Lyons at the beginning of February, on her journey to Bayonne, with the two princes[8]; the English ambassador proceeded, much to his own annoyance, to meet them at Blery[9], where he was introduced to the juvenile

[6] Wolsey's letter is in the same MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 138.

[7] By this treaty, Charles contented himself with making it an article that Burgundy should be delivered up in six weeks. Francis renounced all right to Milan and Naples, and the feudal sovereignty over Flanders and Artois, and engaged to marry the emperor's sister Eleanora, and to give his eldest son to her younger sister. His two eldest sons were to become hostages for the performance of this treaty. Francis was to pay Henry the money owing to him from the emperor.

Herbert has inserted the treaty in his history, 184-191.

[8] Dr. Taylor wrote to Wolsey, that on 1st February, madame regent, from Lyons, departed to Bloyse, journeying two days by land, and the third, at Roane, took her boat and passed by water to Bloyse, which she entered on the 12th. MS. ib. 153.

[9] 'I went a journey such as I never had in my life, ninety-two leagues to Bloyse: the waters so out, the river Loire overflowed all the country, and the wind so ragious, that no man might pass without danger. On 17th, madame departed from Bloyse by water, to Amboise, and took with her the dauphin and his brother, and there tarried by one night, and thence went to Blery.' MS. ib.

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BOOK I. 1526.

hostages[10]. She was unwell, but persisted in going forward that night[11]; and assuring Dr. Taylor, that nothing should be kept secret from his king and minister, but that their counsel should be followed; and yet at the same time withholding all communication to him so absolutely, that he found more was known in England, of the terms of the peace, than he could learn from the court of France[12], she requested him not to follow her, but to return to Amboise, where her confidential agent Joachimo should declare to him all her news[13]. Eight days afterwards, as she was lodging in a simple village, she sent her treasurer to apprise him, that she had received letters from her son, stating that he was then well, merry, and kindly treated, and would in a few days begin his journey to France, and wished her to make speed to meet him, on 14th March, at Bayonne[14]. She thought the interval too short, for any political contrivance to defeat her wishes, and therefore relaxed in this small degree from her prudent silence; but she was closely watched by the imperial ambassador.

She entered Bayonne very late on the 15th of

[10] 'She caused me to dine with the emperor's ambassador; and after dinner I was brought to see the dauphin, and his brother Harry; both did embrace me, and took me by the hand, and asked me of the welfare of the king's highness, and your grace, and desired that in my writing I should truly commend them to the king and your grace. Verily, they be two goodly children. The king's godson is the quicker spirit and the bolder, as seemeth by his behaviour.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 153.

[11] 'After this, I was brought to my lady, in her chamber; notwithstanding she was vexed with the gout in her hand, yet she prepared to go three leagues that night.' MS. ib.

[12] Ib. p. 154.

[13] After mentioning this, the doctor asks Wolsey, 'Shall I follow to Bayonne, or come home, for I wax slender in the purse?' MS. ib.

[14] Ib. 154.

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March, by torch light, and was received "with a great triumph of gun shot[15]." Our ambassador adressed himself to her the next day after dinner, but the object of her maternal affections was not yet safe, nor Taylor's instructor to be relied on, and therefore she desired him to have patience for two or three days. She was in such great anxiety for the sending forth the dauphin and his brother, and in such great desire to see her son, that she could attend to no other thing, but as soon as the king was come, Mr. Joachimo should be dispatched to England[16].

On the second day afterwards, the exchange of the princely boys for their father took place, and Francis entered his own dominions again[17]. The English ambassador was introduced to him by the chancellor; and for no discoverable reason now, as he must from his mission have known French, but perhaps from some feeling that it displayed more personal dignity, our diplomatic doctor of laws congratulated him in Latin not very classical, for his happy return[18]. Francis received him kindly, and also on the following day, but amid all his joy at his

[15] Letter of 18th March. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 171.

[16] MS. ib.

[17] 'The 17th day, the dauphin and his brother were delivered to the hands of the Spaniards, upon a bridge on the river called Handay, between Fontarabbia and St. John-de-Luce; and between two and three o'clock of the same day, the king was received into Bayonne, with much shot of ordnance, without the town a quarter of a mile.' Dr. Taylor's MS. ib. p. 171.

[18] 'After the chancellor had saluted the king, he shewed me to him, that I was the orator of England. The king took me in his arms, whom I saluted in this manner—'Christianissime Rex! ex parte serenissimi regis Angliæ defensoris fidei, Deum omnipotentum ego congratulor, tuæ majestatis in suum regnum salvo reditui.' MS. ib.

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BOOK I. 1526.

emancipation, did not forget his prudence[19]. The king was lavish himself in the expressions of gratitude to Henry and his minister, but would not suffer the orator to go beyond his compliments[20]. He evaded all attempts to sound his secret mind, and thus for a time baffled the eager desire of Wolsey to govern it[21]. He managed this system of conduct with some dexterity. He displayed great personal cordiality to the ambassador—repeated his acknowledgments—declared he would do nothing without the advice of Henry and the cardinal, but avoided all state communications, by saying, that he would in two days dispatch Mr. Joachimo to the king, to inform him of all the secrets that were attached to this new amity[22]. Two days, and two weeks passed, but no messenger was sent. Again Dr. Taylor applied for the knowledge which his court desired, but without obtaining more than new expressions of grateful recollections[23].

---

[19] 'His grace, with a very favorable countenance, said, he would *more at large* speak with me, and would never forget the goodness that he hath found in the king's highness.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 171.

[20] On 19th March, Taylor reports that he had again attended the king, but 'his grace was so long occupied with the court, that it was past five ere that I could speak with him. His mule was brought forth to ride on solace. Notwithstanding, he sent M. Vaux for me.' The doctor having repeated his felicitation, 'his grace would suffer me to speak no more, but said, 'Mr. Ambassador, I know well the good mind of my kind brother of England, whom, after God, I thank for my liberty. He hath done at this time such an act, by the which he hath got eternal memory of glory, and bounden me ever and all mine to do him service.' MS. ib. 172.

[21] He said, 'he would approve and ratify all things done in his absence, and that he would honor your grace, and *take you* for his father.' MS. ib. 172.

[22] MS. ib. p. 155. 'Master! (quoth the king) I do acknowledge, that, next to God, my liberty was *only wrought* by the king of England.' Ib.

[23] On 3d April, he apprized Wolsey that he had been with Francis at ten o'clock at night, who after again ascribing his liberty to Henry,

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But Wolsey was not discouraged, and chose to take no offence. By his advice, Henry sent immediately a new embassy, of sir Thomas Cheyney and others to Francis, with express instructions "to understand the conditions of the peace of Madrid, and to perceive how far the king, his mother, the nobles, and the people were contented with it[24]." The more immediate object was to involve France again in a war with the emperor; but to attempt this too hastily without being sure that Francis would engage in it, might occasion a resenting combination of both powers against England itself. Hence, the cardinal saw the necessity of exploring gradually his way, and his written instructions are an expressive specimen of his diplomatic dexterity, and minute tuition on such occasions.

The first direction was, in case they saw that there was the dissatisfaction about the articles which he hoped and expected:

"Finding them not to be to the French king's contentment, then to say *of themselves* soberly, and in manner of stupefaction and marvel, that these be great and high conditions, the like whereof have not been heard of, and such as were even here thought were either never agreed to, or being agreed to, *should never be performed*. By the which they shall soon perceive, whether the French king, his mother or council, shall open themselves to them[25]."

"Then to suggest, that this be the way to bring him (Charles) to the monarchy of christendom—at which point they shall infer what damage the crown of France may and is likely to stand

avowed that he had deferred Joachimo's departure, because he expected letters from Rome and Venice. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 155.

[24] These instructions, dated March 1526, and signed by Henry, are in the MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 164–170.

[25] MS. ib. p. 165.

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BOOK. I. 1526.

in, by the said conditions. So always ordering their words, that the same may seem rather to be a demonstration of their own reason and opinion, chanced in conference, than spoken of purpose, till such time as they shall assuredly perceive, that the French king, &c. be adverse to the said appointment[26]."

The second directions were, that as soon as they had gained this perception,—

"They may recount the great regions, countries and dominions, the emperor hath.—The realms of Naples and Sicily—Milan and Genoa—the country of Este, and others, his possessions in Italy, which, with his crown, be not unlike to bring unto him the whole monarchy and dominion of Italy; also the whole country of Germany, being the greatest part of christendom, and having on the lower parts Artois, Flanders, Zealand, Holland, Brabant, Hainault, and other provinces, besides the duchy of Burgundy, now to be given up, and his inherited realms of Castile, Arragon, Granada, Asturia, Perpignan, and Roussillon[27]."

His third directions, after they had made due impression by this careful enumeration, were, to suggest artfully what he wished to be done to make Francis break his oath:

"At which point, not perceiving an express determination in them to observe the said conditions, the ambassadors shall, *by way of a question*, to the French king, or to the lady, say, 'Be ye minded: is it your veray intent to observe the said conditions, or think ye yourselves, in conscience, honor, law and reason, astringed and bound so to do[28]?"

"Whereunto they shall suffer them to make answer; the said sir Thomas Cheyney demanding, nevertheless, of Dr. Taylor, 'what he thinketh thereon by such learning as he hath in the law?'

"Whereunto the said Dr. Taylor, ensuing the truth, may answer of what final effects in conscience or law, is a promise, bond or convention, made in captivity, to him to whom he is a prisoner. This, his answer, he shall in good manner extend

[26] MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 166.
[27] MS. ib. p. 166.
[28] MS. ib. p. 167.

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most to the purpose, enforcing and encouraging thereby the residue present, to shew the more openly and frankly their opinion. It shall then appear whether the said French king, or the residue, be minded or not to hear a device upon the ways how they may be delivered of the said conditions[29]."

His next order was, if they could thus urge the French court to be explicit and hostile, then to resume a cautious demeanor:

"In which device, suffering the overtures by these provocations to proceed as much as may be on the French part, and using a temperance and moderation, as tho they would rather counsel —they may say, that it is not to be doubted but the pope's holiness, the Venetians, the Florentines, with other powers of Italy, and semblably the Swyzzers, and divers others, all whom the French king shall utterly lose for ever, if he once bring the emperor unto his height[30]."

But Wolsey foresaw that Francis would engage in no hostilities till he had recovered his children. The cardinal therefore instructed his embassy to favor the idea of some—

"Composition to redeem these for convenient sums of money: and when this should be intimated, the ambassadors were to say, 'they be sure the king's highness would interfere his help and furtherance, as a loving mediator, in attaining of the same[31].'"

Planning in his own mind, while he was thus stimulating the French king to war again with Charles, to reserve the power of keeping friends with both, under the guise of a mediator, even while they were quarrelling, the cardinal thus proceeds:—

"In all and singular the premises, the said ambassadors must use good circumspection, so as in anywise in speaking or dis-

[29] MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 167.
[30] MS. ib. p. 167.
[31] MS. ib.

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ciding things that may sound against the emperor, they be well assured to contain themselves within their limits.

"And first to know perfectly the intent and disposition of the said king and lady, and others of his court, and how their minds be inclined to an observance of the said conditions, which it is verily supposed they shall be right loth to perform, if they may find any good comfort or refuge for the recovering of the said hostages. And as they shall perceive the intentions of the French king, so they may, by dexterity, be more open or close, as the case may require. But so that they provoke the French to be more plain with them, and with a better confidence to disclose the secret of their intentions in the premises. And if they find them fervent and earnest not to perform, they shall proceed the more plainly; always answering and giving counsel, and not proposing otherwise, than by the introductions, and giving occasions as aforesaid [32]."

Having again desired them so to express themselves as that what they say might seem to proceed from their own thought, "and of none instructions that they have so to say," he directs them to deliver the king's letters to the duchess of Alençon, with additional compliments; an intimation of great moment, as it is evident that at this time (March 1526) he was directing to her the attention of Henry; being the actual period at which he was projecting to cause scruples to arise in the royal mind, on the morality and legality of his marriage with Catherine [33], as this duchess was the person Wolsey first fixed upon to take this lady's place.

The new ambassador arrived at the French court with these pantomimical instructions, a few days after the emperor's ambassadors reached it, to require the fulfilment of the stipulated conditions [34].

[32] MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 168.

[33] MS. ib. p. 169. *See* the passage quoted hereafter, in chapter 20.

[34] They were De Pradt and Spinola. They arrived on 3d April. The king referred them to his council for his answer. Pradt was somewhat

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On 9th April, sir Thomas Cheyney had his audience; when Francis saved him the trouble of acting his appointed part, by declaring now at once, that he would never give up Burgundy; that he would redeem his children by money; and that he knew the pope, Venetians and all Italy, to dread and dislike the emperor[35]. He confessed that his obligations to Henry, for his liberation, were increased, by recollecting how much he might have injured him by a war[36]. CHAP. XVI.

The release of the French king seems to have been at last a fortunate escape, for something had transpired to Charles, after his liberation, which occasioned an express to be sent, for the purpose of detaining him; but he had left Fontarabbia three hours before it arrived[37]. This fact seems to have inflamed the mind of Francis with additional resentment; and when the viceroy and D'Alarçon arrived from the emperor with a body of three hundred and sixty horse, to demand and take possession of Burgundy, he kept them aloof; and as the embassies of the pope and Venice were urging him

moved, and said, 'Sir, these things concern your own deed, and require no council.' Francis, with cool sarcasm, replied, 'He had learnt that of the emperor.' Desp. of 4th April. MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 175.

[35] Despatch of 13th April, from Bourdeaux. MS. ib. p. 156. Cheyney's letter of the same date, adds, 'and to tell your grace the truth, he wished them all at the devil.' Ib. p. 180.

[36] He mentioned to Cheyney, that he had even 'told the emperor, he was most bounden to the king of England, that ever was one prince to another; for if any man had occasion to have been cruel against him, considering the war between them, and the time of his captivity, it was the king of England; who might have done unto him most damage and displeasure, seeing that he pretended title to his whole realm. Considering all things, he had dealt the most nobly that ever did one prince to another.' MS. ib. 180.

[37] So Dr. Taylor writes on 21st April, that the French ministers informed him, as he supped with them; adding, that Francis had made the more haste because he had intelligence that he should have some impediment. MS. ib. p. 157.

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for the conclusion of the league of Italy, desired the advice of the cardinal and Henry as to his future conduct[38]. Wolsey directed Cheyney to recommend him never to admit the viceroy to his conference, but always to refer him to his council[39].

But altho the pope, the Italian states, and Francis, were willing to renew their federation against Charles, yet they equally wanted England to be a part of the combination, and put in their league a pecuniary article as a temptation[40]. But Wolsey kept the king's mind in an undeciding state. The ambassadors paid further complimentary attentions to Madame D'Alençon[41], and secretly so far urged what they chose to call "The Holy League of Italy," that Francis not only joined it, but on 24th June avowed and proclaimed it with great solemnity, at a high mass, while the viceroy went a hunting to avoid noticing the defiance, and prepared for his departure. He was refused passports for Italy; but was left free to go to Spain[42].

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[38] Desp. 1st May. MS. Cal. D. 7. p. 187. Cheyney added, 'They fear lest the coming of the viceroy and D'Alarçon should alter some part of his mind.' ib.

[39] See the cardinal's letter of 10th May, MS. ib. p. 158. He subjoined also, 'Therefore if he intend the conclusion of the league of Italy, or to keep his friends on that side fast to him, it will be high-wised to shew no familiarity to the viceroy, nor detain them too long with him, lest, by the same, the emperor's reputation should be increased; for all princes look to hear what way, upon his return, he doth incline, after which the pope and others will fashion themselves.' ib. 158.

[40] A pension of 30,000 ducats to Henry, and of 10,000 to the cardinal. MS. ib. p. 160.

[41] Cheyney, on 14th April, describes the whole scene which Francis, perhaps designedly, interrupted. MS. Calig. D. 9. p. 182. The passage will be given in chapter 20.

[42] See despatch in MS. ib. 160. which also mentions, 'the king, riding, got a fall and hurt his arm, but is in no danger. The pope's and Venetian ambassadors came to him, telling him that they had letters from the pope, to give thanks to the king and cardinal for the furthering of the *holy league* of Italy.' ib.

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Wolsey had now attained his object, of seeing Francis in hostility with Charles; and he had in the beginning of May, written a very labored chain of arguments, to pass from the mouths of his ambassadors to the French cabinet, taking upon his own government the merit of having advised the king of France not to perform his treaty [43]. On the authority of Francis, he charged the emperor with the most extravagant ambition; but the witness was not disinterested, and the asserted confession is defective in probability [44]. The cardinal's final arrangements were, that England and France should bind themselves not to treat with the emperor to the prejudice of each other; that Henry should interfere as a mediator; that the intended league should be completed, and that Henry should be named its protector, leaving it to him to assume the title and its duties at his pleasure [45]. On this plan the new war was resolved upon [46].

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[43] After expressing this, he enters into one of his verbose trains of argument, for them to show, that 'whatsoever hath been signed or promised during his captivity, doth not bind him, his realm, or subjects. And plainly to speak, the conditions have three qualities; first, they be impossible; secondly, they be far unreasonable, contrary to all honor; thirdly, they be not observable, but tend to the prejudice and damage of all christendom.' MS. Cal. D. p. 191.

[44] He hath spoken to the French king, saying, 'that he would make himself monarch not only of Italy, but of all christendom, and that his intention is to give laws to all the world.' MS. ib. p. 193. This leaves no alternative but to say, that either Francis fabricated a falsehood, or the wary Charles had become suddenly a boasting simpleton.

[45] Wolsey's letter. MS. ib. p. 194–5. 'The cardinal also stated, that his sovereign would send an embassy to the emperor, to require three things; first, the release of the hostage princes for money, to be settled by Henry, who would name a million or more; second, that the emperor should disband his army in Italy; and third, should pay Henry the money he owed him: who, if these things were refused, would accept the protectorship of the league.' ib. 196.

[46] Yet, on 17th July, the French cabinet complained, that the ratification had not come from the pope or Venetians. MS. ib. 161

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But the cardinal now opened another of his political batteries against Charles; and this was the device of a marriage between Francis and Mary, the daughter of Henry, who was yet a child, in her eleventh year; altho he knew Francis had covenanted by the Madrid treaty to wed the sister of Charles. This new project was at first to be distantly insinuated[47]. Pursuing objects not honest, he could not walk in a straight-forward path. It seems to have been a day of romantic speculation; for Dr. Taylor reported, "there hath been with me, Sicilians, Neapolitans, Almayns and Italians, praying that the king of England might be *their* lord and king; and doubtless if there were a . . . . . [48] as hath been, the king's highness might fain be lord of all the world."

The confederates had now completed their combination on paper. The pope began to form a new army; and the Venetians prepared one to prevent the archduke Ferdinand from sending Germans over the Alps; but they required Henry to supply money, and that he should decidedly engage in the Italian league[49]. Wolsey would not take this step;

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[47] 'As touching his marriage, ye shall say, *my* opinion is, that one of more tender years and nature, and of better education, beauty, and other virtues, were more convenient for him; whereof, if at any time I may know his desire, *I shall be a broker* and mediator for him to the best of my power.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 197.

[48] The only visible letters here, are 'a . . . cofers' which I do not understand. Lett. 12th June. MS. ib. p. 219. The angry feelings of the Italians at the exactions of the imperial troops, are mentioned by Guicciardini. L. 17. p. 681-3.

[49] 'And I assure your grace, I think there will be little done in Italy till that be concluded, for here it is spoken, and in Italy also, that more regard is had of the king of England, than of all the residue of the lengue.' Taylor's Lett. 28th July 1526, from Amboise. MS. ib. p. 233.

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but sent the bishop of Bath to rouse Francis to the exertions of an effective war[50]. CHAP. XVI.

The pope and Wolsey had equally labored to produce this new war, which became so eventful to all mankind. Its real author was Clement VII. who had sent his ambassadors to France, England, and Venice to produce it[51]; and the cardinal was, as we have seen, its zealous abettor. Francis, notwithstanding his irritations, even after he had proclaimed the league, was not eager for it[52]; and had made separate proposals to Charles, in order to avoid it[53]. He was at last so hesitating or tardy, that the pope directed Wolsey and his sovereign, and even their ambassadors in France, to be thanked for having at last procured the co-operation of Francis[54]. The state papers disclosing these facts justify the emperor for charging, as he

[50] He reached the French court at Orleans, on 9th August. His Letter. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 235.

[51] Guicciard. L. 16. p. 232–3.

[52] Guicciardini remarks, that altho Francis was resolved not to deliver up Burgundy to the emperor, his mind was far estranged from making war against him, unless he were compelled by great necessity to do so. L. 17. p. 243.

[53] Dr. Taylor, on 17th July, informed Wolsey, that the French chancellor had just declared, that Francis had sent an ambassador to the emperor, to procure, by a peace, the redemption of his sons by money, and the freedom of Italy. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 161.

[54] On 18th June, Taylor wrote, 'This day came to me all the pope's ambassadors, and the ambassadors of Venice with them, shewing unto me that they had letters from the pope's highness, that he had sent to his nuncio resident in England, to shew to the king's holiness and your grace, the confirmation of the holy league of Italy, and to give his highness and your grace, high and hearty thanks on his behalf, as patrons and authors of the same: for, if his highness and your grace had not diligentlier and speedlier minded and intended this matter than the king and his council here, it had not been as yet neither concluded nor confirmed; and furthermore, they said they had come in the pope's name to thank me and Mr. Cheyney for soliciting of the same.' MS. ib. p. 224.

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did the next year, Clement VII. with being the actual fabricator of this war, and with deserving whatever calamities it might superinduce[55]; and but that the Sovereign of all is ever, as the poet says,—

> From seeming evils still educing good,
> And better thence again, and better still
> In infinite progression—

We might lament this warlike infatuation of one who assumed the title of the Vicar of the Prince of Peace; for at no period would it have been easier for the English cabinet, in concurrence with the pope, to have led Europe into a long train of general pacification, if either had sincerely desired it, and had with an upright heart negotiated singly and directly for that purpose, with half the zeal with which both the pontiff and Wolsey successfully labored to rekindle the conflagration of war[56]. In few instances have the authors of mischief brought down on themselves the retributory punishment more

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[55] Charles V. thus speaks of this pope on this subject in his letter to Henry, in August 1527. ' When Clement VII. succeeded them in the pontificate, instead of confirming, like a good shepherd, the peace we had made with the king of France, *he proposed to rekindle* the war in christendom; and as soon as the above-mentioned king was released from prison, his holiness made a league against us, with him and other Italian potentates, to compel our army to leave Italy, and to deprive us, and to possess themselves of the kingdom of Naples, which they had already divided; and altho we generously offered to accede to every demand required by the pope, he refused his consent, expecting to take from us our said kingdom of Naples. Before we commenced hostilities, we *appealed* alike to the pope, *and to the college of cardinals*, conjuring them, not to provoke us to a war; and stating, that if this war occasioned any indignity or calamity to the apostolic throne, the guilt would be imputed to them *alone in whom it so* clearly originated.' Lettre de Principe. V. 2. p. 234.

[56] Charles also sent Moncado to the pope, with articles to conclude a peace, ' but Clement told him he came too late.' Hall, p. 717. This chronicler's description of this pontiff is brief, but not unjust, ' a man of great wit and vice, and of little virtue or learning.' p. 712.

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signally, or more to the advantage of mankind, than Clement and his coadjutor did, by the hostilities which they thus united to re-produce.

The pope announced his new league to the emperor in an accusing letter from Rome, on 23d June, who answered it in September, by an epistolary pamphlet[57]. In that month the pontiff sent a commission from Rome to offer formally the protectorship of his confederation to Henry, who would not however depart from his neutrality[58]. The allied powers were to have brought into the field thirty thousand infantry, two thousand men at arms, and two thousand lighter cavalry[59]. But two Italian bishops were also sent off to Switzerland, to levy six thousand Swiss[60]. Francis at the same time applied there for his intended force, and told an ambassador in August, that eleven thousand Swiss must have arrived in Italy[61]; but he learnt from the pope's nuncio more correctly, that the French envoy, instead of money, had taken only words into the men-dealing Cantons, and that their diet was therefore refractory; and it was doubtful whether they would get any Switzers at all[62]. The diplomatic bishops suggested to Wolsey, with some military judgment, that the French king ought to "send forth some good company with all speed

[57] 'Containing twenty-four sheets of paper.' Hall. 714.
[58] It is in Rymer, 14. p. 187, dated 7th Sept. 1526.
[59] In these proportions: the pope 8,000 foot, 800 men at arms, and 700 light cavalry; Venice the same numbers, with 300 more cavalry; the duke of Milan half the same force; and the French 2,000 lancers, and 10,000 foot. Guicc. L. 17. 258, 259.
[60] The bishop of Verula, and the bishop of Lodi. Guic. L. 17. p. 253.
[61] Letters of 20th and 21st August. MS. Calig. D. p. 9. 236–9.
[62] MS. ib. 242.

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and diligence against Flanders, that the emperor might be somewhat occupied on that side[63]." But Francis was not hearty in the war. His main wishes were to get back his children; and as he could not, without the full co-operation of England, overpower Charles by any military force, he was averse, when he saw Henry's retiring policy, to rouse vindictive passions in his imperial adversary, by additional provocation.

It had been one of Wolsey's speculations, that the emperor had no great general in Italy, and might be overpowered before he could provide one, or fortify and supply his towns in the Milanese, which he meant to do out of his wife's portion and a subsidy from Spain[64]. Charles had lost by death the applauded Prosper Colonna and the marquis of Pescara[65]; but the want of able captains of his own, drove him to the necessity of employing the greatest of all who then flourished, and of confiding his army to the expatriated duke of Bourbon[66]. He provisioned his fortresses; sent to Germany for seven thousand lance knights, and prepared a navy to conduct the viceroy, with another army, to Naples[67].

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[63] MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 243.

[64] 'There is no time to be lost or pretermitted, but before the said forces can be assembled, and that the emperor can provide him of captains, whereof *he is at this time destitute*, or fortify or furnish the towns and places of Milan, this conjunction should be made.' Wolsey's instructions, 4th May. MS. ib. 195.

[65] Mem. Bell. 18. p. 24.

[66] This appointment was mentioned by Francis with affected indifference, 'that he did little esteem it,' to the bishop of Bath, on 14th Aug. MS. ib. 239.

[67] Our ambassadors reported these events to their government. MS. ib. p. 236, 239, 242, lamenting in vain the inactivity of Francis, not perceiving that it probably arose from Henry's temporary neutrality.

Brantone says, that Bourbon was 'fort malcontent' with the emperor,

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The Venetians, on their part, surprised Lodi; and as their then ally, Sforza, held the castle of Milan, they united with the papal forces to take its city, with full confidence of success[68]. The pope was severely mortified by their failure, because his finances were exhausted[69]. He was more disheartened when the duke of Bourbon besieged the castle till it was starved into surrender[70].

As autumn advanced, Francis sent one of his best officers, the marquis de Salusses, over the Alps, with five thousand Frenchmen. Eleven thousand Swiss were at last obtained. The confederate armies joined about the middle of September, to the number of thirty-three thousand infantry and two thousand men at arms; the English ambassadors wrote to their court in great spirits; the emperor could not raise money; the Grisons would not let his lance knights pass over the mountains; the Grand Turk was setting upon Hungary, which would sufficiently occupy the archduke Ferdinand; the pope was pacifying the Colonni, "so that they concluded their affairs in Italy were as prosperous as could be wished[71];" the duke of Urbino, with the Venetian forces, taking Cremona, added to the exhilarating prospect[72]; and the pope urged the confederates to invade the kingdom of Naples[73].

p. 249. But with such a national feeling against him, he could only be employed on great emergencies.

[68] Guicc. L. 17. p. 269–278.

[69] Guicciardini observes, the pope was not prepared either with money or constancy of mind to endure the protraction of the war. He had entered into the war with very little store of money, and could hardly furnish the charges of it. L. 17. p. 287.

[70] Bellay, 28. [71] Lett. 13 Sept. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 245.

[72] Bellay, 29. Guicc. L. 17. MS. ib. 246.

[73] Guicciard. Lib. 17. p. 313.

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But in the beginning of the next month, Wolsey received intelligence, from Paris, of an unexpected disaster at Rome[74], on which the interference of England was loudly claimed[75]. Henry saw and heard, but kept his sword still unsheathed. The cardinal may not have been sorry that the pope, whose elevation had prevented his, should suffer for his triumph. The event so lamented, was an attack on the pope by one of the branches of the Colonni. He had made peace with the son of the late general Prospero, on behalf of all his relations; and thinking himself safe from this quarter, with a hasty economy disbanded his army in Romagna. Perceiving this, the cardinal Colonna, with a kinsman, perfidiously breaking the family compact, raised suddenly sufficient forces from their territories, which lay near Naples, marched rapidly on Rome, and were at its Lateran church, before their advance had been heard of. The pope had just time to retire, with his cardinals and the chief citizens, into the castle of St. Angelo, but with no more provisions than would last for three days. Apprehensive of dying from famine, he was forced to capitulate; and upon the interference of the viceroy of Moncado, to agree upon a truce, and to promise that he would withdraw his army from the Milanese, and for four months give

[74] The bishop of Bath wrote, on 5th Oct. 'The first of this month I sent your grace such strange news of such revolution, as was chanced in Rome concerning the affairs of Italy. The pope's orator is ridden to the king, to excuse the pope of the last revolution, and to solicit peace.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 252.

[75] The bishop added, 'they cry and call upon the king's highness and your grace, as them in whom is now all the help and stay of Christendom; for the pope and all the affairs of Italy—they are in ruin and at nothing.' MS. ib. 253.

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no succors to the league[76]. The pope's fright and degradation might have made no impression upon Francis, but the loss of his troops was a dangerous evil. He therefore expressed great indignation at the faithless insult, and sent orders to his commander to set forward, and not to shrink from these new circumstances[77]. Clement, in his anger, applied to engage more Switzers; and imbibing the moral contagion of the age, is stated to have resolved on his part, to keep his treaties as little as his enemies observed them[78].

When Bourbon advanced his army to Milan, the inhabitants petitioned not to be exposed to the rapacity of the soldiers. He told them he had brought little money with him, but if they would raise for him thirty thousand ducats, he would quarter his troops elsewhere. The money was levied with difficulty, from the often pillaged people; but the army disobeying his orders, would not withdraw[79], and the inhabitants suffered, unrelieved; an ominous

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[76] Bellay, 29, 30; and see Guicciardini's detail, L. 17. p. 329–335. The pope made this in the name of the confederates as well as of his own. The truce included all Italy.

[77] On 10th October, the prelate's dispatch was, 'the French king, upon knowledge of the cruel and ungodly demeanor, which hath been now lately committed in Rome against the pope's holiness, hath shewed to his orator that he takes the same very grievously, offering to expose his own person, with all that he can, for the pope's defence.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 254.

[78] The bishop communicates this singular fact: 'By letters from Rome, it appears that the pope has sent for 4,000 Swiss, and intendeth to keep no part of the articles with Don Moncado, saying, *as he shewed me, he would do if the case should require*, that the imperials had broken so many times their bonds with him, that he might, when he should see his time, break and not observe his with them.' MS. ib. p. 254. Machiavel sketched from living figures.

[79] Guicc. L. 17. p. 292–301. Brant.

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specimen of that intractability, which next year produced such eventful results.

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On 7th October, the pope separated his cavalry from his allies[80], partly to make the Spaniards believe that he meant to fulfil the truce, and partly because he wanted them in Rome for his own protection; but his general, John de Medicis, remained with the infantry in the confederate camp[81]. The pontiff projected to visit Charles in person, as his own negociator, or if that failed, to journey onward to the main princes of Christendom, to interest them in his behalf! He was dissuaded from either of these measures by both the French and English governments, whose reasonings and promises at length decided him to break up the amicable arrangement he had made with Moncado, and to try again the deluding fortune of war[82]. The allied army was put into cantonments for the winter around Milan, meditating an attack on Genoa, and watching the coming of the German lance knights, whom Bourbon was expecting[83].

For the pope to expel Charles from Italy, it was essential that he should have the effectual military

[80] Guicc. p. 335–7.

[81] Letter, 14th Oct. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 255. 'So that they reckon the army is little or nothing enfeebled by any revocation that the pope hath made.' ib.

[82] Guicc. L. 17. p. 342–5. The Freneh cabinet would not suffer Paul de Arezzo, the pope's envoy, to pass into Spain. Lett. 23 Nov. MS. ib. p. 267.

[83] Letter ib. 266–9. 'The bishop mentioned to Francis, 'Could you not stop them?' He said they would do the best they could with the Grisons, that they should not suffer them to pass; but he thought the coming of said lance knights should do the imperials more hurt than good, seeing that they had no money to pay them.' ib. 271. A fact which made their presence more calamitous to the allies.

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co-operations of Francis and Henry; the first by his troops, and the other by that money, which would purchase soldiers in the great men-markets of Switzerland and Germany. But as it became discernible that the English cabinet was only urging others to fight, without intending to be itself a principal in the combat, the mind of the French king exhibited a relaxing eagerness for the war, and a tendency to pacific arrangements. Aided by the interposition and remonstrance of England, he had been enabled to resist the cession of Burgundy; and Charles, finding that to persevere in demanding this enlargement of his Flemish and German territories, was the only point that was likely to make Henry take arms against him, had begun to listen to the French proposals of commuting this article of the Madrid treaty into a pecuniary compensation, and to abate the high tone of his cabinet; while Francis, having ascertained, that however uncertain on other points, Wolsey meant to support him in preserving the integrity of his kingdom, but would not befriend the other favorite aims of his personal ambition or national policy, became on his part more inclined to a friendly accommodation with the emperor. To wrest from him the command of Italy was hopeless, if England would not vigorously assist: and as Wolsey gave no sincere indication of a strong military co-operation, the French cabinet declined in its fervor, even on this favorite subject, and seemed every month but more disposed to leave the pope and his Italian supporters to their own resources and exertions. Wolsey perceiving this tendency, called the bishop of Worcester, a foreign ecclesiastic,

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from his mission at Rome, and directed him to reinforce the English embassy at the Spanish court, but to visit Francis on his way[84].

The English minister, who had learnt that the French government had it in contemplation to send some qualified person to Spain to require Madame Eleanora[85], was instructed to ascertain from the lady regent, the real intentions of Francis on this subject. He questioned her accordingly[86]. She declared her son's preference for Mary, and that the Spanish princess, being thirty years of age, and buying her so dear, he would not gladly set his mind that way; but she perplexed him by desiring his advice[87]. He recollected himself to commend his fair countrywoman[88], and to intimate that she would be more manageable by her than the other lady[89]. This observation was not unwelcome, or unfelt[90]: The prelate then declared that his master's heart was set

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[84] His name was Jerom de Ghinucci. He arrived at Paris on 20th October. Bishop Clark's letter of 23d Oct. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 256.

[85] 'And in case she shall be denied, then to protest that the king thinketh himself at liberty to marry where him shall like best. Howbeit they say they will not send him.' Lett. 23 Nov. MS. ib. p. 264.

[86] 'Intend you to accept the marriage.' Lett. 23d Nov. MS. ib. 264.

[87] MS. ib. 'Hereat I was somewhat staggered, for to repeat to her such reasons as should dissuade the marriage of M. Eleanora, I thought it no time.' ib. 264.

[88] I 'said only, that I did not doubt but she knew the qualities of the daughter of England well enough, and the difference between her and Madame Eleonora.' ib. 265.

[89] 'Howbeit, I said there was one diversity, Madame Eleanora was now of that age that there should not be found, peradventure, so much good nature and humility in her as in my lady princess, whom now in this age and after this education, she might bring, fashion, forge up and make of her what she would herself, assuring her that my said lady princess should be as loving, lowly and humble to her as to her own father.' MS. ib. 265.

[90] 'She held up her hands, and, *cum lacrimis*, said that I said truth; adding, that if it should be the lady princess' chance, she would be as loving and humble again to her as to her own son.' ib.

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upon the match[91]. The royal mother hinted at a substitution of one of the French princes for Mary, in case Francis decided upon wedding Eleanora[92]. The bishop renewed the topic with Francis himself. He called Mary "the pearl of the world, the jewel that her father esteemed more than any thing on earth[93]." The king declared on the faith of a gentleman, that even before he went into Italy, he had a desire to marry her[94]. On this admission, the prelate pressed him earnestly to the point[95], but his urgency only obtained in return compliments to her[96], with a declaration that both conscience and honor called upon him to give the preference to Eleanora[97]. The whole scene leads to an inference, that he was rather annoyed than pleased, that the pearl of the world was forcibly thrust upon his acceptance[98]; and that he was really directing his serious thoughts elsewhere.

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[91] 'I said, I knew well it was the thing that the king's highness most desired of any thing on earth, that this marriage should pass between her son and my lady the princess.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 265.

[92] 'She thought the second son, Henry duke of Orleans, would be the best person, because England would want a ruler for itself, and residing within it, and therefore the dauphin would not be meet.' ib. 265.

[93] MS. ib. p. 272.

[94] Ib.

[95] 'I said unto him, Sir, whereat stick you then? It standeth only by you that the thing is not performed. I know well that she is offered unto you under such conditions, as in manner ye cannot wish them better. Besides, Sir, she is of that beauty and virtue.' ib. p. 273.

[96] Here Francis stopped him, 'I pray you repeat unto me none of all these matters. I know well enough her education; her form and fashion; her beauty and her virtue; and what father and mother she cometh of. I have as great a mind to marry her as ever I had to any woman.' ib.

[97] 'But I must do my things as near as I can, without displeasing of God, and reproach of the world;' and then he shewed me that he had promised the emperor for Madame Eleanora, and that he would accordingly demand her *first*.' ib. p. 273.

[98] The bishop himself made this deduction. MS. ib. 282.

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It was in this conference that the bishop, in pursuance of new instructions from Wolsey[99], having before reminded the French king that the successful irruption of the Turks upon Hungary, by endangering Austria, would compel Charles to be more manageable[100], told Francis, that he was commissioned to move him principally in two points: The one, to stir him to the war, and now earnestly to press the emperor by his arms, that he might be the sooner driven to adopt reasonable conditions of peace; and the other, to urge Francis himself to give his own mind the same disposition, and to resolve what he would do for the redemption of his children[101]. The king replied with warmth[102], that he could not otherwise declare himself than he had already done[103].

In the middle of December, the disposition of Francis to conclude peace with the emperor became manifest. He prepared to send an embassy to Spain, to treat avowedly for it. The probability of commuting Burgundy, and of obtaining back his children for a pecuniary compensation, led him to calculate, that in pursuing his warlike league, he was spending "one hundred thousand ducats monthly, which sum would in a few months time pay for the redemption of his children." The regent

[99] He mentions to Wolsey, that he had received 'your grace's letter of 26th Oct. and instructions; employed the next day in reading them, and then sought an interview with Francis, at his coming in booted, and in his riding dress, with right sore a cold, as it seemed.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 268.

[100] MS. ib. Francis stated that this had made the archduke direct 15,000 lance-knights against the Turks. ib. 271.

[101] MS. ib. p. 271.

[102] 'I assure your grace he was very sore at this.' ib. 272.

[103] Ib.

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purposely remarked to the English ambassador, that the princess Eleanora had changed her widow's dress, and caused herself to be called the French queen; the pope's legate intimated a suspicion, that Francis was personally attached to her[104]; and the Italian powers began also to believe, that an amicable treaty between France and Spain would undoubtedly be concluded[105].

When Worcester was introduced to Francis, as about to proceed to Spain, the French king coolly praised Wolsey's endeavours to re-establish a peace, but remarked, that he had himself done nothing without the counsel of the English government, and that Henry had been the only cause that he had entered into the league, and that he never would have engaged in it, but for the exhortations of the king of England[106]. It was then noticed to him, that the emperor, the pope, and the Venetians had requested Henry to be the mediator of the existing differences[107]. But the French statesmen perceived that the cardinal's present aim was to urge the marriage with Mary, in order that the alliance with Eleanora might be broken off, and consequently all conciliation between the emperor might be prevented[108]; an inference not likely to lead to any acceptance of an English mediation. Francis had stopped the agent whom the pope had sent to the emperor, but

[104] The bishop's lett. 12th December. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 279–282.
[105] MS. ib. 279.
[106] Lett. of Bath and Worcester from Poifry, of 12 Dec. MS. ib. p. 284.
[107] MS. ib. p. 285.
[108] 'To be plain with your grace, I fear me lest they here do savor and smell how fair and prone ye be to join and conclude this matrimony with him, and consequently to dissuade and disturb that with Madame Eleanora, which should be contrary to the emperor.' ib. p. 286.

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now allowed his departure; and the pontiff complained that the French king did not assist him, and especially in fulfilling his pecuniary contract[109]. One of the greatest difficulties to their pacification, was the arrangement as to Milan. The allies had covenanted to restore this duchy to Sforza, who had been driven from it, and the emperor had promised it to the duke of Bourbon. On the intimation of this project, the papal and Venetian ministers came together to the English ambassador, to declare that the confederates never would consent that Bourbon should be duke of Milan: and as to the suggestion, of depositing the duchy in the hands of Henry, they had no instructions on such a proposition[110].

Sir William Fitzwilliam arrived from England, with new directions, to press the marriage with Mary. The lady regent referred him to her son, who was absent on a hunting party, for his own answer, but suggested, that to do any good against Charles, England ought to make a vigorous invasion of Flanders: "that is the only thing that should touch him at the heart;" adding her opinion, that Worcester ought not yet to be sent into Spain[111]. She noticed the impediment to peace, which subsisted in the differences between the duke of Ferrara and the pope, who obstinately claimed his territories; and hinted that the pontiff had sent the archbishop of Capua to the imperial viceroy, to treat for a suspension of hostilities[112]. The ambassadors

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[109] MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 291.
[110] MS. ib. p. 288.
[111] Bath and Fitzwilliam's letter of 22d December. MS. ib. p. 292–5.
[112] MS. ib. 293, 4. He had been alarmed by a naval armament, sent by the emperor to Naples, and hoped it would be intercepted.

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required from Wolsey more decided instructions for their further conduct[113]; and when they pressed their subject on Francis, he frankly told them, that if he received no other help from the English government, than he had already experienced, the emperor would never liberate his children, unless he completed his contract with Eleanora. The ministers suggested that Henry, if his daughter were preferred, would "on certain conditions, which should be but honorable and easy," join with him and his confederates, and act upon the low countries. The king thanked them for speaking out; but the ambassadors declared that it was hard to say what the French monarch meant to do, except to recover his children "by the shortest way, and most easiest thing[114]."

The prelate of Worcester did not suspend his journey to please the court of Paris, but reached Valladolid in the middle of the first month of the new year[115]; and his earliest dispatch intimated to Wolsey the probability that private negociations were on foot, between the two royal adversaries[116].

[113] 'May it like your grace to advertise us, whether, when we shall offer my lady princess absolutely, in this case, ye mean to concur also with the French king in making war with the emperor or no; like your grace to declare your mind on that point, and what my lord Worcester shall do.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 295. But Wolsey would not declare, perhaps had not settled his mind on this point.

[114] MS. ib. p. 295-8. Among the terms of the marriage, Henry seems to have required the cession of Boulogne; for Louisa told him 'she was glad that we spake no more of Boulogne. We said that your grace had with great study, labor and pains, brought the king's highness to meaner conditions.' MS. ib. 298.

[115] Dr. Lee stated his arrival on 15th January 1527. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 3.

[116] He wrote on 19th January, in cypher, 'I have understood by some signs, that there may be some secret practices going on between Cæsar and the French king. If any be, they are thro the hands of the lady Eleanora.' MS. ib. p. 1.

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In his audience with the emperor, on his return from hunting, he suggested that a truce, rather than a peace might be adopted, if the pledges or hostages did not satisfy, and that his sovereign would take the province of bringing it about. Charles contented himself with the reply, that he would think upon it; but when they requested from him a suspension of arms, he waved the topic for his further deliberation, declaring that he stood alone against many adversaries; that they were full of money, while he had none, and that Christendom needed solid peace, not temporary abstinence from war. To this intimation, the point of which was visible, the ambassadors replied, "our sovereign wishes war with no one: he will contain himself within the bounds of neutrality; he prefers the public good to his private advantage [117]."

While the emperor maintained this civil but unbending demeanor, his courtiers, alluding to the rumored habits of the French king, amused themselves with jocular taunts on the notion of his marrying the English princess [118]. But the imperial chancellor discovered to Worcester, that his master knew that Fitzwilliam had been urging this marriage, and talking of invading Flanders: a conduct irreconcileable with an impartial mediation; and another official personage stated, that he believed that the English government, as usual, was only striving to prevent an amity between the emperor and Francis [119].

[117] B. Worc. dispatch of 31st Jan. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 6, 7.

[118] One laughing said, 'O how abundantly manifest is the ingenuity of these Frenchmen, born for trifles and fictions. The king will place his daughter admirably, si morbi illius Gallo infesto eam nuptui traderet, qui, sicut ad nos scribunt, haud ita multo pridem sudavit in hypercausto.' MS. ib. p. 8.

[119] MS. ib. p. 13.

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These ideas furnish some clue to the intricacies of Wolsey's diplomacy. A cordial alliance between these potentates, would give them the command, as well of Italy as of the continent, and subject both the pope and minor powers to their control; and Wolsey and his master would be put down from their station of interfering and dictatorial mediators. Hence it suited all their neighbors that a splenetic truce, suspending the agitation of arms and the chances of victory, but keeping them bickering with each other, and divided by mutual jealousy, should take the place of a sincere pacification. Charles and his cabinet, at least, suspected these to be the principles of Wolsey's policy, and therefore gave no credence to his professions and no weight to his proffers of a friendly interposition. To Henry's credentials proposing his mediation, the emperor cautiously answered, that he was ready, if others would send their missions also to England[120]. The French had now their avowed envoys at his court in the month of February, who treated jointly with the English, while there was any hope that the combination was likely to procure them any better conditions: but when they discerned the decline of Wolsey's influence, in the imperial court, they negociated privately for themselves, and continued their communications with the lady Eleanora[121].

[120] MS. Vesp. C. 4. 10th February. p. 38, 9.
[121] Bp. Worcester's lett. MS. ib. p. 15.

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CHAP. XVII.

THE EMPEROR'S FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—WOLSEY'S DUPLICITY—PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN ITALY—VICEROY'S DEFEAT AND TRUCE—THE POPE'S VACILLATIONS—BOURBON BEGINS TO ADVANCE ON THE SOUTH OF ITALY.

BOOK I.

THAT twelve thousand armed strangers should have obtained the dominion of Italy in 1527, and kept it in continued subjection, surprised the military nephew of Guicciardini, who ascribed the evil to the indolence, discord and timidity of its various states; and recommended the formation of a native soldiery and a strict military discipline, for the emancipation of his afflicted country[1].

But it was the genius of the duke of Bourbon, which in two successive years had ruined two French armies, and was now about to strike a blow that consummated what he had begun, which made the emperor's forces the masters of this fine peninsula, although want of money repeatedly checked their progress and fettered his overpowering spirit. When Charles urged the cities in his Cortez to increase their grant of four hundred thousand ducats, the deputies declared they must first consult their electors[2]; nor did he succeed better with the other

[1] See his Sacco di Roma, L. 2. p. 114–117.

[2] The English ambassadors in their despatch to Wolsey, of 16th June 1525, from Toledo, thus state this curious fact: 'After the emperor's communications to his Spanish parliament, they did thank his majesty that it pleased him to make them privy to his so great affairs, saying that they were not instructed by the cities which had sent them what to answer to such matters, as their masters who sent them never

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branches of his states[3]. The military knighthoods refused any supplies[4]. The ecclesiastical chiefs were as sturdy; placing the principle of their denial on a point which showed the secret power of the popedom, thro the clergy, against the governments of Europe; and the opposing use that was made of it, to counteract their policy and pecuniary applications[5]. Charles attempted to remonstrate, and complained of the pope's hostile conduct[6], but with no immediate efficacy[7]. By similar financial necessities,

knew; but if it would like him to give them a day to write, every burgess and proctor to their cities, they trusted briefly to have answers again what the advice of the cities shall be; which day is granted to them.' MS. lett. Vesp. C. 3. p. 138.

[3] On 15th April, Dr. Lee wrote from Spain to Wolsey, 'The parliament here hath nothing granted, saving one or two orders of religious, sums of little amount. The bishops say, they may nothing grant *without the pope's licence*; and specially fearing that it shall be employed against the pope.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 81.

[4] 'Their commendatories of the divers orders of Alcantara and Calatrava and St. James's say, that all these foundations be to defend the countries against the Moors, almost neighbor borderers; whereunto they be and will be always ready to spend their goods and their blood: and that out of their country they be bound nothing to do, ne to give any aid towards it; and that it is not expedient they shall give any other aid, lest they should lack for the purpose of their foundations when need shall be.' Lett. ib. 81.

[5] The resistance of the Spanish bishop is more fully described in Dr. Lee's letter of 6th April to Henry. 'The 3d April, the prelates here have made answer to the demands of money. They, kneeling on their knees in most humble manner, desired the emperor to leave his wars with the pope, shewing him many considerations—and that touching his demand for money for war to be made against the Turks, they be all ready to do enough for that purpose; but they will not grant a farthing lest it shall be spent in other use.' Lett. ib. p. 85.

[6] 'The emperor answered to them, that they might well perceive how much he is inclined to the peace, and that he is gladder to have peace with the pope than with any other; but saith he, what will you have me to do? The pope hath by process given from me the realm of Sicily, and made viceroy thereof the duke of Lorraine; and likewise is about to take Naples from me, and likewise Milan. Would you counsel me to suffer this?' Lett. ib. 85.

[7] Dr. Lee ends his account, 'The length of their communications I cannot yet understand; but I perceive the princes here be of the same

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the pope[8] and France[9] were as much obstructed and enfeebled; necessities which made the soldiery refuse to obey their commanders when in arrear, unless for plundering expeditions[10].

The difficulty of conveying money to the armies was also continually arresting their progress, and preventing or nullifying their operations. Wolsey experienced and described this from England, where he had felt it, tho that was the most accredited nation in Europe, with the most numerous communications[11]. As the bullion could not be specifically transported, the bankers in the chief towns in Europe were made use of[12]. But altho the money

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mind, and hath made the same answer.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 85. Even the subjected Moors of Grenada displayed the same resisting spirit against new taxation. They revolted against Charles, not only from their aversion to the Christian baptism, but because 'they were not disposed to pay a good sum of money beyond their usual contributions: fuori della consuetudine loro.' Del. Sacco, p. 63.

[8] He repeatedly complained of his empty treasury. See MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 46. 123. and MS. B. 9. p. 19. 26. 63. By leaving the papacy in debt 700,000 ducats from his wars, Leo X. put lasting fetters upon its temporal potentiality.

[9] Thus the Bp. of Bath wrote, that in the French camp there were 'both less money and less order.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 15. In Vitell. B. 9. we read, that in January 1527 there was plenty of men, 'but we want money.' p. 5. There are many complaints in Vitell. B. 6. how much the want of money retarded the military operations; and both from Calig. D. 9. p. 243. and from Guicciardini, L. 17. we find the Swiss refusing to supply Francis with troops, because he could not pay them.

[10] This was their usual threat, and the bishop of Bath, in May 1527, apprised his court, 'These soldiers will be paid, and if there shall be no remedy will fall to spoil, and sacking of cities and towns.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 15.

[11] Thus, in 1525, he wrote to our ambassador at Rome, 'Ready money cannot be conveyed without great danger, and long tract of time; and the merchants here not knowing the successes in Italy, be in doubt how to take as to promise to pay money in exchange.' MS. Vitel. B. 7. p. 1–3.

[12] Wolsey added, 'For which cause order is taken that by the banks of Antony Vyvola, Genoa, and Nicholas Dodo, Venetian, there shall be a sum of 40 or 50, or perchance 100,000 ducats provided at Venice, the same to be repaid here.' ib.

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was lodged with their correspondents, to be paid abroad where wanted, it could not be always obtained from them when it was necessary, either from the high commission they insisted upon deducting [13], or from their inability to raise, at the moment, a quantity of the local coin that would be sufficient for a large expenditure [14].

The opposition of mind that was arising in 1527, against the papal system and domination, assisted the prevalence of the imperial armies. In the same year, the cultivated, and not enervate, city of Florence exhibited a specimen of this intellectual resistance [15]. Not only the populace, but many also of the rich, tho they would have opposed the invading forces as such, yet desired that the German troops might execute their menace of sacking the city, altho their own property and families would suffer by the calamity, because they thought no milder event would free them from their hated servitude, and the government of the papacy [16]. They

[13] We have an instance of this in B. Bath's letter of 14th Feb. 1525: 'Tho my commission were larger, yet the money is not to be gotten of the merchants, without such loss, as I dare not venture to take it without your grace's special commission.' MS. Vitell. B. 7. p. 51. At last he made a bargain that the emperor should bear the defalcation. On 6th April his account was, 'I have appointed the emperor's orators to take up 23,000 crowns here of the merchants in Rome that received the king's money, at such price as said orators agree, and they to stand the loss.' ib. 103.

[14] The military Guicciardini mentions that the pope could not suddenly raise money by making cardinals, who would give him 40 or 50,000 scudi each, because 'the mercanti in a few days could not so instantaneously provide in coin such large sums of money.' Sacco, p. 121.

[15] The detail of this striking incident is in the Sacco di Roma, Book the Second.

[16] 'Molti, come desperati, quantunque richi e nobile—desiderassino che li Tedeschi pigliassino et saccheggiassino Firenze, stimando non con altro, benche dannoso e vituperoso, modo poter liberarsi dalla servita e dal governo di sua Santita.' Sacco, p. 120. In another place he

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preferred pillage to the continuation of its dominion; and some so notoriously favored the Lutherans [17], that when the younger part of the nobles desired arms to be put into their hands against their invaders, the cardinal who governed them for the pope, would not yield to their request, till the gonfalonier, by remonstrances which could not be resisted, obtained the permission. A sedition immediately burst out against the Medicean or papal family; and when the Venetian general, the duke of Urbino, reached one of the gates of the city, he found it closed, and was informed that all the people had determined not to obey the pope any longer. The insurrection was so general in the name of liberty and the people, and he saw the hatred against the pontiff and his house and agents so violent, that he would not attempt to force the passage [18]. These circumstances will prevent the reader from being surprised that the incidents and their results, which occurred in this year 1527, should have made it such a memorable epocha in the history of the renovating world as it was destined, and lastingly experienced, to be.

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remarks, that many of its citizens, not ignoble, were disposed to support 'ogni gravissimo male' rather than to be governed in future by Clement. p. 94.

[17] The pope said that the 'maggior parte de nobili e de ricchi in tanto manifesto pericolo,' would have 'a raffrenare qualunque volesse dar favore a Luterani.' ib. 120.

[18] Sacco, p. 119–126. We find the Siennese and the great men about them equally hostile to the pontiff, for there is a letter to cardinal Rivalis, of 21 March 1527, which complains that they were persevering not only in 'their endeavors to do what injury they could do to the country of the pope, but they also favor some of the surrounding noblemen against the count de Pitigliano and other adherents of his holiness.' Lett. de Principi, v. 2. p. 225.

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Wolsey's politics had so much lessened the character of his government, that the English ambassador could not avoid acquainting him with the disagreeable truth, that he saw the Spanish court would not trust the English sovereign[19]. Tho he went to Spain on a mission of peace, he learnt that the emperor's impression was, that Henry only sought to prevent, not to restore, friendship between the contending parties[20]. This was indeed a defaming conception. But when we see from the records adduced in these pages, the incitations given by Russell and Cassalis to the pope, to reject all truces, and to plunge deeply into the war; how shall we characterize the recal from Italy and commission into Spain of the bishop of Worcester, at the very same time, to intreat Charles to make peace, and to propose Henry to be the mediator to effect it. His mission, and its impression on the emperor, will be best described by himself in the note below[21]. But

[19] On 31st January he wrote, 'In my judgment, as I can sufficiently collect from the words of some of them, they have no confidence in his majesty; but as they are cautious and sagacious, they endeavor not to show before us that they do not trust him.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 15.

[20] In another dispatch at this time we find, 'a respectable person has told me as a great secret, that Cæsar was informed that the matrimonial dealings were going on, but that he knew the king of England in his way was striving for nothing else but to impede the amity between Cæsar and the French king.' MS. Vitel. B. 7. p. 13.

[21] The bishop's dispatch of 31st Jan. 1527, relating his interview with Charles, will best delineate in his plausible but insincere mission, Wolsey's double-dealing diplomacy; peace in his official mouth in Spain—war to the fighters in Italy. 'The emperor had been hunting. On 24th came here. On 26th we had an audience with him; we delivered the letters, and exposed to him all the points in our instructions; we omitted nothing to induce him to acquiesce; and as to the mistrust which he had of the others, if pledges or hostages would not satisfy, it might be a truce instead of a peace, and that our king would take on him the province of bringing it about. At length he said he would think upon it, and give us an answer.

'As to the abstinence from arms, he said it would neither benefit our

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it evinces an extraordinary combination in Wolsey's character, that, after the acrimonious hostility which he had exhibited to Charles, he should instruct this same prelate, at this very period, to declare to this offended sovereign the English cardinal's most devoted attachment. Hypocrisy has never used a more simulating tongue that what he ordered his selected bishop to employ to the emperor, whom it neither blinded nor misled[22]. His answer was civil, but

king as a mediator, nor himself. We remarked, that if injuries and slaughter increased while peace was discussing, it would profit less. He answered, that being winter, there was no present danger of these evils increasing. We replied, that if there was not so much danger, his majesty would act more liberally in the business. He said he stood single, but had many adversaries. They were full of money, he had none; and that christendom wanted peace, and not abstinence from war. That he greatly desired Rome to be at peace; but he would think of it.' MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 6. From Dr. Lee's report on his part of this conference, we find that it took place at nine o'clock in the morning; and that the English envoy stated, that his king desired to be a mediator. Charles answered, 'that no man could be more desirous to have peace, both universal and particular, than he was.' 'I said, in the business of Italy, nothing is so great a stop as the state of Milan, and that he ought to be content to put it in deposit with some one. He answered, that this could not be done without prejudice of the duke of Bourbon, to whom he had granted the said state.. I proposed an abstinence of war; he answered for a traugh of four or five *years*, or more, he could be content; so that in the mean season war might be made against the infidels, but not with abstinence only of three or four *months*, for that might be to him much prejudice. That he had many enemies, and well stored of money; whereas for lack of that he is not able to sustain so great an army idle, doing nothing.' MS. ib. p. 21.

[22] It was on 7th March 1627, that Dr. Lee thus reported to Wolsey; 'According to your commission, I shewed to the emperor, that your grace, abashed and somewhat abused, hath given me in command, on your behalf to say, that your grace is entirely debout towards his majesty, above and over all other princes next to the king your sovereign lord, and that always hath studied and yet doeth to entertain the old amity between the two houses of England and Burgundy. That your grace—*prostrate and most humbly* on your knees, desireth his majesty at this time to shew such demonstrations towards the king's highness, that his said highness may well perceive that his majesty both loveth him and trusteth him: for so much as no worldly thing could be to your grace more joyful, than to see the continuance of sincere and perfect conjunction between the king's highness and his majesty, as ever hath been.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 47.

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turned his courtesy rather to Henry than to the cardinal, and with a wary generality[23]. Dr. Lee, however, applied it to the minister, and expressed his thankfulness for the amicable language[24]. This sudden amity towards Charles was also expressed by Wolsey himself to the Spanish ambassador in London[25]. Such a confusing labyrinth of policy implies many secret and some contradictory aims.

The sagacity of Charles was too clear sighted to be cheated by a duplicity so shallow, tho so involuted. He took his own path, and endeavored to divide the two cabinets of Francis and Henry. With this view he repeated to the English envoys the confidential conversation of the French king with the Spanish ambassador, in which their sovereign and his mediator were treated with undisguised disrespect; and a strong desire intimated to make peace with the emperor without England's interference[26]. The dissimulation of Francis towards

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[23] 'His majesty first gave much thanks to your grace, for your loving and kind advertisement; and said, that he well knew how much he is bound to love and trust the king his uncle; and that he willed the same to his highness, not only at this time, but also evermore, and to all the world.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 47.

[24] 'I told his majesty, that this so done should make your grace much joyful'. ib.

[25] Their dispatch of 25th March, from Valladolid, intimated, 'the chancellor and John Almain shewed us, that don Inachus hath written, that *your grace* willed him to write to the emperor, that notwithstanding any practices which at this time the king's highness may have with the Frenchmen, yet he should nothing doubt but that the old amity between the two houses of England and Burgundy should continue.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 81.

[26] The same dispatch then states what their orator had written to them: 'The French king said unto me, "The king of England would have me take his daughter, and give him Boulogne—nay, nay! The cardinal wrote to me, desiring and most instantly beseeching me, that for a continuance of new amity between the king of England and me,

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Henry was unhesitatingly asserted[27]; and thus one the cardinal's crafty games was played back upon himself.

A new scheme was then in agitation in the English palace, to which both these courts alluded. It was to erect Ireland into a kingdom—to make the duke of Richmond, the natural son of Henry, its king, and to marry him to one of the ladies of the imperial family. It was opposed as unwise, because it would make Ireland in time an hostile aggressor on England, as Scotland had always been[28]; and Francis privately intimated, that he should try to use it so[29]; but it was so far pursued by Henry, that he negotiated with Charles for one of his sisters or nieces to be the wife of the illegitimate prince. Charles, too lofty to assent to the alliance with himself, recommended—it must have been sarcastically—the selection of a daughter of the king of Denmark, the deposed sovereign, who was then living in poor and hopeless exile[30].

It was in March 1527 that Wolsey, with an extraordinary discovery of his own obliquity of mind and conduct, secretly directly don Inachus, the imperial

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I should send my orators into England, and give them mandates to commune and conclude there, and to color the thing, that I should ask the daughter of England; but I had much lever that the emperor would send a gentleman hither, that we may commune other matters among ourselves, for I would not have it concluded at the king of England's hands.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 89.

[27] 'And that by letters which they have intercepted, they knew that the French king pretendeth one thing to us, and both sayeth and writeth contrary to others.' MS. ib. p. 81.

[28] See Lee's lett. 25th March. MS. ib. p. 80.

[29] Francis on noticing it to the Spanish embassy, added, 'at length he shall be for the French king as Scotland is.' MS. ib. p. 89.

[30] See Dr. Lee's letter of 8th April. MS. ib. ib. p. 89.

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ambassador in England, to assure his master, that the peace between him and Henry should not be violated, whatever the English ambassy in France might be negotiating[31]. But Charles had been taught to read some of the secret characters of the cardinal's heart, and therefore ordered Inachus to inform him, that he meant to reward his labors with a pension, besides a further present of one hundred thousand ducats, in addition to its arrears; a proposition which, as Wolsey at first with an indecisive delicacy declined, the imperial cabinet resolved to press upon his acceptance[32]. Wolsey again affected a stoutness of refusal, but so shaped it, that his verbal reluctance might be conquered by further importunity and extenuating compliments[33]. It was not disguised to him that the emperor relied upon his services[34], and that a rejection of his bounty

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[31] Dr. Lee heard of this from the imperial cabinet; and on 25th March, thus apprizes Wolsey of the communication: 'The chancellor and John Almayne, showed us, that don Inachus hath written, that your grace willed him to write to the emperor, that notwithstanding any practices which at this time the king's highness may have with the French, yet he should nothing doubt but that the old amity between the two houses of England and Burgundy should continue.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 81.

[32] On 6th April, Lee wrote, 'I perceive your grace hath somewhat refused the pension purposed to you by don Inachus. They here be determined, nevertheless, of themselves, to make sure unto your grace, after form as I have written in my last letters by Echynges, with the arrearage, and 100,000 ducats more for your pains.' MS. ib. p. 85.

[33] In Lee's despatch of 15th April, we read, 'John Almayne said, that your grace, moved by don Inachus, by the emperor's commission, refuseth to take the pension that emperor offereth, saying, you would none, but will be free; and that don Inachus said, 'the emperor well knoweth your grace's uprightness, and hath great confidence in you therefore; but, peradventure, his majesty shall think that your grace mindeth not to do any greater (service) to him, if you refuse his pension.' And that your grace answered, 'Nay, refuse not;' but, peradventure, you would take it now. Saith John Almayne, 'Why will my lord refuse it; in any wise his grace must take it.' ib. p. 92.

[34] On 8th April, Lee apprized him, 'I went to John Almayne, to see

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would create a doubt of his disposition to confer them; and his agent so well understood his real meaning, that he went on unscrupulously to bargain with the Spanish ministers for his ample payment[35]. All that he asked was liberally promised[36], and more bounties besides[37], but with this condition, that in order to have so many pecuniary gratifications, he must assist the emperor to extort from the king of France a proportionably large amount[38], as the price of a complete pacification. The treasury of Francis was to be the bank that was to be made to supply this diplomatic and ministerial corruption[39]. The duke of Bourbon was to add, out of the Milanese duchy that had been promised him, an annuity of twelve thousand ducats to Wolsey, not only for his

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what I might gather of him. 'Well,' said he, 'all is done as I promised. The emperor, I assure you, sheweth highly at this time, that he putteth his sole trust in the king of England, and my lord legate; for if my lord legate will now well serve the emperor, all is in his hands. The emperor putteth all unto you; but you must beware that you trust not the French king too much, for he mocketh you, as he hath done us.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 89. Almayne added, 'And I assure you the emperor trusteth him much now. Indeed, awhile he doubted; but now he beareth hearty mind and confidence toward him.' MS. ib. 92.

[35] Dr. Lee subjoins: 'I said, my lord grace, I well knew, beareth his hearty service towards his majesty;' and then I shewed him certain clauses in your grace's letters, as to a friend; and then I said, 'I trust the emperor shall have in remembrance your grace's pensions for Tournay, and the *arrearges*, for this good right.' ib.

[36] He said, 'That, *with much more*. First, that, to the conclusion of peace. The money paid, first the king's grace shall have his money; then, your grace his arrears for Tournay; and 100,000 ducats for his labor.' MS. ib.

[37] 'And yet shall have 6,000 ducats of new pension made sure in Castile, until he have recompense by some spiritual thing. As for the 9,000 crowns, he could not now tell whether this should be ensured here, or in Flanders. Albeit, in times past, he told me here.' MS. ib. 92.

[38] Almayne declared to Lee, 'But he then must help that the sum of money be great; and altho it be less, yet sure that is all we look for.' ib.

[39] 'He said, he had already brought all to pass as afore, to be paid out of the French king's money.' ib.

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life, but to his heirs for ever[40], as the price of his good will; and a smaller one of these golden pills was promised to the imperial secretary, as the remuneration for his labors in effecting these arrangements[41]. The English ambassador recommended the cardinal to make his own acknowledgments[42] and promises; and intimated how much this interchange of corruptibility might facilitate his future negotiations[43]. Such an authentic and detailed picture of former statesmanship does not often occur to gratify our criticising spleen, or the self-complacency of our superior honor[44].

But events were about to revolve, which, baffling

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[40] 'Moreover,' he said, 'If your grace wol good to the duke of Bourbon, he shall be made sure of 12,000 ducats more to him, and *to his heirs for ever*, out of the duchy of Milan.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 92.

[41] 'I told him, that your grace would have good cnnsideration of all his labors taken, for the assurance of his pensions of Tournay, and for his deliance, if he might get the arrearages thereof; and that he should not doubt of part, I have promised to himself yearly one thousand ducats on your grace's behalf.' MS. ib.

[42] 'Wherefore please it your grace, with your good word, to thank him, and to confirm your offer, for he may well deserve all, and do good service.' ib.

[43] 'And now I begin to be acquainted with him, and shall use him in best manner I can, for my purpose; that is, to the intent the better thereby to serve the king's highness, and your grace.' MS. ib. 92.

[44] The English envoy's economy, the effect of the bribe, and the imperial secretary's discrimination and delicacy, are thus further described by Dr. Lee: 'Whereas your grace, in your letters, offereth him, for attaining of the arrears, one thousand ducats thereof, above the yearly pension of one thousand ducats; I have offered him nothing thereof. I think, if your grace gave him less, the thing succeeding to your expectations, he will be well content; for that pension is a fair thing, and so he taketh it. *Ever since the overture thereof, I have found him another man.* He hath now in reckoning allowed himself the two thousand ducats behind for Christmas in 1526, and Midsummer the same. He said to me, altho he would not take it *as pension*, wherein he must have the emperor's leave; yet, he refused not to take it as of *your grace's reward*. I told him, your grace will be right glad thereof, and that I was angry with him that he would not take it.' MS. ib. p. 92.

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all the speculations, and tearing to pieces the web-work of these contriving politicians, decided the future fortunes of the pope and the popedom; of Italy; of the Catholic hierarchy in England, and of its subsequent condition in the rest of the world: evincing that some other ruler than machinating statesmen, superintends its destinies, and directs its mighty course.

The confederates in Italy have been already exhibited as exulting in their successes, until the cardinal Colonna, in October 1526, by his perfidious surprise of Rome, shook Clement for a time from his holy league[45]. But the pope, determining not to keep the treaty he had made with the imperial viceroy, and the verbal indignation of France and England encouraging him to persevere in its infraction[46], he lost the opportunity of withdrawing with security, and with some credit, from the war he had excited. He degraded Colonna from his cardinal's dignity, as that required only a scrawl of his pen; and he continued his appeal to the sword, which he ought never to have drawn. The truth seems to have been, that no peace would have satisfied him, which did not give the papal government the temporal predominance in Italy; and the emperor's mind was as steadily fixed to prevent this result, as Clement, like his predecessors in the last fifty years, was bent as tenaciously, if possible, to produce it. But the viceroy proceeding with a Spanish fleet to invade Naples, which brought guns and helmets too near his person to be comfortable, the pope sent the

[45] See before, p. 20.

[46] See before, p. 22.

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archbishop of Capua to attempt another treaty with this endangering visitor [47].

The imperial commander required that the duke of Bourbon should have the Milanese, and that the pope should defend him in this possession; that Colonna should be restored to his cardinal's hat and possessions; that the pontiff should agree not to disturb Florence, and should furnish two hundred thousand crowns, to enable the emperor to pay off his German mercenaries; that of the one hundred and thirty-two prelates of the Neapolitan provinces, Charles should be allowed to name twenty-five; that the pope should give his nephew as a hostage for his own performance of what concerned him; and that for what respected Lombardy, the imperial troops should occupy Parma and Placentia, as pledges for the fulfilment of the other articles [48]. To these were also added, that the pontiff should observe to the duke of Ferrara what the emperor had guaranteed to him, and therefore leave Reggio in his custody. The citadel of Ostia was also to be given up as a security for the sincere execution of the pacific arrangements [49].

Conditions like these, the English ambassador, sir Gregory Cassalis, described to be no peace, but a part of an iniquitous servitude, which the pope had better endure the utmost extremity than suffer [50]. Clement thought so too. He was resolved not to

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[47] Card. Campejo's letter to Wolsey, 1 January 1527. MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 7.

[48] Campejo's letter of 3d January. MS. ib. p. 10.

[49] Letters of Cassalis, 5th January. MS. ib. p. 1–4.

[50] MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 1, 2.

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consent to the conditions as to Ferrara[51]; and to reinstate the Colonni, after their personal attack upon him, excited a strong and not unnatural irritability[52]. He determined to resist as long as he should be supported[53]; but his rejection would require the effective aid of the English power[54]. It was in his finances, not in soldiers, that he was defective[55]. His treasury was empty; and it was intimated that this poverty might drive him to accept the terms he had refused[56].

It was in the autumn of 1526, that the pope resumed his arms, and had two thousand Swiss and three thousand Italians sent to him from the army of the confederates, to operate against the viceroy at Naples; while the duke of Urbino, who was their chief director, tho specifically at the head of the Venetian contingent, was besieging Milan[57]. The cardinals dissuaded the pontiff from going personally

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[51] Cass. lett. 5th January. MS. Vit. B. 7. p. 14.

[52] Cassalis writes, 'This seemed harsher than all the rest, that he should see before his eyes the man who had desired to drink his blood.' MS. ib. p. 2.

[53] 'These demands make his holiness resolved to sustain himself as long as he can, if he be assisted by his friends.' Cassalis, MS. ib. p. 3.

[54] The language of Cassalis was urgent: 'You see therefore in what a state we are. The church is in a greater peril than it has ever been before. If the serene king will give us aid, we may perhaps escape into some port from this storm, otherwise be sure that soon, very soon, we shall perish. Supplicate the king, and lord cardinal, to deign to put the shoulders of their piety and customary liberality to the falling church, and to Italy, or it is all over with us, and with christianity.' MS. ib. p. 3.

[55] So a letter, 'ab amico nobile et fide digno prelato,' declares: 'We want money: other things are not wanting. There is vigor enough in our armies. We have about 40,000 foot and 7,000 cavalry, but dispersed in the garrisons of the cities and fleet.' MS. ib. 5th January, p. 5.

[56] In a letter of 24th January, we have, 'Pontifex est sine nummis. The greatest danger that hangs over us is, lest this 'inopia' should compel him to accept the conditions of his ruin.' MS. ib. p. 19.

[57] Guicc. L. 17. The viceroy left Carthagena with his fleet, on 24th September. ib.

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to the emperor, who was expecting him; and the French king turned him from his projected visit to all the Christian princes in Europe, to raise them to a crusade in his behalf [58]. Determining on war, by what modern Germany would call his fate—and which they who less love mystic nothings, may more justly call his folly—he directed his troops to attack his enemies, the Colonni burnt some of their towns [59], and began to think that the lord of the seven hills might yet beat down his insulting enemies, and command in Italy, at least, if not in Europe.

The plan of Urbino for the campaign had been, to beleaguer Milan; and instead of fighting, to protract all decision by battle, and to exhaust and weary the duke of Bourbon, whom he knew to have no money, and whose troops he therefore calculated could not long keep together [60]. This system seemed a safe one; it had the merit of estimating properly the talents of Bourbon, and the creative powers of such ability; but the pope was poor—the French were backward with all supplies [61]; and the answer of the English government to the papal supplication had been, "The affairs of Italy do not concern us [62]," until the attack on Clement by the Colonni,

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[58] Guicc. L. 17.

[59] Guicc. ib.

[60] Guicc. L. 17. The author of Del Sacco di Roma also mentions, 'That the duke was determined not to fight, or take any risk; often saying, that it is most prudent to conquer with the sword in the sheath.' p. 43. He says, that not to be always blaming, 'come momo;' he will persuade himself that it was the 'dolorosa sorte' of Italy, which made this general always take 'i piu dannosi parti.' p. 48.

[61] Guicc. L. 17.

[62] Guicc. L. 17. His nephew states, that as the Germans moved, the pope and his colleagues urged Henry and Francis to hire new Swiss

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had raised a resentful feeling in France and England unexpectedly in his favor.

1527. But the war still lingered, even in Bourbon's hand, for want of men and money, and little but the name of hostilities seemed to result from their continuance, tho his vigorous mind was presiding, till tidings arrived that a German army was actually advancing. The imperialists had sent for such a force, but, having no funds to pay for it, none had come down[63]. At length, the princely noble, George Frondsperg, who had twice before led his companies into Italy[64], finding his son in danger of being taken, when the confederates besieged Milan[65], resolved upon a third adventure into Italy to rescue him, and to assist Bourbon and the emperor, altho neither Charles nor his brother Ferdinand could give him any pecuniary facilities. From his own resources he raised enough money to give each of his followers, variously stated from twelve to sixteen thousand men, a solitary crown piece. The boon was trifling, but he could afford no more; and he pointed their eyes to the spoils of Italy, when they had passed the mountains, in the treasures of which they would find a compensating reward. Obtaining a few horse and guns from the archduke, he mustered his men between Bolzano and Maran[66], and succeeded in persuading them,

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to meet them. But none were provided, which he imputes, as to the French, to their inconsiderate confidence, and the want of money; or, as to England to Wolsey's desire to bring about a general peace. Del Sacco, p. 63.

[63] Guicc. L. 17.

[64] Guicc. L. 17. This historian's nephew describes him as 'amicissimo' to the duke of Bourbon; and one of the heads 'della Luterana setta.' Del Sacco, p. 55.

[65] Bellay, Mem. v. 18. p. 30.

[66] Guicc. L. 17.

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tho poor and destitute, to accompany him to the passes between the Rhetian and Julian Alps. CHAP. XVII.

From the first news that he was in motion, his march became a subject of anxiety to both parties, as a reinforcement so important would give a new power to be used by Bourbon's dreaded talents. The confederates wished the Grisons to have prevented Frondsperg's passage towards the mountainous barrier[67]; but the Grisons did not choose to commit themselves to a measure so hostile, and especially without an adequate pay to make amends for possible evils. As the Germans approached the Adige, the duke of Urbino abandoned the blockade of Genoa, which the famous Andrew Doria, now in resentful arms against Charles, was on the point of taking; and concentrated his troops at his station of Pioltello on the Adda, to be ready to attack Frondsperg, as opportunity invited[68].

It was debated in the camp of the confederates, by which of the practicable roads into Italy the new comers would descend. By Lucca was the opinion of Urbino; by Vincenza, thought the senate, his masters. By neither, Frondsperg determined: and choosing in preference a middle point, the vale of Sabio, where he would not be looked for, he marched by the rock of Anfo, towards Salo, and thence on 22d November to Rivalta, between the Mincio and the Oglio, eight miles from Mantua. Urbino, as they came down their own way from the Alps, on

[67] The English ambassador, at the end of October 1526, asked Francis if he could not stop them, who promised to do the best he could with the Grisons. MS. Calig. D. 9. p. 271.

[68] Guicc. L. 17.

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19th November, moved with the alert John de Medicis, and about ten thousand men, to harass their further progress, and to cut off their provisions. On the 21st, he arrived at Sonzino, and took up his lodgment at Prato Albuino, watching their course, to see what river they would attempt to cross. As they did not pass the Mincio at Goito, it was probable they would try the Po at Borgoforte, at Viadama, or at Ostia, to disturb Modena and Bologna[69]. At this period they were little feared, because they were known to have "neither horses, money, nor artillery[70]." They were injudiciously thought to be powerless, because poor. On the 24th of November, George ended all doubt of his direction, by moving in the road to Borgoforte[71]. This certainty roused the active John de Medicis, the ablest, though the youngest, general of the confederates[72], to hasten thither with the light cavalry to intercept them. Always enterprising and intrepid, he was now more

[69] Guicc. L. 17. The author of Del Sacco smiles at their idea of stopping him at the 'passi stretti' not considering in how many other places a way may be found or made, in the most difficult mountains or vallies, by resolute and active infantry. p. 57.

[70] Lett. Bp. Bath, of 12th December 1526. MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 288–291.

[71] Brantome dresses this chieftain in a fine chain of gold, worn on purpose to strangle the pope with, as all great men should have great honors; and assures us, that his followers were all 'affriandés a la religion de Luther.' Disc. 32. As Brantome was a most zealous catholic, he adds gravely other stories about him, which remind us that he loved an occasional romance.

[72] Guicciardini, in his Ritratti di Diversi Principi, says, that there appeared in him not only 'la ferocia, con la quale avanzava tutti gli altre; ma prudenza et maturita degna di sommo capitano.' v. 8. p. 42.—Bellay briefly remarks: 'This was a great loss to the league; car il étoit tenu un des meilleurs hommes de guerre d'Italie.' p. 31. The author of Sacco draws him as an 'excellente capitano,' and 'ferocissimo e gagliardissimo soldato, qualite che rarissime volto insieme in un solo concorrono.' L. 1. p. 42. His division was called the Black Band, from its colors, and from his fierce spirit and determination. ib.

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so, because he believed they had no artillery, and were badly armed; but they received, without his knowledge, four falconets from the duke of Ferrara as they approached the river; and when de Medicis disputed their passage, and was endangering their unprotected ranks, he heard to his surprise, the discharge of cannon, of which the second fire from one of their four pieces broke his thigh with a ball, which immediately disabled himself, and intimidated and dispersed his followers, who carried him off to Mantua[73]. There, his death in a few days deprived the league, and native Italy, of the only officer whose capacity was fit, and who would have delighted to encounter the duke of Bourbon, and whose patriotic feelings would have resisted his successes[74]. After this advantage, the Germans on the 28th November passed the Po at Ostia, to receive both money and more field-pieces from Ferrara: and while Urbino, to the surprise and vexation of Italy, instead of pursuing them, receded to Mantua to await further orders from Venice, they passed the Secchia, towards Lombardy, to unite with Bourbon

[73] He was only 29. Brantome, who highly extols him, mentions, that when the surgeons told him that he must be held while they amputated, he exclaimed, 'Cut boldly; no one need hold me. Twenty men would not be sufficient for that; cut on.' He took the candle into his own hands, to light them while they operated. Finding death at last approach, he groaned out, 'Must I die here among plasters? This is vexation!' Brant. v. 5. p. 21. We see in these traits some of the 'ferocia' remarked by Guicciardini. The author of the Sacco thinks that his talents, spirits, and hardiness were such, that he would have been an Alexander, or an Hannibal, if his father had been a Philip, or an Amilcar. p. 61.

[74] 'When his death was known to the German and Spanish soldiers in Italy, they testified the most manifest signs of wonderful joy, as those who, from long experience, had known him, and who placed him exceedingly above any other captain.' Del. Sacco. p. 62.

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and the forces in Milan[75]. Reaching Guastalla on the 3d of December, and joined the next day by the prince of Orange, in the simple dress of a common arquebussier, they availed themselves of Urbino's inactivity at Mantua, to pass the Lanza on the 5th, and the Taro on the 11th, beyond which, at St. Danino, they marked their presence and their opinions by attacking the images of the saint[76]; and on 13th December, pitched their camp at Firenzuela, where some horse and Italian foot came to meet them from Milan, which their well-conducted march, amid great privations[77], had so opportunely delivered from the force that was investing it[78].

It was the desire of Frondsperg to unite with the Spaniards in Milan, and to proceed together into Tuscany; but the latter would not move, till their arrears were discharged, for which Bourbon possessed and could obtain no funds—a vexatious pause to his ardent and far-seeing mind; because if they had crossed the Appenines, immediately together,

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[75] Guicciard. v. 6. p. 352. Card. Campejo wrote to Wolsey, 'We have lost a great opportunity of overcoming them between the rivers.' MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 6.

[76] Guicc. L. 17. Campejo accuses them of severities against the subjects of the pope, especially the priests. MS. Vit. ib. p 6. which the historian calls 'their Lutheran malice;' but his military nephew more candidly says, they 'did no other damage than destroying the ecclesiastical images, and throwing to the ground the holy relics, tho they showed a veneration to the eucharist.' Del Sacco, p. 66.

[77] 'Con incredibili disagi causati dall' eccessive pioggie et dalla grandissima penuria di vittovaglie.' Del Sacco, p. 65.

[78] We perceive the alarms their coming caused, in Cardinal Campejo's letter, of 1st January 1527, to Wolsey: 'I wish the king and you could see into how great a danger the affairs of the apostolic see are now involved, by the coming of 16,000 Germans, who have recently entered to invade Italy, and especially the dominions of the pope. The report is, that the duke of Ferrara assists them with food, cannon and money.' MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 6.

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all the forces of the league would have been speedily dispersed and conquered. But this sturdy disobedience gave the confederates time to re-organize their soldiery, and re-animate their spirit[79], and a supply of money from the pope's lieutenant stopped them as they were disbanding themselves. Invigorated by this great sinew of war, the allies collected at Parma, guarded Placenza, watched Bologna and Modena, and sent to the pope the battalions he wanted to act against the viceroy on his Neapolitan side[80]. Some military judgments decided that it would have been better to have kept in one body; to have planted themselves near their adversaries, in a compacted state, and to have prevented Bourbon's movement, by his dread of their pursuit, or his experience of its effects. This would have at least driven the Germans over the Po, and confined them to the Milanese[81], But Urbino, that he might not be compelled to fight, would neither pass the river, nor concentrate his forces[82]. It is obvious that he was trying to defend Italy against Bourbon, as Francis had foiled him in Provence; forgetting how

[79] Del Sacco, p. 67. The Spaniards were cunning enough to see that the Germans were so poor as to want money as much as themselves, and that if they once mixed with them, they would not be paid *first*. p. 69.

[80] Del Sacc. 68.

[81] Ib.

[82] Ib. 69 The printer of the edition of this interesting book, at Cologne 1758, ascribes it to the historian, and has therefore prefixed to it his christian name Francisco. Some one had published it in 1756, in that city, as the work of '*Jacopo Buonaparte*, Gentilhomo Samminiatese,' present at the assault he describes. This roused a Florentine to deny the right of Buonaparte to it, and to claim it for Benedetto Varchi, a celebrated writer of Florence, which occasioned another to refer it to the historian Guicciardini. But there is no doubt that the Sacco was written by his nephew, who is also the author of some other valuable works.

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much the political condition of the two countries differed, and that the wisdom of all plans depends upon their due relation to the circumstances to which they may be applied. Perhaps his judgment was also influenced by the interest or commands of his Venetian lords [83]. His army, while it remained unbroken near the Po, effectually protected them, tho it left the south of Italy unguarded; while his defeat in their vicinity, might have turned the storm of war and pillage directly and ruinously on themselves. The general of Venice, watching his local interests, may have too imperfectly onsidered his new and larger duties, as the appointed commander for the whole Italian league.

Florence hastily fortified and armed itself in dread of an attack [84]. Its wiser citizens had counselled its neutrality when the league began, but the pope would not allow this prudent conduct. He wanted their money and their countenance, and their leaders decided to obey his will [85], till their pecuniary sacrifices created a general ill-will, and an alarm as universal of its consequences [86]. The French at this period kept their forces at Bologna under Lautrec, who, finding the pontiff still trying secret negotiations, remained there undecided as to his operations, from the uncertainty, whether the pope meant to secede again, or to resume his activity in behalf of

[83] The Sacco hints at this: 'E perche ne resultava a Veneziani *salvare le loro* genti; et assicurare il proprio dominio, discostando la guerra da casa loro; e per bramare, come e stato sempre loro costume d'indebolire e travagliare li stati d'Italia; *desiderando* che l'esercito inimico si gittasse verso Toscana.' p. 69.

[84] Sacco, p. 70.

[85] Ib. 71-3.

[86] Ib. 77.

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a league which he had formed, abandoned, rejoined, and was even yet speculating to leave, and hesitating to assist[87]. The English ambassador urged him to begin a vigorous campaign on Naples[88], an enterprise dear to the pope's heart, but which poverty and alarm were agitating Clement to suspend. From his vaccillations an apprehension arose, that he might finally forsake his confederates, and Wolsey was apprised of the possibility of this result[89]. It occurred, as had been anticipated. After much chaffering with the dangerous viceroy, who hung upon his southern frontier, the pontiff made a truce, on the terms which this officer demanded[90].

The same penury which drove the pope to a pacification with the viceroy in the Neapolitan district, compelled Bourbon to be reluctantly stationary in the Milanese. Many weeks elapsed before he could obtain or extort money from the nobles and people of Milan to give the Spaniards what would induce them to leave it, and, in conjunction with the

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[87] Cassalis, on 5th January 1527, wrote from Bologne to Wolsey: 'I came here yesterday, and found M. Lautrec undetermined as to his progress. He assured me that he had been waiting the resolution of the pope. I had a long conference with him. We agreed, that unless he advanced, very great evils would succeed.' MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 14.

[88] 'So he consented to-morrow to send forward his artillery and to follow with his army; he purposes to enter Naples by the river Tront, and for the safety of the Florentines to leave behind the army of the M. Saluzze and D. Urbino. I have great hope.' MS. ib.

[89] On 24th January, the English ambassador writes: 'the pontiff is without money. The greatest danger that hangs over us, is lest this penury should compel him to accept the conditions of his ruin.' MS. ib. 19.

[90] These were, besides those before mentioned, that Bourbon should have the duchy of Milan, and that the pope should defend him in it, and that Charles should nominate twenty-five Neapolitan bishops. It is surprising to find the number of these stated in this letter to have then been one hundred and thirty-two for this kingdom. MS. ib. p. 9.

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German auxiliaries, to co-operate with the viceroy in an united and decisive campaign. Succeeding at last in procuring what satisfied the soldiery, he appointed Antonio de Leyva, the celebrated defender of Pavia, to be the governor of the Milanese, and led his troops along the Po to Frondsperg and to Placenza, persuading all to obey him, by the promise and the hope that some wealthy city, Florence or Rome, should be submitted to their attack and spoil. The duke of Ferrara, to whom he sent for ammunition, and whom the pope would not conciliate, advised such an enterprise[91].

As a cordial union between Henry and Francis was the most certain means of making both sovereigns earnest in a war against Charles, the papal government strongly enforced on the nuncio at the French court[92], to press the projected marriage between the princess Mary and the king of France, which, from its expected use to the "holy league," was called an holy union[93]; and Francis, appearing to yield to his solicitations, sent for her picture, and promised within a few days to commission his bishop of Tarbes, and another statesman, to negotiate in

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[91] Del Sacco, 86, 7. Guicc. Hist. L. 18. v. 7. p. 9.

[92] The papal minister Gambere, on the 18th January 1527, wrote to Wolsey, 'I urged the nuncio in France, that with every possible exertion, he should exhort his christian majesty to make a marriage with Henry's daughter. He writes on the 9th, that he had often spoken with the king upon it, and always found him much inclined and disposed to do what was proposed to him.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 21. His queen, Claude, had been dead about four months. On 27th September, the bishop of Bath apprised Wolsey that the French court was moving to Paris for her funeral MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 250.

[93] The nuncio added; 'I shewed him that nothing would tend more to the recovery of his sons, the conservation of Italy, and the depression of the emperor, than this 'sancta conjunctio.' MS. ib.

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England upon it[94]. Francis did not, within the few days he mentioned, appoint this embassy. He took more time to deliberate upon it. But as the emperor at that time dispatched an ambassador, to submit to Henry the conditions he required from the French king, and to ascertain his feelings towards their adjustment[95], these solicitations roused the attention of Francis, and on the 2d March, the bishop of Tarbes arrived in London on his matrimonial embassy[96]—another of those events which become remarkable for the undesigned consequences of vast operation which they seem commissioned to produce. It was this prelate who, on this embassy, excited that scruple in Henry's mind as to his marriage, which at last cut asunder the chain that bound England to the popedom; as it was Bourbon's present campaign that chiefly made it to have this revolutionary effect. But altho Francis declared he had resolved upon these nuptials[97], and thus sent the prelate to treat for the match, his eye was fixed on the Spanish Eleanora[98], and he suggested the

[94] He concluded, 'The thing has at last been brought to a good termination. His majesty said to me, that he should consider it as determined on; and he sent a gentleman of his chamber to procure a picture of her, and within a few days will cause two ambassadors to go to the king of England on this business. These will be the bishop of Tarbes, and the president of the parliament of Thoulouse.' MS. ib. p. 21.

[95] Don Hugo de Mendosa, a great man, born in Spain, came to London on 13th January 1517, 'with large commission, and many times consulted with the king and his council.' Hall, 719.

[96] Hall, 719.

[97] Cassalis informed Wolsey, from Rome, on 31st January, that the French king had written thus to the papal court: 'The king of England has offered me his daughter in marriage, and considering that this will be very useful to all Christendom, I have determined to bend my mind to it, and therefore send four great men into England to conclude it, and for this cause, which now seems to be in a great measure settled, dispatch this courier.' MS. Vit. p. 25.

[98] Our ambassador, at that time in Spain, more than once intimates,

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substitution of his son instead of himself. Whatever means were used, he so far succeeded, that the marriage treaty which this embassy effected, was concluded with the singular alternative, that either he or his second son, Henry, should become the husband of Mary[99].

WE now approach that series of unpremeditated and unexpected incidents, which more immediately produced the concussions of the remainder of Henry's important reign.

The emperor's kindly-expressed letters to the pope, in the middle of January, had so interested him and his consistory, that they agreed in opinion that a suspension of warfare was desirable, and applied to the Venetians for their concurrence[100]. The pope had made a short truce for eight days, in order to allow time for the arrival of their answer[101], intending to negotiate the terms of its prolongation for three years. This pacific disposition alarmed the English ambassador, who, on the last day of the month, apprized his government of it, and foreboded

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that Francis had communications by his secret messenger with this lady. Vesp. C. 4. p. 1. 15. On 8th February 1527, he remarked: 'I wrote to them out of France, that I thought its king would not come seriously to the marriage of the daughter while he had any hope from Cæsar.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 29.

[99] See the treaty, in Rymer.

[100] Cassalis, on 31st January, describes these letters, written in the emperor's own hand, as humanissimas et dulcissimas, in which he expressed his grief at the injuries the pope had receved from the Colonni; a promise to avenge them, and a declaration that he wished to be considered as the pontiff's son. MS. ib. p. 22.

[101] 'I think his holiness will pay the 150,000 crowns before proposed, and conclude a suspension for six months. One has been made for eight days, till the Venetian answer comes.' MS. ib.

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evil to their design of lessening the imperial power if it should take place. His great inference was, that if the pope once gave up hostilities, he would never resume them [102]. The knowledge of this eight days truce equally disquieted Francis, who wrote anxiously on the subject to his ambassador in England, strongly representing his objections to such pacific arrangements, and intimating that he had sent to Rome, Venice, and elsewhere, to counteract its effect [103]: ignorant of the still more inconvenient future which he was thus contributing to produce. The Germans were then united with the Spaniards in Placentina, threatening Placentia; and the Vene-

[102] 'I think, if there be a general suspension, which I can scarcely believe, his holiness will never take up arms again. So the Venetians. Thus Bourbon would establish himself at Milan, and Cæsar would be the lord of all Italy.' Lett. MS. Vit. p. 23.

[103] As this active opposition of Francis must have had considerable weight at this period, we will subjoin the chief points of his letters: 'I have heard from Venice that our most holy father the pope, after many practices, has assented to a suspension for eight days, to make in this interval a truce for three years, or otherwise as he shall be advised, and is persuading Venice, as much as he can, to concur in it. This state, as well for its own honor, as for the observance of good faith towards me and all the league, will not listen to it, knowing its conditions to be very dishonorable, shameful and injurious, to his holiness, to Italy, and to all. . . . .

'I have just assembled my council and the ambassadors of Venice and Milan, and in the presence of the prelate of Bath, I have shewn the evils and the inconveniences which may issue from this truce, not only in Italy, but in all Christendom; declaring to them that I am resolutely determined, with the said seignory, to remain firm and constant in the league, and therefore to make all the provisions that I shall perceive to be requisite and necessary, as well to hinder the emperor from attaining his ends, as to humble his insatiable ambition.

'I wish the lord of Bath to write to his prince and the cardinal all that I expressed on this subject. I desire you to urge the cardinal, and so to bestir yourself, that my royal brother may feel it, and assist poor Italy, and not suffer its manifest and impending ruin to take place, but to apply with all diligence the prompt remedy. I have sent dispatches to Rome, to Venice, and elsewhere, and made all the provisions that I have deemed requisite and suitable to the emergency.' MS. Copy, dated from St. Germains, 17 February, in Calig. D. 9. p. 151.

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tians, their antagonists, had passed the Po into the Parmesan country, with seven thousand foot and five hundred horse[104]. Bourbon's plan of advancing to the south, and co-operating with the viceroy, who began his march towards Rome, was still defeated by the want of money[105]; altho the scheme, at the moment, alarmed the English embassy at the Spanish court[106].

The fluctuating spirits of the pope, which had been agitated by his desire of overcoming his enemies, and by his dread of their punishing him, received at this moment a sudden excitation to warlike exertions, from the money which he received by Vaudemont, from France, and had obtained at home[107]; and by his expectations of a larger supply[108]; and hearing that the viceroy was besieging Frusolone, one of the towns forty miles from Rome, he sent nine thousand picked men to raise the siege, or to give battle to the imperialists, who were calculated to be a promiscuous assemblage of twelve thousand men of every description[109].

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[104] MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 23. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 43.

[105] Del Sacco, 86. Worcester's letters.

[106] On 25th February 1527, the bishop observed upon it to Henry, 'Your highness seeth how all things go backward—Nothing toward the advancemont of christianity in Christendom—and shall daily prove worse and worse to the common danger of all, if these two great powers come not to a concord.' MS. Vesp. p. 43.

[107] The English envoy, Russell, wrote from Savona, on 1st February 1527; 'The pope was awhile in great fear and danger for money, but now is well re-comforted; for he has already found the means to levy 40,000 ducats over and besides 30,000 which the French king sent him by M Vaudemont.' MS. Letter. Vit. B. 9. p. 26.

[108] 'The pope thinketh to recover 60 or 80,000 ducats more, so that I trust all the affairs there shall take good (end).' MS. ib.

[109] Cassalis Letter, MS. ib. p. 25. Russell's, ib. 26. A part of John de Medici's black band had been sent to it, which baffled the viceroy.

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The emperor had sent Cæsar Fieramosca with letters in his own hand-writing to the pope, promising to avenge him against the Colonni, and calling himself his son [110]. The cardinals being won by this style, negotiations for a truce of two years followed, on condition of the pope's paying one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and the Venetians fifty thousand; for which it was necessary to obtain the concurrence of the senate [111]. To allow time for this answer, the pontiff, on 31st January, made the suspension of arms with the viceroy for eight days [112]; by which it was stipulated, that the papal army should not pass beyond Ferentin, nor the imperials beyond Frusulone [113]. But, after Clement had made this arrangement in a despondence of mind from his necessities, the arrival of the thirty thousand ducats from France had restored his animation, and the information that his legate and Renzi had joined their forces within five miles of Frusolone, completed his excitation [114].

As Fieramosca went to the viceroy, he met the

Sacco, p. 80. Guicciard. v. 7. p. 13. Two thousand Swiss were part of this papal force, with the legate cardinal Trivulci Sacco di Roma, p. 80.

[110] Lett. 31st January. MS. ib. p. 22.

[111] Ib. and Guicc. p. 14, 15.

[112] This truce is stated in a letter from Rome of 31st January, in MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 22. which calls it more useful to his holiness than to his enemies; by sir G. Cassalis, on 5th February, ib. p. 29; and by Guicciardini, L. 18. v. 7. p. 15.

[113] Guicciard. p. 15.

[114] Cassalis also wrote from Rome to the same effect as Russell, on 5th February, 'that the pope had made a truce of eight days. Afterwards, the best news came from France, which restored the mind of the pope. Then Vaudemont came with 30,000 scudi; and it was added, that the legate and Renzius had joined.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 29.

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papal forces, not resting at Ferentin till the eight days truce had expired, but on full march to Frusolone, under the cardinal legate, in direct violation of the suspension agreed upon. He stated immediately to the ecclesiastical commander, the compact which had been made, and required him to halt. But the warlike churchman, Trivulci, saw a victory within his grasp, and would not forego its advantages. He treated the unwelcome visitant with civility, yet sent secret orders to his captains to proceed[115]. The troops marched on to Frusolone, under the able Vitello; defeated the dreaded viceroy's troops; threw them into a disorder which a vigorous pursuit might have made irreparably ruinous[116]; and thus, tho treacherously, ended the incipient pacification, to the great joy of the French king, who directed his agent to encourage the pope to a stout resistance[117].

Bourbon at the beginning of February had got his Spaniards over the Po, looking towards Tuscany, and his Germans within five miles of Placentia[118]: while the viceroy decamped by night with his discomfited army to Naples, and moderated the conditions of peace which he was offering to the

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[115] Guicciardini thus states these facts. p. 15, 16.

[116] Sacco del Roma, p. 80.

[117] A copy of the letter of Francis is in MS. Calig. E. 2. p. 10. After noticing the success at Frusolone, the king orders Vaux to urge the pontiff not to agree to these conditions, and to remind him, that beginning with such a victory, it would be better for him to employ the 200,000 ducats which his opponents wanted to exact from him, in totally ruining and exterminating them.

[118] MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 31.

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pontiff[119]. Elated by his successes at Frusolone, and stimulated by the ambassadors, Clement was a while firm in his military resolutions; and the diplomatist who watched and incited him, so reported to the English government—even venturing to add, that any peaceful overtures would but be a dissimulation to gain time[120]. On this belief, the English ambassador advanced to the pope the money which Wolsey had consigned for his military purposes[121]. But this supply did not satisfy the necessities of St. Peter's chair, and the French court was strongly arraigned for delaying or withholding its stipulated contributions[122]. As Bourbon approached Placentia, the experienced Marquis de Saluzze was on the alert, and entered it with an anticipating force[123], which, under such a commander, deterred the duke from an assault, who hovered upon the disappointment

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[119] Sacco, p. 82. His channel was the general of the Franciscans, Fra. Degl'Angioli, a kinsman of the emperor, who had been stationed for some months in Italy, to be a private medium for amicable arrangements. Ib.

[120] Guicc. p. 16. On 7th February Cassalis stated, 'The pope has not agreed with the viceroy, nor do I think he will. Let not rumors of practical accords terrify you, which have no other end but to gain time.' MS. ib. p. 34.

[121] Russell's despatch of 11th February was; 'I have found the pope's holiness conformable to all such articles as are specified in my instructions; whereupon I have delivered him the money, and have shewed him the good mind your grace beareth to him, and what ye have done, and still do daily for him.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 47.

[122] The same envoy, on 24th February, says, 'The pope complaineth him sore of the French king; for that he, every month, should have of him 20,000 ducats, and as yet he hath received but for two months, so that he is behind four or five. Besides this, the pope should also have 50,000 of the . . . . . levied in France, whereof he also as yet hath none.' MS. ib. 63.

[123] Bellay, Mem. p. 32.

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between that town and Tuscany, with a visible indecision [124].

But by this time the tidings of the projected marriage between the French king and the princess Mary had reached and had alarmed the imperial court and all its partizans. In Italy they converted the haughty viceroy into the courteous gentleman [125], who was sure the emperor would no longer insist upon Burgundy from Francis, but exchange the young princes for their pecuniary value [126]. In Spain the account was received with an uneasiness, which tho disguised at first by affected incredulity, made our diplomatic bishop there anxious to have it circulated that it was a match not offered by Henry but solicited by Francis [127]. But the French agents in that court boasted that their king had been

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[124] So it is remarked in the unsigned copy of a letter of 10th February; 'We cannot imagine what the imperialists will do in Lombardy. On some days they shew themselves in Tuscany; at others, they seem to threaten Placentia. I doubt not, if the French would do what they ought, our affairs, though now in such affliction, would rise again.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 63.

[125] On 20th March the ambassador reported; 'We never saw the viceroy so lowly and so gentell as he is now. At his first arrival here, he would not believe that the marriage between the French king and my lady princess should take effect. I think the same is occasion that he humbleth himself in such wise; for he well perceives that if the king takes part against the emperor, that all his low countries stand in danger to be lost, which he esteemeth more than all his realm.' MS. ib. p. 79.

[126] He adds: 'The viceroy said the emperor was minded to deliver the French king's children up on ransom, and without demanding Burgundy.' MS. ib.

[127] The episcopal politician states; 'I have resolved, by an indirect way, and not appearing in it myself, to try if it be possible to make lady Eleanora, the emperor's sister, persuade herself that the marriage between the French king and the daughter of his majesty, of which there is now some murmuring, was solicited by the king of France.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 16.

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vehemently urged to it by the English government, and that its treasurer, Fitzwilliam, had offered lavish conditions to get it accomplished[128]. These rumors were fully calculated to disquiet Charles, for they also intimated that the French king dallied with the proposal in hopes to get money enough to release his children, and also to invade the emperor's Flemish dominions[129].

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[128] This was mentioned on the authority of Robertet. MS. Vesp. C. , p. 10.
[129] Ib. p. 13.

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CHAP. XVIII.

BOURBON ADVANCES TOWARDS BOLOGNA—VICEROY'S NEGOTIATIONS—THE SOLDIERS DEMAND MONEY OR PLUNDER—POPE DECIDES ON WAR—BOURBON PROCEEDS—SUFFERINGS OF HIS ARMY—DISAPPOINTED AT FLORENCE—HE MARCHES ON ROME—ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF THAT CITY.

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THE crisis now advanced, with an imperceptible progression, which nullified these heartless negotiations, and gave that humiliation to the popedom from which it has never recovered, and from which our Reformation has mainly sprung, without the original intention, and against the previous will of the English sovereign. To conquer Naples for one of the French king's sons, on his marrying the pope's niece, the too celebrated Catherine de Medicis, became the new project by which Clement tempted Francis to unite the aggrandizement of the papal family with that of his own[1]. But the pontifical army which had won the triumph at Frusolone, mutinying for want of the pay which they claimed to have gained by their victory, checked the immediate execution of the plan[2]; and the pope, not easy at the possibility of Bourbon's advance, listened again to Fieramosca's negotiation on 22d February. The Venetians, to stop any arrange-

[1] Guicc. l. 18. p. 20. This is also mentioned in the dispatch to Wolsey, of 25th April. MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 93.
[2] Ib.

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ment, offered him fifteen thousand ducats in fifteen days, and as much more in a fortnight afterwards[3]; but the operations of his forces not succeeding, and his soldiers on the 15th March beginning to disband themselves for want of food[4], he again inclined to a peace, yet fluctuating irresolutely between that and war, as the event and foreign encouragements varied. The preservation of Frusolone, the slumbering of Bourbon's army, its known murmurs, its need of money and means, and secret dealings with England, made the French government more determined to continue hostilities[5]—more desirous that the pope should not abandon it, and yet more careless of providing vigorously for it. Hence the middle of March arrived without any thing having been effected that gave security or satisfaction to the endangered pontiff[6]. In this state, Clement, distrusting his allies, listened to the new proposals of the viceroy for a truce, and on 29th March an arrangement was signed for the general suspension of arms for eight months from that time[7]. It was made nominally between the pope, the emperor, the French, and the Venetians; but as the pontiff was

[3] Guicc. l. 18. p. 19.
[4] Ib. p. 20.
[5] Ib. 20, 21.
[6] Ib. l. 18. p. 21. His state of peril was not unknown to the Spanish court, for our ambassador wrote thence, on 7th March, 'They had word that the pope is so constrained that they utterly think he must needs come to peace, and by the time of the arrival of these letters, fear that peace was concluded.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 49.
[7] See it in MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 81. The Sacco, dating it 26th March, remarks, that 'after many hesitations, the pope, thinking the conditions tolerable, and being without money and in extreme want of provisions, signed it.' p. 83. Guicciardini mentions that he was to pay the imperial army 60,000 ducats, and what was hardest to him of all, to restore to Colonna his cardinal's hat. l. 18. p. 32.

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the only sovereign on the spot to conclude it, the expressions were introduced " between those of the aforesaid powers who will accept this suspension within the times therein mentioned[8]." Of the inserted powers, the viceroy signed it for the emperor, but he commanded only one part, the smallest, of the imperial forces; and the rumor had gone abroad that Charles, dissatisfied with the viceroy's former conduct, had now decidedly transferred the supreme command of his armies in Italy from him to the duke of Bourbon[9]. The pope entered into the pacification without consulting his friends, and all his allies concurred to blame his precipitation in concluding it[10]. He alleged in his excuse, the extreme want of money and provisions to which he had relapsed; the tardiness and strange conduct of the duke of Urbino; the delay and backwardness of France, and the emperor's private desire for a general pacification. But he so much relied upon it, and was so anxious to resort to the most sparing economy, that he disbanded immediately his two

[8] One of the articles was, that within a month the pope and emperor should give each other a security of 200,000 ducats that they would not again attack each other. MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 18. The imperial forces were to fall back to the positions they occupied before the war. Naples was to be the emperor's, and all were to join against the infidels. Sacco, p. 83.

[9] This is noticed in the English dispatches of 16th April. There 'noiseth that Bourbon of late hath received letters from the emperor, by which he revoketh all the viceroy's authority, and committeth the whole to Bourbon.' MS. ib. p. 92.

[10] 'The cardinals and prelates censured, because it would lessen their grandeur and pomp, and they had expected a certain victory. The kings of France and England were displeased, because the pope, acting only from his own will, would little regard theirs in future. Venice reproached him, because it turned the stream of war toward her states; the duke of Milan, because he lost his duchy by it; and the Florentines, because they saw that Bourbon, being no party to it, would not be bound by it.' Sacco, p. 84, 85.

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thousand Swiss, and the black band of his deceased nephew, altho every soldier felt that he ought to have retained these, till he knew the minds of Bourbon and his ungovernable army [11].

This dreaded commander, who had been slumbering unwillingly under the iron net of necessities which had confined his energies, had now marched at the head of twenty thousand fierce and fearless adventurers, to the castle of St. John, about ten miles from Bologna [12]. As he moved, Urbino approached the Po as slowly as he could proceed to it, but no persuasion could draw him over it, that he might not uncover the Venetian states before Bourbon had taken the southern roads of Tuscany or Romagna. Yet he dishonestly converted the danger of the crisis to an occasion of demanding and of obtaining a forced surrender, from the legate of the church, of some territory which his republic claimed as the price of his assistance. Receiving this extorted boon, he prepared to cross the Apennines, whenever the imperialists should attack Bologna [13].

At St. John's, their army suffered so severely from unusual snows and inundations, that if Ferrara had not assisted them they could not have remained

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[11] Sacco, p. 85, 86.

[12] Ib. 88. A letter to the nuncio Castiglione, of 7th January 1527, notices 'the coming of the new Lanzietti, 12 or 14,000 men. They are beyond Firenzuola and Castle of St. John awaiting the imperials, who have left Milan to join them.' Lett. Prin. v. 2. p. 204.

[13] Sacco, p. 89. So the preceding letter says, 'The Venetian lords offer to pass the Po as soon as the imperials, into Tuscany, and to hang on their tail.' Lett. Princ. p. 204. It adds, 'Our lord the pope has about 10,000 infantry, but with a mind not to offend if he be not first offended by the ministers of the emperor.' ib.

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there. Bourbon employed his rest in collecting supplies to support his meditated advance into Tuscany, when a dangerous mutiny assailed him. He had given the starving Germans two ducats a man, to induce them to march with him; and the Spaniards, smarting under their hardships, demanded a similar bounty, and were so furious in their mutiny, that they would have slain the duke, if he had not taken shelter amid Frondsperg's battalions [14]. The storm at last was appeased, and they were about to move, when the stroke of an apoplexy laid Frondsperg on the bed of death. He was taken in a dying state to Ferrara [15]; and this calamity detained them a few days longer against Bourbon's will, to whom every hour's procastination of their progress was an increase of the penury with which they were struggling. Having gathered some meal for their food, he was again setting off, when extraordinary falls of snow made all passage impossible, and kept them where they were, till a large portion of their scanty flour was consumed [16]. At this juncture they were not much dreaded [17]; and the papal

[14] Sacco, p. 92–4. The datary, on 1st March 1527, wrote to C. Trivulci, 'On the 26th February the Cæsarean army was at Renza, and the next day would be at Reggio. Ours, in good heart, was lodged on 26th at Castle Franco, and thought of coming to Bologna.' Lett. Princ. p. 212, 13.

[15] Sacco, p. 93.

[16] Sacco, p. 93. The datary's epistle of 22d March notices to cardinal Trivulci, 'The letters of 19th and 20th shew that by the rains and snows which are gravidissimi, the country is become such a slough that the lansquenets could not advance any day before, and that the food and money which they had from Ferrara was falling short.' Lett. Princ. v. 2. p. 225.

[17] So the datary's expressions to the legate imply. 'The lansquenets threaten to come forward; but as, if they mean it, they will not find the way so easy as they think, we may believe that they are braving us in order to extort more money.' Lett. Prin. v. 2. p. 228.

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lieutenant, not inattentive to their progress, sent part of his infantry to Pianoro, and placed the rest so conveniently, that as soon as Bourbon should be seen to take the road to Sesso, they might dart before him to Florence, to which he and Saluzze meant also to go, and rescue that city from the sacking that was menaced [18].

It was at St. John's that Bourbon heard of the pacific award which had been made at Rome by Fieramosca under the authority of the emperor, and by the directions of the viceroy; who now prayed him to retire with the army over the Po. This was easily asked by the envoy, and as easily assented to by the general; but the turbulent army who were advancing to have the sack of some opulent city, would not forego their booty without an adequate compensation [19]. Bourbon suggested that the pope's payment should be doubled and distributed. They would be, otherwise, entirely unmanageable [20]. Fieramosca saw with his own eyes their turbulence, for he had nearly fallen a victim to their fury, when they understood that he came for peace [21]. The pope was then desired by the English

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[18] Sacco, p. 94.

[19] The author of the Sacco says, Bourbon secretly urged them to this demand, p. 95; but their previous mutinies show that they needed no incitement on this point.

[20] Sacco, p. 97.

[21] Russell wrote to Wolsey on 1st April 1527, 'The lansquenets (German) are not contented to retire, and every day worse willing than other. The Spaniards demand payment for sixteen months, and the lansquenets as much as was promised them; six months, and towns to sack: insomuch that they would have slain the said Cæsar Feroniske, who for fear of them fled to the duke of Ferrara's lands.' MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 85.

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ambassador to provide for his own defence[22]. He chose to resort to the viceroy, who censured Bourbon, promised to raise some money to assist the See, and even to move his own forces against the refractory soldiery[23]. The French and Venetian ministers went to the pontiff with three propositions; to give the imperialists two hundred thousand scudi; or to defend himself resolutely, or to let all go to ruin[24].

The viceroy hastened to Florence, to make arrangements that would satisfy the army. He procured at first an assent to one hundred thousand ducats being provided; but to raise this sum in coin, it was necessary to take from the richest churches and convents of the city and to melt, all their gold and silver images, vessels, shrines and garments, on the promise of first valuing, and at an early period of replacing them by others of greater cost[25]. But the cautious citizens thought that the money ought not to be paid beforehand; and the pontiff believed it would be but giving their enemies more money for their future warfare, and lessen his own power of waging it[26]. It was the opinion at Rome, that the

[22] So Russell adds, 'We have moved the pope's holiness to take heed and to defend himself, for that we see no other remedy.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 58.

[23] Letter, ib.

[24] Cassalis' letters, 1st and 2d April. MS. ib. p. 88.

[25] Sacco, p. 98. On 13th April Cassalis wrote, that 'the pope had informed him that Fieramosca declared that the Germans might be appeased by 20,000 scudi, and that the viceroy was seeking to borrow this of the Florentines.' MS. ib. p. 90; and see cardinal Campejo's letter on the same day to Wolsey, p. 91.

[26] Cassalis' letter, ib. p. 90. He says the pope said 'he saw clearly the treachery of the imperials; that his ruin was but so much nearer if he should give them more money, and not himself have strength to wage the war, and thereby he would not be able to provide

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ldiers arose more from the
nd the pope, instead of
the two hundred thou-
the documents state would
n's army, declared he should
France, and treat there of truce,
its supplies[28]; nor would he reason
convention until the enemy had fallen
eir previous position[29].

Florentines would not advance more than
y had promised[30], and some violent catastrophe, which yet no one duly anticipated, was evidently approaching. The German and Spanish troops were not unnecessarily contending for pecuniary payments, nor for these being speedily advanced. They were living in a state of the greatest penury: Every hour's delay was to them an increase of suffering; and their resolution to go forward and deeper among their enemies, when without money, munitions, pioneers, or any certain provisions, has excited the admiration of the papal historian. They had received but two or three ducats a piece during the whole time they had been in Italy, and they had no prospect of supplies but from their own aggressions and victory[31]. While the pope and Florentines were hesitating about their pecuniary satisfaction,

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remedies for his defence.' Cassalis adds, 'It is impossible to move him from this opinion.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 90.

[27] Ib. p. 90.

[28] Cassalis' lett. 13th April. MS. ib. p. 90.

[29] Sacco, p. 119. The pontiff 'persuaded himself that the difficulties which they endured would soon constrain them to take more tolerable terms.' ib.

[30] MS. Vit. p. 90.

[31] Guicc. Hist. l. 18. p. 25.

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they ravaged from want, in their fury, the regions they passed thro and occupied [32].

After the viceroy had ascertained that two hundred thousand ducats would obtain their retreat, he was as earnest with the pope to raise the money, as the English ambassadors were strenuous in dissuading from it [33]. These counsellors even urged him to commit himself to an unpardonable warfare, by excommunicating the emperor and his cabinet, and by applying the money to raise an army to oppose them [34]. The pope admitted the justice of their reasonings, and the ungovernable knavery of the soldiery [35], but as distinctly, and with a true foresight, represented that his ruin would follow if he obeyed their suggestions, and that he was advised to pursue a pacific system, altho to his own disadvantage. [36].

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[32] See Card. Campejo's letter to Wolsey on 13 April 1527. MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 91. He represents his district to have then suffered a loss from them of 50,000 ducats, of which his own share had been 4,000. ib. The English envoys, besides their letter in the next note, wrote also on 26 April, 'These men work more cruelly than Turks, destroying and burning houses of religion and all others, as they pass, and constraining men and fryers to be together; thrusting into a priest's brain a crucifix, they burnt both the priest and it, and flayed another.' MS. ib. p. 97.

[33] In their dispatch of 16 April, they state, 'whereupon we divers times have earnestly pressed the pope to consider the often breaking of former appointments, with the false and cruel dealings of the imperialists, in churches, crucifixes, monasteries, abbies, and houses, to the value of a million of gold.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 92.

[34] 'For which causes we advised his highness to declare the . . . . . to be excommunicated and accursed, with all his ministers for using them; and to take the 60,000 crowns which the Florentines had made ready for the imperialists. This, with that the Frenchmen and Venetians offered him, and with such other as he might make himself, we said, should be sufficient to maintain the wars a good season, and until other princes might help him.' MS. ib.

[35] They go on to inform Wolsey, 'all which he confessed to be true, and that the more he giveth them, the less he is assured of them, and that they always will be demanding of more.' MS. ib.

[36] Nevertheless, he saith, 'he may make no war, because the sooner

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CHAP. XVIII.

On what the English ambassadors were calculating, it is difficult now to discern, unless it was to increase the rising chaos of difficulties. They advised the pope to give the invading troops no money till they had left his grounds; and yet in the same dispatch informed their court, that not even their imperial master would be able to get them out of Italy [37]. They succeeded, however, in keeping up the pope's returning spirit of warfare, who now resolved to brave all its consequences, and they congratulated their court that they had so effectually contributed to produce this martial effervescence. But he made them understand, that he expected an assistance adequate to his dangerous determination. [38].

No money reaching the army, they became tumultuous, and Bourbon marched it on the roads to Romagna. Snows and rain prevented him from taking the course to Bologna or Sesso, as he had intended, and he moved down to Cotignuola, and leaving there some heavy artillery that impeded him, proceeded rapidly on to St. Pietro in Bagno,

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he may be ruined, and that he is counselled by them that be about him, rather to make an evil appointment than to follow the wars, considering the disordinance of his folk and the infinite difficulties that reigneth among these Frenchmen and others.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 92.

[37] 'We also think, that if the peace were made generally, it lieth not in the emperor's power to cause the lance knights and Spaniards to go out of Italy, without all other princes help thereunto, for they are sworn together to take the other's part.' MS. ib. p. 92.

[38] They say to Wolsey, on 26 April 1527, 'It is not to be thought little, considering the pope's fearful nature, to have *returned him into the war*: but now he hath desired us, since *we have* brought him thus far, to advertize as well the king' highness and your grace, as also the French king, of his necessity; and their help not wanting in whose promises he trusts; and specially in the king and you; he is fully determined to spend the uttermost he may make; whereunto the only trust that he hath in the king and you hath brought him.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 97.

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and arriving near the Piave at St. Stefano, on the 12th April reached and rested a short interval at Monte Varchi. His men had patiently subsisted on herbs, and what flesh of any sort they could procure, even gladly the asinine when they met with it, but without either bread or any other drink than water. The papal lieutenant sent notice to Rome of their removal. The viceroy came again to stop their progress; but it was only to be in danger of his own life from their dissatisfaction[39], and he withdrew with precipitation to Sienna[40]. Instead of abating their demands, as the pope had expected, the angry soldiers only made them more extravagant[41]; and the infallible successor of St. Peter, instead of discerning the tempest that was gathering on the Apennines to overwhelm him, on the 25th April was forming a new league of confederation against the emperor, which was to divest him of Naples, and to be seconded by the fulminating anathema of this Christian see[42]. The English envoy, on 26th April, assured Wolsey, that the heart of his holiness

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[39] Del Sacco, 99–108. It was Bourbon who saved him from being killed by the enraged troops. Brant. v. 4. p. 253.

[40] Ib. 118. So our ambassadors wrote on 25th April, 'Now he is withdrawing into Senes for fear, as he saith, of the Almayns.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 97.

[41] The English ambassadors, on 26th April, thus stated to Wolsey this encroaching advance: 'The first demand and appointment made here with the pope, was of 60,000 ducats, which would not do, but they demanded 100,000, and while they treated further, they asked 150,000, and now increasing are come to 300,000, and at the furthest to be paid in six days.' MS. ib. p. 97.

[42] See the draft of it, dated 25th April 1527, to be made between the pope, French, Venetians, and duke Sforza, in the MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 96. The French and Venetians were not to diminish their aids as covenanted in the former treaty, and each was to give the pope 30,000 ducats every month. Ib 95.

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was fully bent on waging a fierce war[43], and that money had been liberally offered to him[44]; that in six days he would have ten thousand infantry, and when Urbino and Saluzze had joined him, that the dictatorial imperialists would be soon driven away[45]. The papal judgment was unfortunate or infatuated in all its decisions. If his wisdom had exceeded his resentments, he would have conciliated the duke of Ferrara, without whose aid neither his kinsman John de Medici would have fallen, nor could Bourbon have maintained the expedition he had commenced[46]. But Clement was obstinate in rejecting his conditions[47], and the angry duke wrote to Henry VIII. an apologetic letter in his own

[43] On this day they wrote, 'The perversity of the Germans and Spaniards was so great, that they drove him by necessity to make this treaty, as may be seen in the capitulation which we sent to you, and I promise you that his holiness is propense *toto corde* ad bellum acriter *agendum*.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 100.

[44] 'For besides the supplies which he has from the confederates as you will see in that capitulation, his friends and clients, and the merchants of the city, have liberally offered him money, and the Roman people have promised to afford him money and subsidies.' MS. ib. p. 100.

[45] Lett. ib. p. 100. It adds, 'the Spaniards and Swiss have burnt houses to the value of 200,000 aureos: have devastated all the churches and sacred images, and burnt all priests,' ib. On 28 April, Card. Campejo, then suffering from gout, expressed to Wolsey his opinion, that they meant to advance and burn Rome and overthow the apostolic see, and omit nothing that could be done by the most cruel Turk; that the pope had therefore been obliged to levy soldiers and resort to arms; and that the enemy was not only impious and cruel, but were partly Lutherans and partly Mahometans,' or Moors, as I presume Marrani to mean. MS. ib. p. 101.

[46] The author del Sacco asserts, 'that if his army had not received victuals and other necessaries from Ferrara, they could not have remained there two days.' p. 92.

[47] So early as 5 January, Cassalis stated to Wolsey, 'The pope says he will never consent to what the duke of Ferrara asks.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 14.

The del Sacco intimates, that Ferrara might have been conciliated, and speaks of 'the ostinatione di Clemente,' and 'l'ambitione della chiesa,' as preventing it.

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vindication, on the pope's refusal to make the accommodation he desired[48]. The pontiff was so far right, that some extraordinary success alone could extricate Bourbon and his army from the wants and difficulties that were consuming them; but he forgot what they had effected against impregnable entrenchments at Pavia, and that most great achievements are performed in opposition to reasoned probabilities, by braving the ruin that must attend their failure. At the last moment of an awful crisis, elven days only before it burst in thunder and desolation upon him, he threw away the sheath of peace, and presented to Bourbon a vindictive and a defying sword. Having thus chosen to place himself in the attitude of war, he forfeited all future right of complaining of its military consequences[49].

Pausing on the eve of a catastrophe, which we may admit to have had few parallels elsewhere, and none in its actual locality, since the days of Alaric and Attila, we cannot but perceive that no calamity was more deliberately provoked, nor more wilfully dared. A starving, furious, suffering, ungovernable, but fearless army, of thirty-three thousand five hundred enterprising men[50], under the most con-

[48] This is dated 4 April 1527, and printed in Rymer, v. 14. p. 196.

[49] Yet it will be just to recollect the observation of his datarius to his legate cardinal Trivulci, on 14 March, 'Your lordship will not wonder that the pope is backward in forming his resolutions, because really his reasons as well on the one side as on the other are so forcible, that there is no person, however sagacious, who would not feel confused in determining what conclusion he should come to.' Lett. Princ. v. 2. p. 220.

[50] Our ambassador's account from Valladolid of 29th March, was, that on 14th March the duke left the castle of St. John, with 10,000 Almayns, 6,000 Spaniards, 4,000 Italians, 700 heavy and 1,600 light cavalry; that his women, his battering cannon and baggage, he had left at Ferrara, whose duke had paid all his footmen.' Vesp. C. 4. p. 83.

The Sacco states, 'that Bourbon began his march with 20,000 men,

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summate commander of the age, was known to be hovering on the passable Apennines, looking greedily around for some great city to plunder, reckless of all actions that would extort what they coveted; and instigated by unrelieved necessities to attempt the most desperate chances to preserve their existence. It might be valor to set such a mass of land buccaneers at defiance, but it was valor without its better part, discretion. It was neither foresight, common judgment, nor reasonable calculation. It was presumption sleeping on a bursting volcano[51]. It was self-created hope, painting its own facts and peopling the future as it wished[52]. Such an ardor of temporary confidence suddenly glowed in the

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but found himself at Monte Varchi with a much larger army than he had at Bologna, because many Italian foot soldiers, finding that he was going to the assault of some city where there would be some notable plunder, joined him, not heeding the difficulties of liring, or of the roads, or pay.' p. 117-8.

A letter from Florence, of 27 April, in MS. Vitell. B. 9. exemplifies this general account, by stating the force when it reached St. Stephen's to have consisted of 18,000 foot, apti ad pugnam; 3,500 horse, not very good; and 12,000 other infantry whom it calls inutiles; but who soon proved that they were not so. They had no artillery to batter the walls.' MS. p. 99.

'They were then expected to get provisions and cannon from Sienna, and to turn immediately upon Florence.' ib.

[51] That he was surrounded with injudicious or treacherous advisers, many documents shew. In February of this year, a friend hinted to him, 'all these sinister reasonings directed against your holiness are made by cardinals, and proceed from them, and perhaps from some of those in whom you confide, and who make fair words to you.' Lett. de Princ. v. 2. p. 103.

[52] Luigi Guicciardini gives the most probable view of the pope's mind; 'When he broke his last 'accordo' with the viceroy, he often answered to him, that he would not reason again on any convention until his enemies had retired to their original positions, because he thought that the difficulties they had to support would soon constrain them to seek an accordo more tolerable; and what made him chiefly stand on this hope was, that the forces of the league had come near Florence, and that he thought Rome being fortified in many places could easily repel any bold assault.' Sacco, p. 119.

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bosom of Clement, that he was even planning to send his general Renzo from Rome, to attack Sienna, as he conceived Bourbon was too much embarrassed in Tuscany, to attempt to proceed to his imperial city[51]. The most fallible human foresight seems now to have accompanied the once infallible tiara.

On the 2d May this confident security began to relax. We then read in the dispatches from Rome, that news on that night arrived, that a troop had appeared at Viterbo, demanding food, and announcing that their army was at Aquapendente. "This did mightily astonish the pope—he was this morning in great fear—Renzo being about to levy one thousand men, could not possibly get the sum of one thousand crowns to do it. Some cardinals have persuaded the pope to remove himself for more safety to Civita Vecchia[54]." The advice was sound, but, like Cassandra's warnings, was unheeded. Yet to Clement's honor let it be recorded, that when pressed to raise the money he wanted, by appointing cardinals who would pay for the dignity, he steadily refused at first so to prostitute the highest honor of the church, next to his own[55]. But Clement was alike distinguished for strong resolutions and sudden mutability. He yielded to the less-principled urgency of others

[53] Fr. Guicc. Hist. l. 18. v. 7. p. 48.

[54] Cassalis' letter to Russell, of 2d May 1527. MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 103, 104.

[55] On 11th May, Russell informed Wolsey from Savona, 'As touching the cardinals which the pope maketh, I assure your grace it *hath been to us* no little travail to *move* him thereto; insomuch that once he said, 'he would rather lose his right hand than ever do or consent to it; and that it was his perpetual shame to make any for money,' yet, 'he promised to make six.' MS. ib. p. 105.

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—it is painful to add, of English ambassadors; and promised to give the red hat to six churchmen, for the simoniacal payment of forty thousand crowns for each person so preferred[56].

Bourbon had awaited at Monte Varchi the decision of the pope on the demands of his soldiery, and perceiving that the forces of his antagonists, concentering in Florence, had made that city impregnable by his ill-furnished army, he moved into the territory of Sienna, to obtain the supplies which his increasing necessities required, and there deliberated on the only three courses which he had now to pursue. To stay long where he was, would soon exhaust both the means and the liberality of the Siennese, and subsistence must then be gained by hostile rapine. To attack Florence would be a desperate measure, that could not succeed, because the provisions of the country, being carried off to the strong places, he could not await the effect of a protracted siege against fortifications, which no rash assault could master. Rome, therefore, was the only large city that appeared to be expugnable, and that place could be carried only by a rapid, unforeseen, and immediate attack, before it was put into a defensible state; and by outstripping those who were watching him, so as to reach it before they did[57]. His discerning judgment settling on this alternative, he convened his chief captains and men, and addressed them in an animated and determined speech,

[56] Cassalis wrote, 'The pope hath resolved to make some cardinals; these were taxed at 40,000 crowns; to-morrow they are to be created in the consistory.' MS. ib. p. 104.

[57] Del Sacco, 137–9.

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which brought their resolution into an immediate accordance with his own[58].

1527. On 25th April, the duke left the Arezzo, without artillery or baggage[59]; and on 27th, offering to the prisoners he took in his way, the liberty to march with him, proceeded onwards to the Paglia, which the heavy rains having swelled, he tried in vain to ford, his men being swept away by the violence of the stream. An ingenious plan was immediately tried to break the force of the current: The foot arranged themselves in files of thirty and fifty, and embracing each other firmly by locked hands and surrounding arms, they entered the river in these bodies, stemming the torrent with their connected mass of resisting strength; and with the waves reaching to the breasts of some, and to the throats of others, succeeded in passing to the other side; while the rest got over by clinging to the manes, tails, and cruppers of the horses of their accompanying cavalry[60]. They formed in order, with mutual consolations as they crossed; and sacking only Montefiascone and Ronciglione, which refused them victuals, they passed other castles that were defended,

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[58] Brantome thus gives it, from the Spaniards who had heard it: 'Valorous captains and my brave soldiers, of whatever rank! on whom my attention and confidence repose; whom I consider not only as my brothers and my children, but also as my honored fathers; from whom I derive all my honor, and on whose courage even my life depends! I will now disclose to you my secret intention. If you will aid me with your accustomed spirit and bravery, I hope soon to enrich you all with the sack of PROUD ROME. I will make you the lords of it; I will put into your hands its people, nobles, gentlemen, and senators; their wives; its prelates, and all the consistory of the cardinals, with their pope Clement, who so unworthily occupies the place of St. Peter.' v. 4. p. 253.

[59] Fr. Guicc. Hist. l. 18. p. 49.

[60] Sacco, 142, 143.

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that they might not lose time by attacking them[61]. They heeded neither the unusual rains nor the cravings of unsatisfied nature[62], but pressed on, undismayed and unresting, till they came in sight of the imperial city, on Saturday the 4th of May, the evening of the Christians most jubilant festival, as the sun was descending to its departure[63], and having marched at the rate of forty miles a day, to their long coveted prey.

The antagonists of Bourbon roused themselves into alertness as he moved. Rangoni, with his cavalry and five thousand infantry, set off with forced marches, thro Perugia, for Rome, leaving the rest to follow, not doubting to reach it before the imperials with any artillery could get there. Urbino was called upon to advance, that the assailants might not be able to stay before Rome, to besiege it. The pope made three of his intended new cardinals, to raise money; but only to find it impossible, in that short and hurried moment, to get together the coin they were to give. He convened the Roman people, exhorted them to defend themselves in assisting him, and solicited an immediate loan, which one of the richest nullified by a feeble subscription of a hundred ducats[64]; an expressive indication rather of the pope's unpopularity, than of the individual's

[61] Sacco, p. 143.

[62] Fr. Guicc. Hist. l. 18. p. 49.

[63] Luigi Guicciardini dates the hours in the Italian way of reckoning time, from the preceding sunset at 21 o'clock, which would be three hours before night. Sacco, p. 145. The letter of 3d June, in Vitell. B. 9. mentions Saturday as the day.

[64] Fr. Guicc. Hist. p. 49, 50. Sacco, p. 144.

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avarice. But Rome was in two factions: the larger part of the cardinals and the Guelphine faction of the great favored the pope[65]; while five cardinals and a strong Ghibelline party[66], both of nobles and people, with the Colonni family, who always supported the imperial interests, gave no assistance to avert a crisis which none of them regretted. The pope selected Renzo, whom he had been accustomed before to undervalue[67], as his commander in chief, and committed all things to his control and care. He could raise no new military force, but such arms and hearts as the stables, inns, petty shops, and unemployed rabble could supply[68]. These were armed, and stationed with what regular troops were then remaining at Rome; and every engine of defence was taken to the walls, which such a city could on the sudden emergency supply[69]. Yet, tho alarmed into activity, they were so sure that the imperialists could not, from their utter want of victuals, remain two days before Rome[70], that no one apprehended any serious danger, even when Bourbon was seen to be marching into the meadows near the city. Many circumstances tempted them to this security. The invading army had no provisions; and that they could without artillery, and with only manual weapons, capture a strong walled city, before the pursuing armies arrived, or famine had driven them

[65] Sacco, p. 180.
[66] Sacco, 177, 178.
[67] Fr. Guicc. Hist. p. 52.
[68] Fr. Guicc. Hist. p. 50. Sacco, 157.
[69] The pope had written to Florence, that he had 6,000 infantry at Rome, and so late as the 4th May, had sent word to Rangoni, that he wanted only 600 or 800 arquebussiers for her defence. Fr. Guicc. Hist. p. 50, 51.
[70] Sacco, 145.

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away, was not an event within the ordinary course of human experience, and therefore did not present itself as a probable result in their deliberating calculations. CHAP. XVIII.

If the metropolis of Christendom could have ever justly hoped for peace on earth, or succor from heaven, it might have sought them at this juncture; for the next morning on which Bourbon arose to survey the walls of the city, to discern a penetrable place, was the noblest day of the Christian's year—the anniversary of his Redeemer's triumphant resurrection. But every contemporary account concurs to prove, that if moral and religious virtues be the conditions of divine assistance, Rome at no period had fewer pretensions to expect it. As Astrea was presumed long before to have taken her flight from earth, so piety and probity had, for at least half a century, absented themselves from the precincts of the capitol[71]. Easter Sunday was but a nominal day of festive ceremony, to the largest part, both of the assailants and the assailed; the leaders and the led; and both were therefore left to their human means of attack and defence, and to all those terrible energies and sad results, which human ferocity is so ready to exert, and so resolute to occasion.

Bourbon sent to the pope the mockery of a peaceful trumpet, to demand admission into the city, to

[71] So Bourbon painted it to his soldiers: 'tutti immersi in effeminatissimo e libidonoso otio; e totalmento dediti a regunare con fraude, rapine, e crudelta, sotto la pieta della Christina religione, l'argento e l'oro di ciascuno.' Sacco, p. 153. He said, that they deserved the punishment they were going to receive, by their 'pessimi costumi ed irreligiosa vita.' p. 152. The authorities for the moral pravity of Rome at this time will be cited in that future part of our work in which we shall review the religious history of the English reformation.

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pass quietly through it towards Naples[72]. The inevitable refusal was supposed to justify a retaliation of hostility, and he urged the troops, notwithstanding the sacred day, to an immediate assault. An easy victory now presented itself; every hour was multiplying the means of resistance. The night would be employed in combining every destructive arrangement; what was now attainable, would on the morrow be difficult and dangerous. The army is weary and needs repose; yet one great exertion will end all its fatigues, and make its rest the sweeter[73]. But no eloquence could rouse them to the storm before the next day's dawn. All that he could persuade them to agree upon, was to be ready to move to the points he should fix, as soon as the stars began to fade from the earthly-gazing eye. Their total want of food prevented all further procrastination; his own mind was fixed, to conquer or to perish. There was indeed no other alternative. No enterprise could be more desperately undertaken. Destruction from the sword and famine was sure to accompany defeat. He summoned them to their sternest resolution, by an earnest harangue[74], while a Sienna prophet was busy within the city, in proclaiming the impending ruin of its priesthood and

[72] Sacco, 146. Guicc. Hist. p. 51.

[73] Sacco, 146, 147.

[74] Both Luigi Guicciardini in his Sacco, p. 148-156, and Brantome, 255-7, detail his speech, the former most copiously, the latter most spiritedly, from his Spanish authorities, and therefore nearest to the actual truth. 'My captains! all valorous and brave; and you, my soldiers, whom I love! since our grand destiny has led us here, to the very post we have so long wished for, after such villanous roads; such vast snows and intolerable cold; such torrents of rain and bogs of mud; amid enemies who allowed us no rest; amid hunger and thirst, without a penny to buy the means of allaying them, and enduring all the wants that nature

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prosperity [75]: Then appointing who should watch, while the great body reposed, and ordering all to be ready for a most determined and simultaneous assault at the dawn, the duke laid down for such repose as the agitating moment would allow [76].

Altho Rome was surrounded by one general outer wall, it was divided within that, by the Tiber, then as now, into two unequal parts, as our Thames separates London from Southwark, and from the buildings on its Surrey bank. The great body of the city, and most of its famous hills, lay on the east side of the river. The portion on its western bank, the Trastevere, with the Janiculum hill, was to the rest more like a suburb of no great importance; but on the north of this division, are the Vatican hill and the celebrated cathedral. It was about this corner, that on the 5th of May Bourbon stationed his troops behind St. Peter's, as if he

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could make us suffer—Now is the time, now is the lucky hour, in which we may show, by achieving this splendid and noble enterprise, the courage, the spirit, and the strength of your bodies. Here you must perish for ever, if you be beaten off; or be enriched, renowned and ennobled for ever, if you conquer. Gain what you see, and every hope of comfort, honor and glory, will be realized by your victory; for then, there is not one of your enemies, there will not be a foreign nation, that will not tremble at your names, and be confounded with alarm at the waving of your successful swords. If you ever desired to sack a city for its wealth and treasures, behold one now in your sight; the richest of all, the lady of the world! Win this triumph, and you will be for life opulent, and happy lords, all great men. Lose it, and disgrace, misery and ruin, that none can remedy, will be your immediate fate.' Brant. 255, 6.

[75] 'Many days before, a man of the lowest condition, from the territory of Sienna, of mature age and red hair, naked and meagre, yet very religious, predicted to the populace the certain ruin of the priests and of all the city, with the subsequent renovation of the church. With fearful vociferations, he cried out, that the time of repentance was come; and to the pope himself, without any regard to his dignity, he uttered, in the presence of many, very injurious and villanous expressions, assuring him of his approaching fall.' Sacco, p. 162.

[76] Brant. 257.

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meant there to force a passage over the river[77]; and early the next morning, while the Spanish battalions, as silently as possible, attempted assaults in various parts[78], he directed the principal attack in the vicinity of St. Peter's, near Santo Spirito[79]. A thick fog, at this juncture, arose with the dawn, and settled on these parts so profusely, that none could see at two yards distance. Bourbon availed himself of the circumstance, to urge the storm more fearlessly, for as the artillery of the castle of St. Angelo, and on the walls, could no longer be guided by the eye, it was fired at random, to the points from which any noise was heard to issue; and from this chance-shooting, was either discharged in vain, or its balls injured the defenders more than the assailants[80].

To be conspicuously seen in the front ranks of danger, the duke had thrown over his armor a white vestment[81]. The Germans hanging back, from finding the walls not so ascendible as was expected, only roused him to more desperate daring. As an example of unshrinking resolution, he seized a ladder to mount to the walls himself, and placing it with his left hand, while his right beckoned to all who saw him, to follow his steps, the shot of an arquebuss struck his left side, passed thro his body, and extended him in an instant on the earth a dying corpse[82]. He had strength and recollection to bid

[77] MS. account in Vitell. B. 9. p. 108.
[78] Sacco, p. 167.
[79] F. Guicc. p. 52.
[80] Sacco, 171.
[81] Sacco, 165. Brant. 257.
[82] Sacco, 172. Brant. 257. F. Guicc. 52. The eccentric Benvenuto Cellini was in Rome when the duke of Bourbon stormed it, and claims the distinction of being the person whose bullet terminated his eventful career. His account is, 'levelling my arquebusse where I saw the thickest crowd of the enemy, I discharged it, with a deliberate aim at a

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his friend Jonas throw his cloak over him, to conceal his fate awhile from his army[83]. He was carried off, confessed, received the sacrament, desired to be buried at Milan[84], and died while his men, becoming acquainted with his loss, and seeing their safety hopeless, but from conquest, rushed on the walls with a new fury of desperate revenge[85]. The prince of Orange took the command, and animated their spirits[86]. The defenders fought resolutely; they threw down fire; discharged their cannon, and

person who seemed to be *lifted above* the rest; but the *mist prevented* me from distinguishing whether he was on horseback or on foot.' He then had his two friends also fire off their pieces; and having fired twice for the enemies once, he cautiously approached the walls, and perceived an extraordinary confusion among the assailants, occasioned by our having shot the duke of Bourbon.' vol. i. p. 123, 4. Roscoe's ed. But the whole amount of this claim seems to be, that he and his two friends were among the many who were then firing from the walls in the mist. Whether his ball hit any body is not affirmed: whether what he aimed at was the duke of Bourbon or any other, and whether his ball or those of his friends did the mischief, are all matters of gratuitous conjecture. Many no doubt claimed the feat, as many were then firing as well as Cellini. It was said at Rome that the person who discharged this fatal arquebus was a priest. Brant. 258. The fact that Bourbon was not lifted up when he was shot, but was on the ground placing a ladder, and that no confusion followed on the catastrophe, because a cloak was thrown over him to prevent its being known, are unfavorable to Cellini's pretensions, whose self-admiration appears to have been a leading feature in his character. It was in this spirit that he also asserts, that the prince of Orange fell by his hand; and he attributes to himself several other distinguishing exploits, which have too much the air of gasconade to be implicitly believed.

[83] Brant. 258. It is probable, that his white vest, like Nelson's dress coat and stars at the battle of Trafalgar, attracted the aim, and brought down the ball of death.

[84] MS. Vitell. p. 108.

[85] Sacco, 172. The vindictive cry of the soldiers then became, 'Carnage, Carnage! Blood, Blood! Cut them down, Cut them down! Bourbon, Bourbon!' Brant. p. 260.

[86] Brantome has preserved a part of the old song of these soldiers, which makes Orange exclaim to them, on seeing Bourbon dead,

'Sonnez, sonnez! Trompettes!
Sonnez tous a l'Assaut.
Approchez vos Engins!
Abbattez ces Murailles!
Tous les biens des Romains,
Je vous donne au Pillage.' p. 259.

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from every point that bore on the spot, where they heard the clashing of arms or clamor, their arquebusses and missile weapons were directed on the assailants. Without artillery to make breaches, the imperialists experienced in every part the impossibility of attacking strong and high walls with effect; and tho they persevered on the sagacious plan of relieving each other, by a succession of new bands, as those fighting became fatigued[87], yet they made no impression, and strove and rushed on only to be driven back. Above four thousand of them had perished from the fire of the Roman garrison[88], and they might have failed of their devoted prey, if a small party of Spaniards had not discovered a penetrable place.

Near an angle of the wall was a port-hole, which had been used for a window to a lower room: earth and dung were heaped outside against it, and it had been boarded with timber within, leaving only small crevices to admit the light. Being entirely covered, it had escaped the notice of Renzo, in his survey of the walls, and was therefore left without further security[89]. In the heat of the conflict, as the assault began to fail, a Spaniard's eye was caught by its

[87] Sacco, p. 173. The first who got on the walls was Don Juan d'Avalos, a Spanish ensign; a shot immediately shattered his arm. He wrapped the taffety colors round him with the other; but feeling the blow mortal, he exclaimed, as he reached them to his officer, 'My captain, I recommend my honor to you, for I am a dead man.' Brant. p. 260.

[88] The prince of Orange's despatch stated, 'The duke of Bourbon was slain, and about 4,000 Spaniards, and many Almains but not to that number.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 155. The Sacco, p. 53, mentions only 1,000. The Paraleipomena attached to the Chron. Usperg, states that the assailants were 'bis repulsi;' and that the pope had been darting his fulminations against them in these words: 'We excommunicate Charles duke of Bourbon, and his army, partly consisting of Lutherans and partly of Moors,' choosing to brand the Spaniards as a Moorish race.

[89] Sacco, p. 171. p. 356.

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appearance, and pulling away the earth, he perceived the practicable opening; stakes and pick-axes were immediately applied to enlarge it, and a body of Spaniards got thro it into the city, before the rest of the army knew of their success[90]. They might have been easily driven back; but altho the first person who beheld them was the chief commander of the defence, Renzo himself, yet instead of pausing to ascertain their numbers, or vigorously charging them, whatever it might be, he was seized with a panic, and communicated it to all his party, by exclaiming instantaneously, and without reflecting upon its consequences, "The enemies are within us!" Such an alarm spread terror around him; and tho the besiegers had been every where else repulsed, and might here have been immediately overpowered, every one abandoned his hope, and thought only of providing for his safety. Renzo disgracefully fell back, before the daring Spaniards, towards Ponte Sisto, which connected these parts with the main city; and the exulting pursuers, calling out, "Spain, Spain! kill them, kill them!" the general consternation increased, and all the defenders and people were in disgraceful flight. Great and small made a general rush towards the castle of St. Angelo for safety. Cardinals, prelates, nobles, merchants, ladies, and clergy, mixing with the scared soldiery, pressed so eagerly in, that it was some time before the portcullis could be forced down, to admit of the gates being shut and locked[91]. No one thought of breaking up the bridges over the Tiber, or of defend-

[90] Sacco, p. 174.

[91] Sacco, p. 175–179. All the cardinals got in but five, who, being of the imperial faction, thought they should be safe in their own palaces.

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ing the inner wall of the Trastevere, by which the larger part of Rome might have been saved. Either of these measures would have kept the assailants, who had now got within the outer walls, at least a few days at bay, and these would have been sufficient, for their being famished from want, and overtaken by the army of the league that was marching after them[92].

The pusillanimous panic and flight of the Roman forces, before their assailants had gained any real advantage, threw above three thousand of the most influential part of the population into St. Angelo, and left the city an abandoned prey, to those who had not yet become their conquerors. The pope immediately consulted whether he ought not to retire with the cavalry of his guard, to a securer place. The alarm of others for their own sakes, counselled him to stay, and again he was unfortunate enough in his judgment to listen to their advice. He sent to the captains of his enemies to come to him[93], and lost the precious moment of an easy safety, which they soon took care should not recur. The imperial troops, now rushing from all parts, over the undefended walls, on the flying citizens[94], finding the Trastevere, or the part between them and the west bank of the Tiber, equally unresisting,

ib. One was drawn up by a friend, to the battlements, by a rope. ib. Another, thrown from his horse in his way, was dragged along in the stirrups by his steed, which, happily for him, took of his own accord the direction of the castle, where he was stopped. Brant. 262.

[92] Sacco, p. 179–181. [93] F. Guicc. Hist. p. 53.

[94] The Spaniards described this scene of their pursuit to have been as if all the devils in hell had met together. 'The shooting of the cross-bows, the cries of the combatants, the moans of the wounded and dying, the clashing of the arms, the sounding of the trumpets, the beating of the drums to animate the soldiers, the blows of the pikes, and the firing of the guns, made such a frightful noise, that even thunder would have rolled unheard.' Brant. 262.

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soon entered it; and about two hours after they had so unexpectedly got into the place, they ventured to pass the undestroyed bridge into the heart of the city[95]. A stand was here made by two hundred Romans, whom a few brave men had rallied; the prince of Orange charged them in person[96]: they met the shock valiantly awhile, but were cut down amid their unsupported bravery: and as evening closed, the imperial officers found themselves to have become the absolute masters of the rich and proud and domineering metropolis of the papal hierarchy, and of the ecclesiastical world[97].

Bourbon had expired before the perilous triumph had been completed; exemplifying the truth of the Homeric sentiment so often verified and so little heeded, that "the paths of glory lead but to the grave." Astrological guesses, or superstitious fancies, had even drawn his mind to anticipate this catastrophe[98]; but his foreboding of the contingency had only fixed his resolution to welcome the king of terrors, if human renown would attend the dismal visit[99]. Asking only that fame, which he could not hear, and that praise, which he would never know,

[95] F. Guicciard. Hist. 53. Sacco, p. 185, 6. The despatch of the prince of Orange, as the emperor, reciting it, stated, 'After they had won the burge, they desired the pope's holiness to give them lodging for the rest. Seeing but words and no deeds, they made a bridge over Tiber, and the same night entered Rome, and slew all that resisted therein; and that in the morning the city was spoiled, and fire put in some houses which made resistance, and did to them much damage.'—Lee's Lett. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 155. [96] Brant. 263.

[97] The historian, Guicciardini, remarks, that 'the Ghibellines and the Colonni were wishing the invaders to succeed.' Hist. p. 52.

[98] He said to his army, in his last address, 'A sage astrologer prognosticated to me, that at the taking of a city my fierce ascendant infallibly threatened me that I should die there. I firmly believe that this city is now before me.' Brant. 256.

[99] He added, 'But I swear to you that this fate is the least of my concern. I care little for falling here, if, by dying, my body shall remain with perpetual glory and renown all over the world.' Brant 256.

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should be the companions of his memory in history or social converse, he was content for this result to sink into sepulchral dissolution, inadvertent of its mysterious consequences and awful possibilities. By some, this has been deemed the heroism of a superior soul[100]. It may be also regarded as the vaporous flattery of self-deluding egotism. Wisdom may reasonably commute an earthly death, however premature, for an Elysian immortality; but to exchange life for a name, and all the possessed happiness of present existence, for mere verbal notoriety, with all the chances of worse results, is so like the infatuation of a bewildered intellect, that it surprises our deliberating judgment, that so many great and noble spirits should have willingly become the victims of such a mocking phantom. There is, indeed, one point of view in which fame may be productive of good, even to the disembodied spirit; for if it arise from actions or compositions which excite the reader to improving thoughts or noble deeds, as he contemplates what is praised, the departed intellect then continues to be a moral teacher to his posterity, as long as his memorials remain, tho his corporeal form has dissolved into atoms. He produces good to man, after he has disappeared in the grave, even more fruitfully than while he lived. He cannot be remembered without this beneficent effect. Tho dead, he yet speaketh; and thus becoming one of the perpetual benefactors of the human race, reason may reverentially presume that such an agency will never be

[100] The Spaniards said, 'The shot terminated his existence, but could not deprive his soul of its magnanimity and energy, while his body retained any sensibility.' ib.

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overlooked, while the utility continues, by Him who delights at all times to improve, that He may more effectually bless, his intelligent existences.

But as fame for virtue benefits, so that from what is vicious tends in proportion to its nature, to injure mankind, and makes its possessor, as long as it lasts, a mental malefactor to society; poisoning, where he cannot remedy; and diffusing evil from his tomb, till he is forgotten, like a self-blighted spirit of wilful and unprovoked malignity. It was Bourbon's unhappy case, from the moral obliquity of his desertion and invasion of his native country, that he could live no where, either honored or beloved [101]. The reproaching eye was always upon him wherever he moved; and he found comfort in no place but the camp, and there only when he could silence human chiding by some transcending victory. Life without it, brought no lasting joy. The grave only could give peace to his disappointed heart: and as it was by military fame that he had the greatest chance of overpowering human censure, to gain this at every hazard, became his desperate choice: and the hope and prospect of attaining it, were all the human comforts that, even at the age of thirty-five, he found to be within his command [102].

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[101] In foreign countries, and on enterprises not at variance with their native soil, many a military adventurer has gained honor and fame. Thus sir John Hawksbee, in Edward the Third's reign, served in Italy with great reputation; but who could pardon a Nelson, a Wellington, or a Marlborough, or any Englishman leading the armies of its enemies against England or his countrymen? All the talents and exploits of Coriolanus could never remove the stigma of his national treason. Whatever may have been his personal motives, who can—who does, respect the moral or political renegado?

[102] The Spaniards made this epitaph upon him, 'La Francia me dio lo leche; l'Espana, la gloria y l'aventura; l'Italia, la sepultura.' 'France gave me milk; Spain, glory and enterprise; Italy, a tomb.'

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The prince of Orange, a Burgundian nobleman[101], tho the youngest in age of all the captains in the army, had exhibited such ability and activity[104] as to be made or adopted by it to be its commander in chief, to complete its successes, and to withstand whatever force might be marching to arrest them. In Rome, little else remained to be done than to besiege the pope, and to pillage the city; and both these objects were executed without either remorse

Brant. 243. Our old poet Gascoigne, in his 'Fruits of War,' thus commemorates the duke of Bourbon:

'I had forgot, wherein I was to blame,
Of bold, brave BOURBON, somewhat for to say:
That haughty heart, whom never prince could tame;
Whom neither town could stop, nor wall let way;
Nor king, nor Cesar could his journey stay.
His epitaph down set upon his tomb,
Declares no less. I leave it to your doom. *

'O glorious title! ringing out renown:
O epitaph! of honor and high hap!
Who reads the same, as it is there set down,
Would think that Bourbon sat in fortune's lap:
And could not fall by chance of after-clap:
Yet he that wrote this thundering, flattering verse,
Left out one thing which I must needs rehearse.

'For when he had his king by war foredone;
Enlarg'd the empire and besieg'd the pope;
Ta'en Rome; and Italy had over-run:
Yet was he forced, always from laws to lope:
And trudge from trial, so to 'scape the rope.
Yea more than that. A banish'd man! he served;
Least loved of them, whose thanks he most deserved.'

Gasc. Poems, 517.

[103] He was Philebert of Chalon sur la Saone. His family bore the 'nom de Palatins,' and for two hundred years had been distinguished for 'tres grands, braves, et vaillans personages et capitaines.' Brant. 225. It was his daughter who carried the principality of Orange to the house of Nassau, from which our William III. descended.

[104] When he fell at the siege of Florence, the third great city he attacked, he was but 30 years old. He had been promised by the pope the hand of the well-known Catherine de Medicis. Brant. 230; 226. His death occasioned her to become queen of France; and that dignity gave her the power of marring the progress of the reformation in France.

* This was, 'The Gaul being overcome; the empire increased; the pope besieged; Italy conquered; and Rome taken: This marble retains the ashes of Bourbon.'

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or hesitation. No general could stop the plunder, for which the soldiers had been exhorted to risk their lives. They rushed to that like famished tigers, and as ferociously indulged their passions and their rapacity, as the wildest animals, without their powers of moral sympathy and natural feeling, could have perpetrated. It was in these cruelties, and not in the sonorous uproars of war, that the Spaniards might have truly said that the demons of the infernal world seemed to have assembled. But the Spanish heart was then too congenial with gold, cruelty and pillage, either to perceive or to admit the impressive resemblance. Castillians, and Germans, and all the military adventurers who had joined them, had, on this direful subject, only one pulse, one principle, and one unsparing resolution. A merciless avarice, a sort of gratification from the sufferings and moans of others, and a feverish thirst for human bloodshed, distinguished these now unresisted conquerors, in their quest of booty, revenge and villany.

It was not from scenes of this description that Plato once described man to be "the miracle of all visible miracles." It is not in these actions that we can feel that he is what later conceptions would make him, "the image of God, the impress of the celestial essence, the most faithful copy of the divinity." The comparison of Clemens Alexandrinus suits these transactions better; "a Thessalian centaur;" a human countenance, with the heart and body of a war-horse[105].

[105] For a detail of the excesses and cruelties perpetrated by the imperial troops, after they had taken the city, we refer the reader to L. Guic-

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Their wanton barbarities to the Roman females revolt the sensibilities, not only of the cultivated but of the simplest mind. They must be surrendered by every historian to the indignation of those who read them. Atrocity admits of no palliation, because it is never either necessary or expedient; but it is a needless abuse of Alaric and Attila to place their inhumanities as the most expressive comparison. Every city stormed and sacked by Christian soldiers, from their times almost to our own, has witnessed and mourned what dreadful horrors military rapacity and violence have been eager of themselves, or have been incited and allowed by their officers, fiercely, wilfully and pitilessly to commit. The abominable principle, of deterring other towns from doing their duty, by putting the defenders of the one first taken to the sword, is not even yet extinguished from every military bosom that has the power of command. And while such practices exist, it is a slander on savages, and on the barbaric ages, to make them the disgracing similes of our moral reprobation[106].

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ciardini, in his Sacco. Brantome, vol. 4. p. 264-271. and Fr. Guicc. Hist. l. 18. p. 526. They, and especially Brantome, describe the revolting circumstances of this ferocious sack, which are too disgusting to be repeated here.

[106] It is but justice to Bourbon's memory to add, that if he had survived, even his enemies believed that he would have prevented or mitigated its horrors; for he was 'un capitaine sage, advisé et politique, et avoit l'ame si chretienne qu'il n'eut voulu recevoir aucun reproche.' He would have restricted the soldier to his right of war, which was only to pillage. He had also a desire to become the king of Rome, which would have made him more disposed to have spared its inhabitants. Brant. p. 271.

The prince of Orange did all that he could to re-establish order; but he was too young to have any weight in such a period of inflamed passion. ib. 271. What might be sometimes gained at a sack, we see from that of Antwerp afterwards, where one Spanish soldier, not worth a real before, got 20,000 crowns, which he lost in gaming fifteen days afterwards—an illustration of his native proverb, 'Que el diabolo les avia

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The friends of the Romish church have been fond of mentioning, that the Germans who attacked were Lutherans and heretics[107]. These may have amused themselves with putting on the state dresses of the cardinals and bishops, as sir Francis Drake's seamen clothed themselves in the women's apparel of the towns they took in South America,—an harmless pantomime and pardonable foolery. But to force the prelates to appear in public in the livery of their servants, or in the garb of buffoons, beating them, and compelling them to go in burlesque and profane procession, singing litanies thro the deriding streets, —we can have no hesitation in pronouncing such things " un villain spectacle et scandale[108]." But this was mercy and sport, compared with their profligate cruelties. Yet these excesses had no more connexion with Luther than with Osiris or Apollo; for the Spaniards were unquestionably good Catholics, and hated Luther to the full satiety of all who were so, as they as fervently to do to this day; and yet the same writer, a zealous Romanist, who describes and justly condemns the actions we have noticed, expressly begins his account by declaring that they were committed by the Spanish troops also, as well as by the German lansquenets[109]. Pro-

dado, y el diabolo les avial evado.' ' What the devil gives, the devil soon takes away.' Brant. 269.

[107] Brantome, 264; the historian Guicciardini, p. 54; Bellay, p. 38; Paradin, p. 204; and other foreign writers of the day, make this remark.

[108] Brant. 264, 5.

[109] ' Et les Espagnols encore, aussi bien que les autres.' Brant. 264. What Brantome admits, the Sacco more fully and freely states. p. 186. This authority even implies that the Spaniards set the example, ib. He puts Moors and Jews among them, but calls them as a nation not only libidinosa, but ' sopra altra viziossima,' p. 212, altho such rigid Catholics. So the pope, omitting all mention of the German troops, com-

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fligacy, atrocity, impiety and hard-heartedness, are, unfortunately, yet the common appendages of our perverted and uncorrected nature. Nor have the repeated instances of the unprosperous termination of the lives of their perpetrators[110] availed to extinguish them in any age, in any country, or in any army, or under the influence of any faith, opinion, government or education. They still brand our worldly fame, and often sadden our worldly fortunes; and from mere human satire or tuition, will never be exiled from our degenerated earth[111].

On the same day that the invaders took Rome, the Count Guido arrived near it with his light cavalry and eight hundred arquebussiers, and might have entered its Porta Salara the same evening[112]. Tho all his expedition had failed in coming in time to prevent its capture, yet the imperials were so

plained to Dr. Gardiner only of the cruelty of the Spaniards at Rome.' Stryp. Ann. v. 1. App. p. 70.

[110] Brantome, after remarking that most of these atrocious assailants soon perished elsewhere; a great quantity at the siege of Naples, and the rest at other places, and that their great booty was of little use to any; has the candor also to extend the same observation to the 'Massa creurs, sacquemens et paillards *de la fete de St. Bartholemy*,' of whom he says he knew that at least the principals did not long survive, but were killed at the siege of Rochelle, or in the following campaigns, and were as poor as they had ever been. v. 4. p. 269.

[111] It is but justice to give these so much reviled German Lutherans the benefit of Luigi Guicciardini's candid statement. His work shows that he was a Roman Catholic, and yet he not only describes Rome as then a 'corrupt city, full of abominable vices, and with manners entirely unlike those of its famed antiquity;' but he adds, 'I know that I am going to express a thing which many will perhaps hardly believe: it is, that the Lutheran and German nation, tho it is commonly deemed to be more inhuman, and more hostile to Italian blood, than the Spanish, yet 'questa volta' in this affair, showed itself to be in its nature more benign, less covetous, and more tractable, than the Spanish or the Italian. Many and many Germans checked the impetuosity and military fury of the others; they put their prisoners to less torment; were satisfied with less money, and used much more humanity and discretion to the gentler sex.' Sacco, p. 214.

[112] F. Guicciard. Hist. I. 18. p. 56.

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intent on their pillage, were scattered about in so many houses seeking for booty, were so separated from their officers, and so regardless of any authority, that if he had boldly exerted himself he might have recovered the city, or released the pope, or destroyed the larger part of the assailants[113]. He attempted neither; but, dispirited by the tidings of the capture, withdrew to Otricoli, from an enterprise that would have covered him with glory. From the tardiness of the Venetians in paying the Swiss, the duke of Urbino had not left Florence till the 3d May; the marquis Saluzze preceding him by one day's march. He moved with such gravity, as to be at Cortona only on the 7th; and then, instead of flying to Rome, without letting any minor object divert his attention, he allowed the army to wait to sack and plunder a castle[114] that had refused them a lodging, and had therefore not advanced farther than the bridge at Granacolo on 10th May, where he heard of the fate of Rome, and on the 11th he paused at Orvieto to deliberate on his measures. From this spot, Federigo da Bozzalo advanced with Ugo and the heavy cavalry, supported by Saluzze, towards St. Angelo, to set the pope and his cardinals at liberty by a spirited enterprise. But his horse throwing Federigo, as he was near Rome, " entirely contrary to the safety of the pontiff[115]," so disabled him that he could go no further; and tho Ugo might have achieved the undertaking, yet as the accident caused him to arrive at the castle in daylight instead

[113] The historian remarks, that 'molti credettero that such things might have been effected by a rapid and vigorous onset. p. 56.

[114] F. Guicc. Hist 57 Sacco, 198, where they slew 700 men. ib.

[115] The words of the Sacco, p. 199.

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of the night, as had been planned, he declared their purpose to be frustrated, and retired without attempting to execute it[116]. Urbino lingered again from timorous caution and interested views[117]; and looking rather backwards to secure his retreat, and to be certain of provision, than to any forward movement, he did not reach Nepi till the 22d. The pope, hearing of this advance, suspended his signature to the treaty he was negociating with his captors. Feasible plans of retaking the city or liberating the pope were suggested and settled with Urbino, but he contrived by his hesitation and delay to frustrate all; and the imperialists electing the prince of Orange as their general in chief, and the pope seeing no effectual succor likely to arrive, on 6th June concluded his arrangements with the imperial forces, and surrendered his protecting castle to their power, which the Spanish captain Alarçon, who had so faithfully kept Francis in his bonds, was appointed to command[118]. On the same day, he wrote to Wolsey a letter of complaint on his calamitous situation[119]. It is one of the many remarkable circumstances of this attack on Rome, that Cromwell, who succeeded Wolsey as Henry's chief minister, and mainly subverted the papal power over the English

[116] Guicc. Hist. 58.

[117] He consumed three days more in the petty exploit of driving out Gentili Baglioni from Perugia, to replace him by Orazio Baglioni. Guicc. Hist. p. 58. Sacco, 198.

[118] F. Guicc. Hist. 58–63. The pope agreed to pay to the army 400,000 ducats, and assigned a tax on the state of the church to supply it. He gave up to the emperor St. Angelo, Ostia, Civita Vecchia, Castellana, Placenza, Parma and Modena; but, with thirteen cardinals, was detained in prison till the money should be all paid. ib. 63.

[119] It is in MS. Vitell. B. 9. It begins 'Dilecte File noster! Calamitas nostra nunc a nobis digne evplicare nequeat.' p. 111.

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hierarchy, but was then as remote from the possibility of such an elevation as he was ignorant that it would occur, was one of the adventurers who assisted in this astounding exploit[128].

No event could have more astonished Europe, than the design and execution of such an expedition. That any general or troops should have dared such an outrage, was as extraordinary as that they should so easily have accomplished it. It broke a talisman, it dissolved a spell that could never be constructed again. The enchanted giant vanished for ever: and a feeble mortal, dared, insulted, threatened, opposed and endangered, whenever his temporal masters pleased, or could agree, has only been seen in the Vatican ever since. Before this catastrophe, he knew that he was not the Servus Servorum, which in his bulls he chose in dramatic phraseology and with conscious untruth to style himself, but he has been repeatedly since the servant of kings and emperors; subsisting, like the Turkish sultans in Europe, by their courtesy; for their political expedience, and from their mutual jealousy; unable to break his bondage, resume his sword, or regain his sceptre.

It was on the 28th May, that the first report of this surprising intelligence reached England from Francis; but it came too indistinctly to be much

[128] That Cromwell, going abroad to learn the foreign languages and to see the wars, was a soldier under the duke of Bourbon at the sacking of Rome, is mentioned in Herb. 462. Dugd. Bar. 2. p. 370. Pole's account is, that he had been a 'gregarium militem' in Italy, became afterwards a clerk to a Venetian merchant, to keep his accounts, and, returning to England, mixed with the lawyers in it. Apol. Pol. Ep. v. 1. p. 126. Wolsey noticed and patronised him.

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credited. Five days afterwards the full particulars arrived, to the regret of the king, but not to the dissatisfaction of the populace. Their coarse remarks were, that the pope was a ruffian, and not fit for his station; he had begun the mischief, and he was well served [121]. Wolsey, assuming the aspect of devout horror, ordered prayers in every parish church, and fasting for three days, for the deliverance of the pope. But the abstinence was a political farce, and became a public derision. The priests preached, but did not practise it; and the laity required them to set the example, because it was for the benefit of a priest. The issue was, says the contemporary chronicler, that almost none of either sort restrained themselves [122]. The cardinal made a formal speech to the king, to excite him to arms in the pope's behalf [123], whose moderated answer implied, that his support would be confined to a pecuniary aid [124]. The pontiff continued in St. Angelo, harassed by the rudeness of the soldiers to obtain money, and by their vigilance for his security [125], and wrote himself to Wolsey, declaring that his only hope and comfort lay in the cardinal's influence with Henry,

[121] Hall, 727.

[122] Hall, 728.

[123] Hall has preserved the cardinal's studied address: 'Sir! by the only calling of God you be made defender of the Christian Faith. Now consider in what state the church standeth. See how the head of the church of Rome is in captivity! See how the holy fathers be brought into thraldom, and be without comfort! Now show yourself an aid; defender of the church; and God shall help you.' p. 728.

[124] The king answered, 'My lord! I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell; but where you say that I am defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope, *is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions* and dominions. And now, since Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? My person nor my people cannot rescue him: but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you seemeth most convenient.' Hall, 728.

[125] Hall, 727.

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and in Henry's piety towards him and the church, deprived now of all protection, but his benignity[126]. From this period, a new order of things began in the papal hierarchy. It was the sovereign lion no more. Bourbon was the Hercules that had attacked it in its royal den, and crushed its mighty strength in the most sanctified seat of its power. The throne that had for ages been building up by accident, ambition, necessity, affection, and piety, was shattered for ever by the soldiers, who took the great intellectual Babylon by storm; and who, divesting the papacy from all future temporal power in Europe, annihilated its practice of deposing kings, and of ruling kingdoms; with one permitted exception as to Henry, and with another as to Elizabeth. The prince of Orange and the imperial army continued the depressing ascendancy over it, which Bourbon had created; and when Orange fell, the great soldiers who had been formed in the same school continued its political subordination. Charles never suffered it again to be released from his power, nor to assume its antient independence; and altho, from the astonishing exertions of the new order of Jesuits, which, emerging at this period[127] to missionary activity, exhibited a remarkable combination of ability, en-

[126] It is dated 6th June 1527; printed by Burnet, v. 6. p. 17.

[127] The rise of St. Ignatius Loyola and the origin of the Jesuits are connected with these wars between Charles and Francis. When the French king caused his unexpected invasion of Navarre to be made in 1521 (see before, Chap. X.) a division of his army advanced from Fontarabbia to attack Pampeluna. Ignatius, then a brave and active soldier, brought up in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, was the commander who defended it. Only one cannon shot was fired by the French, but it shattered Loyola's thigh, and he fell from the ramparts to the ground. Disabled, but not killed, his mind, in the long sickness which succeeded, took the direction of religion. Olhagaray Hist. de Foix, p. 482.

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thusiasm, intelligence, craft, ambition, piety and superstition, the popedom obtained for a time a new spiritual empire in Asia and South America, yet its temporary dominion has now fallen, even in those obedient hemispheres; while in Europe, both its influence and its authority have been progressively and irretrievably declining; and from the progress of enlightened reason, and of earnest faith seeking its divine objects unfettered by sacerdotal despotism, or its political machinery, it cannot any where long subsist in the attitude of command, or in any dress or shape that is not countenanced by true philosophy, sound knowledge, and moral rectitude.

The celebrated Vieira, one of his order, thus describes the change: 'The Cids, the Pelayos, the Geryons, the Hercules, who had figured in Spain, roused his spirit to covet an heroic resemblance. Their celebrity stimulated him. Navarre seemed a small point of defence: the Pyrenees but inferior walls: and all France but a petty conquest. He considered that he was a captain, a Spaniard, and had been conquered. Weary with combating thoughts so vast, he called for a book of chivalry to amuse himself, but he could only find a volume of the lives of saints. If it had been what he wished, it would have led him to be a famous knight, but, being what it was, it made him a great saint. Instead of being a cavalier of a flaming sword, he became the saint of a burning torch. At first the contents displeased him, but he became astonished as he read, to find that there was in the world another scene of soldiership quite new and unknown to him before: and he resolved to become one of its most zealous members. He took off his noble collar, he laid down his helmet, he stripped off his armor, and offered up the sword which he had valued above all things as the first tribute of his new feelings on the altar of Montserrat.' Vieira Predica Settima, preached in Lisbon 1669, p. 81, 2. Few associations of men have done more good and more harm than the Jesuits, and perhaps the results of their institution would have been more favorable to mankind if they had steadily adhered to the disinterested principles of their founder, and not made the ambition of political power the inseparable companion of their order.

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CHAP. XIX.

FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN—NEW TREATY WITH FRANCE—THE EMPEROR'S PROCEEDINGS—WOLSEY PROCEEDS ON HIS JOURNEY TO FRANCE.

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WHILE these events were evolving in Italy, and before their deciding results had been anticipated by any one, the English cabinet was pursuing its two-handed negotiations with France and Spain; vainly supposing that each arm was operating with imperceptible secrecy. In the middle of April, after the arrival of the herald, Bluemantle, from his court, the English ambassadors solicited, and at last obtained from the emperor, an interview that was rather argumentative than cordial[1]. Charles had found so little congruity between the language and the conduct of England's state director, that he did not disguise the ill humor he was feeling[2]; and when he found the bishop and Dr. Lee urging him to peace[3],

[1] 'The secretary answered, that between twelve and one that day his majesty would hear us. Upon our coming into his chamber, one of his privy chamber came to us, and said that his majesty was then so occupied, that he desired us to return again on the morrow at the same hour. John Almayne said he was not yet well recovered of his late sickness, and some little fever. We kept our hour, and then had audience.' Dr. Lee's Lett. 17th April. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 99.

[2] On 16th April, the bishop of Worcester thus described the scene: 'Cæsar, in the last colloquy which we had with him, having something strongly on his mind which pressed his majesty, seemed more than usually sad, disturbed, and rough, and would not very willingly hear us, and so consult on his affairs. He seemed to care little for us.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 94.

[3] 'We desired his majesty to come to particulars, that the peace may, without delay, be concluded by his majesty.' MS. ib. p. 93.

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as if he alone were the cause of the continued war, and merely because the allies had failed to make it as disastrous to him as they had projected, his answers became short, dissatisfied, and determined[4]. When the prelate assured him that the allies were desirous to leave all things to Henry's arbitrage, he demanded their authority for the assertion, and denied that it was contained in their instructions[5]. They urged him with an importunity which did not lessen his displeased taciturnity[6]. They recommended him to take the two millions offered by the French king for the redemption of his children; and he sarcastically expressed his surprise, that Wolsey, who had pretended to be his friend, should press him to be content with that sum, when the French government had long since offered, of their own accord, to give him a larger amount[7]. His language became only more peremptory, as he was further solicited by such insincere interposers[8]. When

[4] 'He answered, that he had sufficiently justified himself, and this was known to the world, nor would he say any thing. While we said the confederates had come to particulars, he insisted, and that very often, that these things ought to be disclosed to him; showing himself more ready to hear than to speak.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 94.

[5] 'To which he replied, that we should shew them. When we answered, that it appeared by the 'plenissima mandata,' he said, it was by no means contained in the mandata. Nor could we extort any thing beyond this, although we stated, that it was not customary that this should be inserted in the mandatis, but that it was enough that they were sufficient, and the orator ready to act upon it.' MS. ib.

[6] 'We replied often, that it was in some measure to trifle to speak as he had spoken, and that the mode of proceeding against the Turks must be first settled, and afterwards the peace be concluded. But he persisted in saying, that it would not stand upon him whether peace should be so concluded.' Ib.

[7] 'He said, he wondered that your excellency would shew that in this you acted for him; because the king of France had long since promised to satisfy him beyond that.' MS. ib. 94.

[8] 'He added, that there was no need to attempt to cajole him, be-

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Dr. Lee mentioned the French government's expression of its thanks for Henry's intercession for the release of its king, the emperor admitted it to have been a kind act to Francis, but took care to notice that it had been effected to the detriment of himself, the liberator[9]. On the assurance of Wolsey's friendship to him, and advice to take the two millions for the princes, instead of Burgundy [10], he remarked, that as the former proposal of more than that sum was denied, the contradiction was evidence of his unsafety in trusting to any engagement with the French[11]. He expressed his resolution to have, therefore, more security for any peace than mere treaties[12]. He would insist upon Burgundy no more; but he required some solid certainty for the continuance of the pacific arrange-

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cause he would not be drawn in by two nor by ten millions. He would not declare what he meant by these words.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 94.

[9] 'The king, my uncle, did therein like a good and noble prince: but I, that let him go, have had much business, and much displeasure thereby: albeit, I am well content, as thereby I declared that no impediment of the universal peace, should stand by me.' MS. ib.

[10] He said, 'I am all ready; the French king doing that he ought to do.' I answered, 'Your grace, tendering as much the furtherance of his matters as you would do if they were the king your sovereign lord's, hath given us in commandment to shew to his majesty, that you have some good and firm hope, that in lieu of Burgundy, the French king shall be induced to give two millions of crowns.' MS. ib. p. 99.

[11] 'Hereunto he said, 'The French have offered me more than this afore, and if they make no further grant to my lord cardinal, they offer no more than I have already refused.' Here it being mentioned, 'the French denied that they ever made you any such offer,' the emperor replied, 'this is that thing that putteth me in much fear to meddle with the Frenchmen, for their examples past make me that I cannot trust them.' MS. ib. p. 100.

[12] He said, 'I am afraid the French king will deceive both. I trust well in the king of England, but without any his blame, he may be deceived. I am all ready, and have French examples: wherefore there can be no good peace for me except I be put in good surety.' MS. ib. p. 101.

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ments that should be concluded[13]. He complained of having been misrepresented, and of the French king's deceptions[14]; and at last opened his secret feelings so far as to intimate, that he might adopt measures in defiance of all anathemas, even to depose the pope, who had just granted away, to his prejudice, the Neapolitan kingdom[15]. He pressed it on the consideration of Henry, whether Francis meant to marry his daughter, Mary, in opposition to the treaty of Madrid, which bound him to wed the Spanish Eleanora[16]; and the ambassador hinting Henry's indifference on that subject, and earnest desire of friendship with him[17], Charles ended the conference with a declaration of his reliance in the

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[13] Dr. Lee asking, 'Since your majesty hath declared that you will no more stick upon your demand of Burgundy, what will you demand in lieu thereof?' He replied, 'It is not two millions that can move me herein; ne ten millions; ne money. Surety of continuance of peace is the thing I most desire; and that we may set all our powers against the Turks without fear.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 101.

[14] 'In this behalf I am much annoyed and slandered. The French king hath deceived me so, that I cannot trust his promise.' MS. ib. 101.

[15] The ambassador thus reports this important part of the emperor's conversation; 'The pope on the other side, hath given away my kingdom of Sicily to my vassal, the sieur de Valdemont, and to the same, the governance of Naples; which dealing *may make me not to take him as pope*: no, not for all the excommunications that he can make; for I stand under the appealing to the next general council.' Dr. Lee subjoined, 'He somewhat smiled in this speaking; but yet he seemed therein to be somewhat stirred and moved.' MS. ib. 101.

[16] 'Touching the marriage of my lady princess, he said, 'the king's highness being so wise a prince, may soon perceive whether the French king desireth it for his highness' profit or for his own; and that he doubted not, the king, being a virtuous prince, would well ponder how the thing may stand with good conscience.' MS. ib. 101.

[17] 'And when we said, that in the marriage, his majesty may be well assured that the king's highness will make no haste other than what reason and wisdom will require; and that whether it proceed any further or not, his majesty may assuredly trust, that nothing shall be done in the matter that may in any part be prejudicial to the amity between the king and him—' MS. ib. p. 102.

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king of England's honor[18]. This interview gives us the nearest insight we can have into the views and feelings of the imperial and English courts towards each other, before either received the intelligence of the conquest of Rome, and the humiliation of the pontiff.

In the same month, within less than a fortnight after these friendly declarations, and six days only before Bourbon assaulted Rome, the English government, which was offering itself as the mediator and impartial arbiter between the French and Spanish kings, signed a treaty of perpetual peace with the former, not only renouncing, as it might do without offence to any other power, all pretensions of England to the crown of France, on payment to the successors of Henry an annuity of fifty thousand crowns, and to himself fifteen thousand; but also binding itself to unite with Francis in demanding his two sons from the emperor, for the ransom of two millions of crowns of gold; and in case Charles should refuse this offer, to make war upon him, in conjunction with the French king, in the ensuing July[19]. Could the emperor compare this hostile treaty of the 30th April with Dr. Lee's commissioned language, but two weeks before, and ever again trust the sincerity of any English cabinet over which Wolsey presided? Could he exculpate Henry? Only, by the supposition of that infatuation which all Europe perceived, and which subjected him to

[18] 'He thanked the king much highly thereof; saying, that evermore he hath had this confidence in the king, his good uncle.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 102.

[19] See the treaty in Rymer, Fed. v. 14. p. 218.

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the cardinal, as a child to its nurse: and one of whose arts of influencing him seems to have been that of suggesting, unperceived to his sovereign, the ideas he wished him to adopt, and to receive them back as Henry's own conceptions and recondite policy, with high panegyric on the wisdom of the king's thoughts[20]. But Wolsey found it a difficult task to induce Henry to assume hostilities against Charles. To second his endeavors, the bishop of Tarbes had come from France to England in March, to urge Henry into the war[21]; but tho Wolsey supported his suit, nothing further was done than the treaty of April. On 22d May, secret intelligence of the events at Rome having reached the French court, the same prelate came again to London, with stronger hopes of success[22]; and so far prevailed, in the angry moment, when Henry first heard, in all their exaggeration, of the military outrages on the pope and his people, which were

[20] As a specimen of the adroitness of the cardinal, and of the complimentary dexterity and affected humility of his correspondence with his sovereign, the following may be adduced:—'Whereas your grace not only desires me maturely to debate and to consider what is best to be done therein, but also to advise your grace with diligence of my poor advice and opinion upon the same.' - - -

'Sir! when I consider what providing foresight, as well for the conservation of your navy from dangers, as the princely zeal that ye bear to preserve your subjects from loss of their goods, with the substantial regard that ye take to your honor and surety, in considering beforehand the dangers and damages that in this suspect time may ensue to your highness, your said realm and subjects; it was unto my singular reviving consolation and comfort.' - - -

'Hereby, I evidently perceive that no man can more groundly consider the politic governance of your said realm, nor more assuredly look to the preservation thereof, than ye yourself; and, therefore, tho your grace, of your goodness, require my poor advice, yet well assured I am, that you may better provide remedies for the same, than I can imagine or devise. Nevertheless to accomplish your pleasure and commandment, I shall declare my poor opinion.' MS. Galba. B. 7. p. 49, 50.

[21] Hall, 725. [22] Ib.

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immediately imputed by the interested parties, to the emperor's express command, that another hasty engagement was made on the 29th of May, by which Francis was to march immediately into Italy with thirty thousand men, and the English army at the same time was to invade the emperor's Low Countries[23].

But the first treaty was sufficient to rouse the indignation of the court of Spain; and the English ambassador, who seems to have been left ignorant of it, transmitted to Wolsey the account of its remonstrances on that subject, when he visited its state secretary, whose information shows, that what the cardinal did, after news arrived of the capture of Rome, he had determined upon before—especially his own embassy to France, and a herald's declaration of war against Charles[24]. The ambassador,

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[23] Notes to Bellay's Mem. p. 319. The emperor twice asserted to the English ambassadors in Spain, that the French king, who had the earliest account of the events at Rome, had sent them to Henry *painted* for his own purposes, to stimulate the English king against the emperor. Dr. Lee's cipher passage on his letter of 28th June, thus notices it:—'He (Charles) showed us by his letters, that after the news of Italy came to the knowlege of the French king, he forthwith sent them to his grace, painted after another sort. He meant against himself: which words he spake smiling, desiring us to keep the secret, because he heard it out of France.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 156.

[24] On 5th June, Dr. Lee wrote to the cardinal, 'I visited John Almayne. He asked me what news? I said, None, but what he knew of.' 'Have you none other?' answered he, 'I can no longer forbear;' and therewith drew out of his bosom a paper folded together, not sealed, wherein was written in Italian, news drawn out of a letter, which, he said, came to him by means of Frenchmen. Herein was comprised, that the 5th May was solemnly published in England, a new league offensive and defensive between the king's highness and the French king; and that it is agreed that an army of 30,000 men shall be sent into Italy, whereof the king must find 10,000: and that your grace would shortly pass over to speak with the French king; that place was left for the emperor to come in to it; and if he did not, the herald that was

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astonished at news so contrary to his own instructions, had no resort but to assert its falsehood [25]. He reminded the Spanish minister, that the emperor had been assured that no treaties with France should produce hostility to him [26]. When told that Wolsey would not hear the emperor's explanations, he could only declare it to be unworthy of belief [27]—the most expressive sarcasm on the double-faced cardinal that he could have uttered! But this seems to have been, in some respects, an honest English ambassador, for in the same dispatch he adds his own earnest exhortations to Wolsey, not to plunge England into a war with Charles [28]. The issue of

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coming with two ambassadors, should denounce to the emperor war on the king's behalf.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 126.

[25] 'I made answer, As to the 10,000 men into Italy, I never could nor would believe it. He oweth neither the king good heart, nor the emperor, that wrote it; and that I doubt not it shall be evident default in the emperor, if the king do break with him.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 126.

[26] 'I made answer, that of (as to) the league, the emperor was advised that it should not be prejudicial to him.' MS. ib. 126. I consider this to allude to the singular assurance he had been ordered to give the emperor on this subject, which was mentioned before.

[27] 'So he might,' said he (the secretary), 'but my lord cardinal would not hear him, but told him that they would send ambassadors to the emperor; and further would give him no audience.' I said, it is not credible that your grace, who hath so fervently and instantly commanded me to sue to the emperor on your behalf, to incline to the peace, and to send him sufficiently his whole mind, would not give ears to the report of the emperor's determination when it arrived there.' MS. ib. 127.

[28] He put this in cipher, 'My nature of allegiance, and my oath thereupon, constraineth me to utter my poor mind for my discharge towards God and the king's grace: for altho I have no certainty, yet I have some conjecture that such thing is on foot. But many things, as my poor wit judgeth, should withdraw the king's grace from war with the emperor. The first is, the consideration that he so facilly delivered the French king from prison, at the king's (Henry's) instance; for, when the emperor, with his council, was determined to see Burgundy delivered in hand, ere they would deliver him out of prison, yet after he had heard by me the king's request in this behalf, he forthwith mitigated his rigor; and only upon trust of the French king's promise, condescended to put him to liberty.' He added six other reasons. MS. ib. 128.

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these conferences was, that the emperor agreed to submit all things to Henry's consideration.

The intelligence of the capture of Rome and of the pope was, from the position of Spain, whose news overland could enter it only thro France, nearly a month in reaching the Spanish court, and then it came in varying and distorted shapes, some accounts killing the pope as well as Bourbon, and others making the duke alive and besieging him [29]. But Henry had now become alarmed at the emperor's predominating power, and interested for the lamenting, soliciting, and humbled pontiff. On 18th June a power was granted to Wolsey to proceed to France, on a special embassy, whose avowed objects were to treat with its government, with the Venetians, and with the pope for the relief of the latter [30]; and sir Francis Poyntz was sent as a new ambassador to Charles, to co-operate with the bishop of Tarbes from France, in demanding his acceptance of their terms, or in denouncing warfare if they were rejected [31]. The emperor was not satisfied with their propositions [32], but, after hearing both ambassadors, dismissed his countenance of displeasure, and

[29] It was on 5th June, that Dr. Lee heard and sent these to England. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 133–7.

[30] See it in Rymer, v. 14. p. 199.

[31] See the dispatch of Poyntz, in MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 146, where he details his audience with the emperor on the 4th July. The terms proposed were, two millions for the children; Francis to give up his claim to Naples for the emperor's life, and for a pension; and also his feudal supremacy over Artois and Flanders; and that duke Sforza should have Milan, paying the emperor 'an honest and convenient pension.' MS. ib.

[32] His answers were, 'that the two millions had been offered before. The offer of Naples he accounted no great thing, seeing that the French king had given afore his title to Monsieur Valdemont; on Milan, he never had other mind.' MS. ib. 147.

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relaxed occasionally into a jocularity, with remarks that darted some deliberate and mild irony amid his apparent good humor [33]. He expressed his resolution to deliberate further with his cabinet. His secretary, two days afterwards, indicated his desire, in conjunction with the chancellor, to confer separately with the English embassy. Dr. Lees, to remove all suspicion of secret practices from the French mind, communicated this intimation to Tarbes, who desired them to hear what was meant, but to conclude nothing without his participation [34]. This conference took place on 9th July, when the imperial chancellor hinted, that he thought they must have larger offers in reserve. Being assured that Henry and the cardinal deemed these to be sufficiently reasonable, the English envoy was astonished and baffled at being told that the French government had been secretly and apart, by private agents, proposing more advantageous conditions [35]. This disclosure, that Francis, while professing to treat only in unison with England, openly, by regular ambassadors, was employing his own inferior but more confidential persons to gain his ends as

[33] 'Many words the French ambassador had, but of small effect. He well kept himself in good moderation and temperance in all his purposes. The emperor, for his part, all lowering and heavy countenance set apart, was content sometimes to jest with Mr. Tarbes; sometimes smiling, sometimes laughing; yet to mingle weighty and serious words, not without sting, and yet with all gentleness and propension to give good audience.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 147.

[34] MS. ib. 147–8.

[35] M. de Pradt replied, 'The French king hath made us better offers by others, and by some of no great degree; naming a secretary sent to Granada, called Comarce.' We answered, 'The Frenchmen done all this!' They offered themselves to prove it; and so we departed.' MS. ib. p 148.

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it should most suit him, is but another instance that Machiavel was only delineating from existing scenery and living business what he appeared with a contemptuous tuition to inculcate.

That the emperor's mind had caught the knavish epidemy of his day, it would be absurd to doubt. The general use of a poisoned weapon induces others to think it necessary, or deters them from laying it aside till some nobler spirits arise to prove that manlier courage and skill will always have the moral superiority and the ultimate success. Hence, when Wolsey's letters of 27th June reached the English envoys, ordering them to make strong representations to the emperor "touching the outrageous dealings of his people at Rome, and specially for the captivity of the pope's person[36]," his majesty signified his regret that these events had occurred, and denying the pope to be in his custody or in his general's power, professed, what abundant circumstances prove to have been verbal simulation, earnest professions of humility and submission to the pope[37]. But whatever he felt at this military triumph, and whatever foresight he had or had not of its vast political consequences to the future power of the papacy, he acted his unapproving character so well,

[36] MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 148.

[37] Dr. Lee states, 'So lamenting the thing, we gave occasion to his majesty to say his mind herein. Whom, in words, we found nothing glad of the things of Rome; but rather declared himself to be sorry for them. As touching the pope, he said that he neither is prisoner in his hands, nor in his captain's hands; but, that the confusion which now is among the soldiers, being out of awe or rule, constraineth his holiness to remain in Castle Angelo, and that he would declare to all the world, that he was a Christian prince, and *most humble child* of the church, and of his holiness; which his holiness should well know; with many other od words.' MS. ib.

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that both the English diplomatists[38], and the nuncio, believed him[39], and the public saw that all demonstrations of exultation were carefully suppressed[40]. But the throne of Charles was then, as that of his successors is to this day, in secret bondage to the Spanish hierarchy; and his Italian army was so far self-willed and refractory as to give a plausible color to the assurance, that they also were, on this point, his ungovernable masters. He caused his astonishment to be again signified to the English embassy, that instead of their conjunction with France being serviceable to him as Wolsey had implied it was meant to be, the French government "did now offer conditions much more slender than at any time before, whereas he thought to have some advantage by the king's mediation[41]." Being desired at a future audience to inform the English court of "his uttermost resolution," he declared his conviction that the power of France ought to be diminished; and suggested the benefit of forcing from it Burgundy for himself, and Boulogne for Henry[42]. Finding these ideas discouraged, and

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[38] 'We thought also, that he spoke these words very heartily and unfeignedly.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 148.

[39] 'As not only we thought, but also the nuncio in manner avoweth, that the emperor herein meaneth good faith.' ib. 148.

[40] 'We also see, that all preparations of triumph which were busily in hand afore the reading of these news, were forthwith by the emperor's command laid down.' ib. 148.

[41] MS. ib. 149.

[42] After he had made insinuations that he would utter conditions that should be fat enough, meaning that he would ask more than he would at length covet to have, he said what is put in cipher, 'the French king is such, that neither the king my uncle, nor I, may trust to him. He will never sit still until his feathers be pulled, or that Charles should have Burgundy, and Henry some other thing in France; and being thus pulled, peradventure he might sit still and be somewhat trusted. Among

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the pope's relief demanded, he denied his ability to effect it, but repeated, as before, his duteous feelings to the pontifical see[43]. So little was the correct news of the events at Rome known in Spain, even in the middle of June, that the Spanish minister affirmed, that the emperor did not then know for certain that the duke of Bourbon was dead[44]. On the 25th of June the full detail having been communicated, Charles sent for the English ambassadors, and made to them a solemn disavowal of his own participation in what had taken place[45]. He lamented the military excesses, but took care to imply a greater regret for the disrespect shown to

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this, the emperor uttered, that he had heard somewhat that the king's grace shall have Boulogne; whereof he would be right glad.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 151.

[43] He mentioned, 'that in his last letters, it appeareth that all the captains be in the soldiers hands, and that if he were there himself, it could be none other. He feared that he must be in their hands; but still, he said, he doubted not that the pope's holiness should be satisfied to his contentment, and that he, the emperor, would show himself a Christian prince, and a *most obedient child* of the church, and of his holiness.' He added, 'they shall see that I am not as I am painted, and that I shall give his holiness cause to be contented.' MS. ib. 152.

[44] On 16th June 1527, Lee wrote from Valladolid, 'Some say the duke of Bourbon is dead. John Almayne saith, the emperor knoweth nothing that he is dead.' MS. ib. p. 154. But on 25th June, the emperor sent for them, 'to show the certain, as certain; the other, as they be.' He then produced the letters from the prince of Orange, dated 14th May, describing the attack, and the success. ib. 155.

[45] 'Avowing (says their dispatch of 27th June,) with his hand often laid upon his breast, that these things were done, not only without any commission given by him, but also against his will, and that to his much displeasure and sorrow. He well knoweth by oath taken of one that was with M. Bourbon, that the said Bourbon was constrained to take his journey to Rome, which he could not avoid, the host being so obstinately determined thereto, because they lacked money. Here, because it might be said to his majesty, why do you maintain if you be not able to pay them, he said this was per force of them that have compelled him to his defence, for that he hath been always desirous of peace, and glad of any reasonable conditions, and hath always sought the pope's good will and peace with him, but could never attain to this thing.' MS. ib. 155.

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the pontiff[46]. It is clear from such expressions that he felt it expedient to have the pope's future friendship and utilities, tho he secretly desired such a reduction both of his temporal and ecclesiastical power as would keep the tiara in due subordination to the imperial and kingly crown. He wished a pope diminished into a mufti.

Altho the English embassy gave further indications that Francis was privately negociating for his own interests quite distinct from England, from the disclosures of the imperial ministers[47], and from the sudden coming of an observantine friar, for diplomatic objects[48]; and altho it was also taking care of Wolsey's pensions from Spain[49]; yet the cardinal,

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[46] 'Often he repeated that the things of Rome were much displeasant to him; and that altho he had sorrow at the death of the duke of Bourbon, and so much man slaughter, and that some of his subjects and servants, besides the horrible and heinous things done against the city to which he pretendeth title, yet, he *much more* sorrowed that they had so little regard to the pope's person, and the contempt done to the cardinals.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 155.

[47] Dr. Lee wrote to Wolsey, 'I call to my remembrance the words of M. de Pradt and J. Almayne, that they well know, that if the French king might once break the old knot between the king's highness and the emperor, then he would, at his own hand, make his peace with the emperor; and that it was always *against* the French king's mind that the peace should be intreated in England; and that the French king provoked the emperor to join with him to take Calais from the king's grace.' MS. ib. p. 156.

[48] 'He then is come. Ave Maria, the observant; a great practiser in business of princesses, whom I have seen with the king's grace. To ensearch whereabout he went, My lord Worcester and I heard mass at the observants, and there I first saluted him, and appointed the next morrow we should all dine together at my house. He told us that he was sent from the French king to the emperor, to entreat the peace, and for the pledges. Further, specially, he showed us none. Your grace's high wisdom shall better ponder what this secret practice meaneth than I can.' MS. ib. p. 156.

[49] On 14th July, Dr. Lee wrote to Wolsey, 'to advertise your grace how the thing standeth touching your pensions. This troublous time at Rome keepeth from us an answer of such letters as we sent to his holiness from the emperor, in declaration of such pension assigned by

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on the 3d of July, began his stately and mysterious embassy to the court of France[50]. As it was really his arm and soul that wielded the military power of England, the two great rivals in Europe were emulous to discover a bribe that would be large enough to affect him, who was so notable a prototype of Spenser's lady Munera—

'With golden hands and feet of silver dye.' iii. p. 179.

The emperor's cabinet had found out that Francis had speculated on throwing off the yoke of the pope, and of establishing a new papacy, limited to France, and had talked of proposing to Wolsey to be this revolutionary pope, or its dignified patriarch[51]. To countermine this project, the imperial minister suggested to the English envoy, that the English cardinal had once desired a legantine power over Lower Germany, and that he might now obtain it, or its patriarchate instead[52]. These ideas are evidence to

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him to your grace in Toledo. Before the bull thereof cometh, the archbishop can be induced to no payment. Palencia hath paid all, saving for Midsummer last past. When the time is passed, we shall call on him withal diligence.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 159.

[50] It was reported that he carried with him 1,200,000 pounds. Hall, 728. He landed at Calais '16 barrels all full of gold, which were delivered to the captain of the castle in charge.' ib. 729. The ambassadors joined with him were, Tunstall, bishop of London; Sandes, lord chamberlain; the earl of Derby; sir Henry Guildford, and sir Thomas More. ib.

[51] Dr. Lee, on 14th July, informed Wolsey, 'in the letters shewed us by M. de Buclans, from the emperor, was written in terms, (he pnts it in cipher,) the French king would offer to your grace the papality of France, vel patriarchatum; for the Frenchmen would no longer obey the church of Rome.' MS. ib. 159.

[52] 'The same morning afore I saw these letters, and now I perceive by this occasion, M. de Buclans said to me, 'My lord cardinal's grace once desired to have the legatie per inferiorem Germaniam: if his grace will have it now, sive patriachatum, I doubt not he shall have it. He willed me to write this. I replied, that I doubt not but your grace will

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us that veneration for the popedom was at a lower ebb in the minds of the great sovereigns of Europe than in that of Henry. That Wolsey was laboring to convert the pope's embarrassed situation into an enlargement of his own political and ecclesiastical power, we have the additional evidence of Guicciardini [53], and of his own treaty at Amiens [54].

Urged again by the intimations of hostilities from England if the war continued, the emperor agreed in consequence of its interference, to ask for Burgundy no more, and not "to stick to the treaty of Madrid [55]." Objecting to grant the Milanese to Sforza, as that would be yielding it virtually to France; his minister proposed to give it to the duke of Richmond, Henry's natural son, with the Portuguese princess for his wife [56]. This was mentioned again with four hundred thousand ducats for her portion [57]. In the meantime the bishop of Tarbes had his secret communications with the imperial cabinet, and especially with the lady Eleanora [58]. The public and private negociations floated on in

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little esteem the thing. Notwithstanding, I thought it convenient to write it, that your grace may perceive how phantasies run.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 160.

[53] He mentions, that Wolsey had sent the protonotario Gambero, to persuade the pope to appoint him the universal vicar of the papacy in France, England and Germany. L. 18. p. 78.

[54] It was an article of one, dated 19th August 1527, that he should be the vicar general of all the English dominions. Le Grand, 1. p. 57. Hall says, the pope sent him a bull to this effect while he was in France. p. 782.

[55] Lett. of sir F. Poyntz, of 18th July. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 163.

[56] Ib. p. 168. [57] Ib. p. 172.

[58] The dispatch of 22d July states, that tho 'Tarbes hath said he durst not visit madame Eleanora for fear of us, yet notwithstanding this, he hath confessed to us, that without our knowledge or consent, he hath been with her. De Buclans said he has been with her three times, and evermore at 10 o'clock at night.' MS. ib. 174.

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these undecided and varying currents, and on the 22d July, the Spanish court became apprized that Wolsey had actually arrived in France [59].

It was in the spring of 1527 that Wolsey had projected this journey, and as its private object immediately concerned the throne, he was permitted, to his own delight, to give his embassy as much royal state and splendour as a subject could warrantably assume. His plan and preparations being completed, the bishop of Bath and sir Anthony Brown, the English ambassadors at Paris, on 1st July apprized the French court at St. Denys, that the cardinal was setting out on his journey. The lady regent instantly made it a previous point, that Wolsey should not enter France further than Amiens. Whatever was her motive for this limitation of his advance, she gave it the mask of civility, by adding, that the king her son was recovered sufficiently of his fever to meet him in that city; and tho the envoys suggested that Wolsey would be glad to travel more onward himself, instead of putting Francis to any peril or inconvenience, she assured them there was no such danger, and kept firm to her resolution that the cardinal's state exhibition should be circumscribed to Amiens; a boundary that, withholding him from the stare and expected acclamations of the Parisians and the rest of France, could not be a welcomed restriction to his craving vanity. She suggested, in coincidence with her national politics, and as a stimulus to the determinations of the English government, that Christian princes could not, con-

[59]. See letter of this date. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 478.

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sistently with their honor, suffer their ecclesistical head to be kept in servitude and captivity—that no cause could authorize any prince of his own authority to put the pope to ransom, or to keep him a prisoner; and "that princes should withdraw their obedience from a pope being in captivity[60];" a dangerous suggestion to the papacy, which Wolsey did not forget.

On 3d July, Wolsey began his journey, with one thousand two hundred lords and gentlemen on horseback[61], passing thro London three in a rank, in black velvet livery coats, and most of them with great chains of gold about their necks. All his own yeomen, and the servants of the others, followed in tawny livery. His twenty sumpter mules, with the cash and carriages of his train, preceded, guarded by a great number of bowmen and spears. His scarlet cloak bag, embroidered richly with cloth of gold, was carried by a gentleman, separately, and his mace by another, both bare headed. Two uncovered priests followed with his seals and venerated hat, and two more with his great silver pillars. The bearers of his two large crosses of silver rode immediately before him, who was seen in a cardinal's most sumptuous attire, with gilt stirrups on his mule, whose trappings were crimson velvet[62]. Harbingers passed on before him, to announce his coming, and provide for his train; and at Canterbury he had a litany to the virgin sung by the monks, for the pope, while he chose to kneel at the

[60] It is printed in this letter. Strype's Eccl. Mem. v. 1. p. 45–7. App.
[61] Hall, 728.
[62] Cavend. 1. p. 86, 87.

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door on cushions, weeping "very tenderly for heaviness that the pope was at that present in such calamity and great danger of the lance knights[63]." He landed at Calais on 11th July, and announced himself to have been appointed the king's lieutenant general, thus adding military dignity to his ecclesiastical state[64]. As he moved from that town, all the knights and soldiery who carried spears at Calais, Guines, and Hammes, attended upon him, in black velvet, with massy chains of gold. This was his travelling costume; and his train occupied nearly a mile of the road in its length of parade[65]. His own space, not a thousandth part of it—the rest, the retinue of his ostentation. He chose to be publicly incensed, like a pagod, before he entered Calais. In the lantern gate, carpets and cushions were placed for him, on which he kneeled and made his prayers in the open air, and there he was "censed with two great censors of silver, and sprinkled with holy water, before all the worshipfullest persons in the town, who received him in most solemn wise[66]." From this proud mockery of things sacred, he rose up, and with all the assembly singing before him, passed on to St. Mary's church, where "turning himself to the people, he gave them his benediction and clear remission[67]." He displayed the same assuming arrogance of spirit when at church, after-

[63] Cavend. p. 88. [64] Ib. p. 90.

[65] Ib. p. 100. Mr. Singer has given an interesting print of the cardinal and his suite on their progress, from a MS. of M. Douce, p. 86.

[66] Cavend. p. 89.

[67] Ib. Francis had granted him letters patent to pardon crimes in France, and to open the prisons in all the places he should pass thro. See them in Rymer, p. 202.

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wards, with the king of France at Amiens, in causing his own rich seat to be placed three steps higher than that of the sovereign of the country whom he was visiting[68].

Our ancient world may have had lizards as large as elephants; and mammoths and mastadons that would realize some of Swift's Brobdignagian imaginations. When nature presents us with such prodigies, we contemplate them with astonishment and awe, as the magnificent workmanship of the illimitable Creator. But when a puny fellow creature, like ourselves, no greater by birth, and no grander by merit, attempts, thro accumulated stage show, to out-stretch both his equals and his superiors, we feel that it is neither moral substance nor intellectual magnitude, and dislike the pompous trifler who is fruitlessly striving, by undue self protrusion, to compel our dread or to extort our admiration[69]. But as this was the most arrogant exhibition of Wolsey's personal state, so it was the last. The worm was at this moment beginning to corrode the root of all his greatness while he was busy in extending its soaring ramifications. Never did any one want more than did Wolsey at this juncture that French king's counsellor, who, being asked by his sovereign, as he was retiring from the court, to leave him some general rules for the best government of his kingdom, took a paper and wrote,

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[68] Cav. p. 103.

[69] His friend Cavendish, who has described his last scenes with so much kindness, yet could not close them without remarking, 'I assure you, in the time of his authority and glory, he was *the haughtiest* man in all his proceedings that then lived.' 1. p. 325.

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on its top, "Moderation"—in the middle, "Moderation"—and at the bottom, the same emphatic, wise, and friendly admonition.

From Calais he passed thro Boulogne[70] and Montreal[71], with a day's short rest at each till he reached Abbeville[72]; but here he wasted almost a fortnight. Francis made no rapid movement towards him, and he had been himself proscribed from seeking the French sovereign. He went at last to Picquigny Castle, about six miles from Amiens[73], and the first persons of the royal court who approached the appointed place of interview were Louisa the regent, and her daughter Margaret, now the wife of the king of the contested and subordinate province of Navarre[74]. It was not till the third day of August that Francis came to Amiens, and Wolsey on the next day proceeded from Picquigny to meet him[75]; but Francis unexpectedly advancing from the town towards him before he had put on that state dress in which he chose to be seen by the king, he dismounted hastily into a little chapel by the road side, to decorate himself in richer apparel, and to mount a new mule, superbly trapped in velvet, pearled with gold, with deep golden fringes, silver stirrups, and gold-embossed bridle, making his appearance a gor-

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[70] Cav. 93. He left Calais 22d July. Hall, p. 729.

[71] Cav. 95. At Boulogne, a pageant was set up, representing him as a cardinal pulling down the emperor, and setting up the pope. Hall, 729.

[72] Cav. 96.

[73] Cav. 97. The English ambassadors at the Spanish court were there informed, and wrote to Wolsey on 22d July, 'the French king maketh all the delays possible not to meet with your grace, afore he has word from M. de Tarbes; for he would fain do somewhat with the emperor before he came.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 178.

[74] Cav. 98.

[75] Hall, 729.

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geous display of glittering splendor[76]. A fortnight's evening festivity and daily business concluded the public negotiations at Amiens, in which only the co-ambassadors of Wolsey participated; and on 18th August that treaty of federation was signed, the contents of which were not withheld from the political world[77]. The most important of these conventions was, another treaty, by which the two governments declared that the pope, while a prisoner, could convoke no general councils; that all bulls and briefs he might issue during his captivity should be deemed null, if to the prejudice of either of the sovereigns, or of Wolsey's legation; that Wolsey might assemble the English clergy, and with the bishops regulate all ecclesiastical affairs in the dominions of England; and that the pontiff should be requested to appoint the cardinal his vicar-general in all the countries held under the English crown[78]. Having concluded these arrangements, on which no secrecy was deemed necessary, the diplomatic conferences at Amiens closed, and Wolsey, on 2d September[79] proceeded, with Louisa and Francis, to Compiegne, a town twenty miles distance from the

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[76] Cav. p. 100.

[77] Its chief stipulations were, that the duke of Orleans should marry Mary, but no time was fixed. If these nuptials should not take place, yet the treaties of August 1525, and 30th April 1526, should continue in force. It postponed, for an indefinite period, the meeting between Francis and Henry at Calais. It settled the sums to be paid by Henry towards the war. Francis was to be at liberty to marry Eleanora. Rymer, 14. p. 202. See it also in Herbert, and Le Grand, 1. p. 55–7.

[78] 14 Rym. 212. The French church was to be governed in an analogous manner.

[79] Le Grand, 1. p. 57. Our next chapter will contain some important facts, from new documents, on Wolsey's journey to Amiens, and his objects in it.

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CHAP. XIX.

other, to discuss the more private transaction which had mainly brought him into France.

While Wolsey had been embarking for Calais, Henry on 10th July wrote to cardinal Cibo, from Windsor, expressing a strong sympathy for the pope on his imprisonment, with great indignation against those who were confining him; announcing the mission of Wolsey to Francis, and inviting the cardinal and his coadjutors to meet the English minister, and consult on the measures most likely to effect the pontiff's liberation[80]. But however warmly the feelings of the English king were expressed, or were really interested for the pope, an equal congeniality with them was not displayed by Francis, either to Clement or to Henry; he continued his secret practices with the emperor notwithstanding Wolsey's presence and negotiations; and the Spanish court, in order to lessen an amity that was dangerous to its power, made no scruple of intimating them to the English embassy, nor of asserting that Francis wished to arrange with the emperor without England's intervention[81], and therefore cautioned Wolsey not to be misled by any pretence of a contrary nature[82]. The emperor gave his public answer to the English embassy, on the terms he required from

[80] Lett. de Princ. v. 2. p. 232.

[81] 'On 22d July, Dr. Lee stated, that a Spanish minister had informed him, that Francis 'would open him all ways of peace, so that he might have less to do with the Englishman.' He said plainly to me, 'they will forsake you if we would;' which I could not believe.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 178. On 31st July, Lee apprized his court, that Francis was still privately practising with the emperor. ib. p. 184.

[82] In the end he said, 'the emperor desireth you to write to my lord cardinal, that for no cause that the French may pretend with him, he would leave to do his things for his best purpose and furtherance, that he possibly may for the king.' MS. ib. 178.

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France before he liberated its princes[83]; and in August addressed an official letter to Henry, charging Clement with having rekindled war in christendom; with leaguing with Francis on his release, to expel the imperial forces from Italy and Naples; and with breaking the truce that Moncado had made. The attack on Rome was imputed to the soldiers resisting the will of their captains, and still more "to the equitable judgment of heaven for its offences;" and the advice and aid of the English government were requested to repair the evils which christianity was enduring[84].

The English envoy solicited Charles to send an ambassador to join Wolsey in the conferences at Amiens[85]. It was important to Wolsey's secret object to have a Spanish minister there with whom he might pursue his confidential communications. It was as obviously the imperial policy to defeat his meditations, and therefore to withhold this mode of facilitating them. Tho the cardinal remained above two months in France, no Spanish agent appeared; yet as far as his public negotiations went, it is observable that they did not pledge Henry into any immediate or active warfare against the emperor: and Wolsey took care to assure his ambassador in

[83] See it in Rymer, v. 14. p. 199–201.

[84] Lett. Princ. v. 2. p. 234.

[85] Dr. Lee suggested this to the secretary, on the 15th Aug. Vesp. C. 4. p. 189; and again to the emperor himself, more earnestly, a few days afterwards, as he thus mentioned to Wolsey, 'We, on the behalf and in the name of your grace, most humbly besought his majesty, to be now content to send to your grace unto France one of his council, a man of experience, with his most ample instructions, and *most secret, profound,* and full resolution; alleging, that your grace could not long tarry for the great train which you have.' The answer of Charles was, 'I pray you have patience.' MS. ib. 190.

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France that he meant them to be favorable to him[86]. Could he suppose that the penetrating French cabinet were insensible of this tendency? Whoever seeks to cajole two contending parties into a belief that he is befriending the one against the other, will find that he is deceiving only himself by attempting a fraudulent impossibility. Each detects the inconsistent hypocrite, and trusts his sincerity no more. It was in the spirit of supporting this double character, that Wolsey contrived the English embassy at Valladolid, and his own communication thro it with the emperor. Even so late as the 13th October, he directed assurance to be made in his name of his great desire to be of service to the imperial sovereign[87], who had too often been deluded with the cardinal's verbal rhetoric, and too often, as now, had detected its contradiction with his conduct, to be again misled, or to conceal the inefficacy on his mind, of such light-winged flutterers[88]. It is but justice to remark, that the French king was fully Wolsey's rival in this two-faced diplomacy: while

[86] Dr. Lee states, that the Spanish secretary of state, on 23d August, shewed him, 'that their ambassador, resident in France, had written to the emperor, that *your grace called him and shewed him*, how you had with the French king, with madame and M. de Alençon extremely labored, usque ad sanguinem, to obtain such conditions as *might satisfy his majesty*, and that you have induced them to good points, such as the French king will not pass.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 189.

[87] On 24th October, Dr. Lee wrote from Burgos, that the bishop of Worcester had arrived there on the 13th. 'At his first coming to the emperor's person, among other words of commendation and declaration of the king and your grace's good mind to advance the peace, and of your grace's *special propension to do any thing* wherein you might do service to his majesty.' MS. ib. p. 208.

[88] 'He murmured that he understood that the king did help against him with money, and that he could not believe it, and that your grace had something written in defringement of his honor, with other words we could not well perceive.' MS. ib. p. 208.

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he negotiated in apparent frankness with England on one side of the Pyrennees, he was sedulously acting on the other to set the emperor's mind against it by his private communications to his expectant queen, the favoring Eleanora[89]. What could be gained by such duplicity, which, as each side was practising, each suspected and discerned, and which therefore never deluded the mutual deceivers? It only made the greatness that used it a dreaded and disliked, tho a resplendent spectacle; like the ice rock, which sparkling with gaudy colors from the sunbeams that surround it, yet is soon regarded with aversion for its cheerless, alarming, and destructive power[90].

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[89] Dr. Lee added of Charles, 'he was much altered, which we well perceive was by reason of two letters, one from the king, (of France), another from the chancellor, which the orator of France shewed to the lady Eleanora, *leaving them* in her hands.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 208. Of course for her to show her brother.

[90] If any part of modern history can make us disgusted with dissimulation and duplicity, it must be the statesmanship and diplomacy of the first portion of the sixteenth century. Antient history, with all the imputed falsity and perfidiousness of the 'Grecia mendax,' presents no adequate parallel to the cabinet transactions of that period in Italy, France, Spain, and even England, while under Wolsey's administration. But our country soon recompensed the world for his errors by presenting, in the latter part of the same age, far superior models of the sagacious statesman; honorable, active, firm, perspicacious, and disinterested, with a great diminution of trick, faithlessness, and hypocrisy, in sir Francis Walsingham and lord Burleigh. That they should have been perfect in such an imperfect age would have been more than human nature, without a succession of miracles, could have educed. But that they darted, like their country, into an improvement of moral, political, and intellectual character, much beyond their contemporary ministers, and left examples which benefited the tact, and taste, and habits of the cabinets of Europe, will not be denied by those who study impartially the diplomatic writings and actions which preceded, accompanied, and followed their arduous, endangered, and impressive administration.

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CHAP. XX.

FIRST RUMORS OF THE KING'S DIVORCE—REFUSAL OF THE DUCHESS D'ALENCON—REAL ORIGIN OF THE PROJECT—WOLSEY'S LETTERS ON IT, DURING HIS FRENCH JOURNEY—HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH SPAIN—THE APPLICATIONS TO THE POPE TO ANNUL THE EXISTING MARRIAGE.

CHAP. XX.

BEFORE Wolsey had left London for France, it became so generally reported in the metropolis, that the queen was to be divorced, and that he was going to the continent, to concert a marriage between Henry and the sister of the French sovereign, that the king sent for the lord mayor, and commanded him to cause the people to desist from such discussions, on pain of his high displeasure[1]. Rumors of the same sort had also reached Spain[2], which the dispatches of the English ministers from that court alluded to[3]; and the impressions in France, during the month of July, were so similar to the persuasion in England, that a book was published by some French, during the cardinal's residence at Amiens, affirming the new marriage of

[1] Hall, p. 728.

[2] See note 81 of this chapter.

[3] On 23d August 1527, Dr. Lee wrote to Henry, 'I sent, on 3d August, letters by way of Bilboa, touching certain rumors here had of the queen, of which thing at this time I have also written to my lord legate. I trust I shall not need to repeat to your highness the matter again: but if hereafter I shall find any thing thereof here, as hitherto I have not but only by your own observations, I shall order my answer according to the instructions of my lord legate.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 198. These instructions will be referred to in pages 155, 6.

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Henry with one of the princesses, to be one of the objects of his stately visit[4].

The English supposition appears to have been, that the duchess of Alençon was the lady selected to be the new queen of England. This is mentioned by Hall[5], and also by Polydore Vergil[6], both contemporaries of her and Wolsey; and it is admitted by the French historian of the divorce, that she was the cardinal's first proposal[7]. It coincides with this information, and corroborates it, that amid the peculiar instructions given to the English ambassadors to France, in March 1526, they were enjoined to deliver both letters and compliments from Henry[8] to her; and their dispatches occasionally make her a prominent subject of their report[9]. This cele-

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[4] Cavend. v. 1. p. 118.

[5] Hall, p. 728.

[6] He makes Wolsey thus mention her to the king; 'There is a woman worthy above all others to be married to you—the widow of the duke of Alençon.' Hist. l. 27. p. 82, 3.

[7] Le Grand, Hist. l. 1. p. 46. It is stated in Henault, and in several of the French historians. Pallavicini also names Margaret as the person. Hist. Trent. p. 204.

[8] See before, chapter 16. p. 10. The instructions, signed by Henry, contain these directions: 'They shall also deliver the *king's letters* unto the duchess of Alençon, making his grace's hearty recommendations, with congratulations on her brother's deliverance, and giving land and praise to her for her great labors, pains, and travail, sustained in this behalf, by whose dexterity the same hath taken this good effect. And so they shall in their doing have with her such intelligence as they can attain; entertaining her in the avance of all such things as they shall see the case to require.' The signature is 'Henry H. T.' MS. Calig. D. 9. p. 169.

[9] Sir Thomas Cheney, on the 12th April 1526, wrote from Bourdeaux, to Henry, that on the 9th the French king and his mother, 'and my lady his sister, arrived here by water at three in the afternoon, and after supper sent for Mr. Taylor and me: I made your grace's hearty congratulations.' MS. Calig. D. 9. p. 179. Two days afterwards the same gentleman wrote also the following information as to one of his meetings with her, on which Francis seems to have endeavored to keep him from a prolonged interview with the duchess. 'The king sent for us—we went; he was but lately risen, and in his night-gown was looking out at a window, and the treasurer, Robertet, talking with him. When I came

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brated princess had, in the then preceding Autumn, failed, as we have noticed, to win the preference of Charles V. whom it had been feared she would have captivated[10]. But whatever attractions she may have seen in the emperor or his diadem, she was too noble to conspire to wrest a crown from an unoffending wife, tho solicited to do so. She declined Wolsey's proposal to take the place of Catherine, from her compassion for that respected queen[11]; and in this refusal displayed both her moral rectitude and feminine sympathy; for what lady of correct mind, or true sensibility, could, as a christian or as a woman, accept with honor, any speculative proposition for a second marriage with Henry, while his queen remained his accredited wife, unimpeached in conduct, and not judicially divorced? From this remark, Anne Boleyn's memory cannot be rescued. It was her original error, and met with a retribution that abbreviated the dignity for which she had committed it.

When the noble-minded Margaret declined the crown, which could not be obtained without violence and sullying imputations, the cardinal directed his

in to the said chamber, and he was ready to the washing of his hands, the towel was brought to the great master, and he took it to me, and made me give it to the king. This done, the king went to hear mass in the town, riding upon a fair jennet; and as he was going forth of his gate, came in my lady his sister on foot, and as I was going sooth before him to leap upon my horse, I met her, and bade her good morrow; and began to fall further in conversation with her. Whereupon the king alighted from his horse, and talked with her more than a quarter of an hour in the court; and that done, took his horse and rode to mass, and *made me* ride, talking with him all the way.' MS. Calig. D. 9. p. 182.

[10] See vol. i. chap. 15.

[11] Polydore's words are, 'She would not hear any thing of such a marriage, which could not be solemnized without wretchedness, and therefore death to Catherine.' l. 27. p. 84.

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eye to the French princess Renée[12]. This lady was a daughter of Louis XII. and sister of Claude, the deceased wife of Francis; and to arrange a marriage between her and Henry, was one of the private objects of Wolsey's journey into France, and of his secret conferences with the regent Louisa, at Compiegne[13]. It may have suited her state theories, who had already shown herself as eager to effect a matrimonial alliance with the English crown[14], as her son had been indifferent or adverse to it[15]. But it was not likely to please the French king, because Renée was existing with a political appendage that was quite sufficient to rouse the jealousy of Francis to prevent the nuptials. As one of the daughters of Anne, whose marriage with Louis XII. had annexed Bretagne to the French crown, she was the legal heiress to one half of that duchy—a claim to its participation, which no French sovereign could

[12] In the beginning of 1527, the duchess of Alençon made her union with Henry impossible by marrying the king of Navarre, (see next chapter.) Renée was young; the lady Louisa dates her birth the 29th October 1510; (Journ. p. 410.) so that Renée was not seventeen when the cardinal went to Amiens. Francis had once thought of giving her to the duke of Bourbon. Bol. lett. 12th January 1523. Harl. MSS. No. 295.

[13] Cavendish mentions this fact: and the bishop of Bayonne, to whom Wolsey twice unbosomed some of his private history (see his letters in Le Grand, App. 158. 166.) expresses that Wolsey 'meant the choice to fall on madame Renée.' ib. 166. Guicciardini has also stated the cardinal's desire and efforts to effect this marriage, l. 18. p. 111. to which the book already mentioned in p. 133 alluded. It was also Le Grand's conviction, who had examined all the French diplomatic papers on the subject, 'Ce fût a Compiegne que le cardinal decouvrit a madame Louise les grands projets qu'il formoit pour le divorce; qu'il luy proposa de donner madame Renée a Henry 8.' Le Grand, p. 58. Wolsey's successive selection of these two ladies reconciles the difference in some authors about the name of the French princess.

[14] Her proposal to him for completing his marriage with Mary, notwithstanding the immaturity of the princess, is a proof of Louisa's anxiety for that union. See Burnet.

[15] See before.

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desire to see attached to so near and powerful a neighbor as an English king. The feelings of Renée on the proposal are not recorded; but she attended the meeting at Compiegne[16]. That this contriving cardinal concealed some of his measures from his sovereign, we have a direct evidence[17]; but as the king could not be married without his own knowlege and consent, and was so personally interested in the selection of a partner of his domestic and public life, it is difficult to suppose that the minister should have made the overture, without the previous concurrence of his master; yet, however pursued, it came not to any maturity. The secret history of its failure has not been disclosed, but the probability is, that no one favored it at Compiegne, beyond Wolsey and lady Louisa[18]; and within two months afterwards, Renée was disposed of elsewhere[19].

The letter in the British Museum, from Wolsey, while at Abbeville, to the king[20], is important for discovering to us some part of the cardinal's thoughts

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[16] See page 159.

[17] Dr. Gardiner stated to the pope on 23d March 1527, that Wolsey by his letters 'willed them to say unto his holiness, the same to be spoken in such wise as it should neither come to the French king *ne to the king's highness' knowlege*.' Strype Eccl. Mem. App. v. 1. p. 71.

[18] Le Grand was of opinion that the proposal for Renée to be the future queen was not accepted, 'a cause des pretensions que cette princesse pouvoit avoir sur la Bretagne.' Hist. 1. p. 58. And Cavendish expressly declares that Francis kept her without marriage, to secure the duchy to himself. 1. p. 13.

[19] On 14th November a convention was signed for her marrying the son of the duke of Ferrara, to which our ambassador Cassalis was a party. See it in MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 177–181.

[20] It is in MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 146. from which Burnet printed it, v. 6. p. 17–19. It has not the conclusion, but it is all in Wolsey's handwriting, and looks like the draft which he kept. The original, with the completing paragraphs, is in the State Paper office. Its date is 29 July.

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and plans, as to the divorce, when in that town, before he knew that the king had selected Anne Boleyn to be the queen, and probably before Henry had made any such determination. Wolsey puts it as the king's "great and secret affair"—as his "deliverance out of a thralld, pensive, and dolorous life"—as being "for the continuance of his health, and the surety of his realm and succession[21]." It is in these characters that he states it to his sovereign; and therefore we may justly assume, that these were the features under which he had recommended, as he now represented it to him.

His plan was to have the credit and merit of pronouncing and producing the divorce himself[22]. But he feared lest the queen should "either appeal, or utterly decline from his jurisdiction[23]." To remedy this counteraction, he was "reduced and resolved to two points. One, that the pope's consent could not be obtained, unless his deliverance out of captivity be first procured; the other, that the cardinals could nothing do, in this behalf, unless there shall be consultation and order taken what should be done in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, during the pontiff's captivity[24]." Peace only would emancipate Clement[25]; and if that could not be

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[21] Burnet, p. 17.

[22] 'The pope's consent, or—the authority of the cardinals—must concur for approbation of *such process as I shall make* in that behalf.' p. 17.

[23] Ib. p. 18.

[24] Ib. p. 18.

[25] Wolsey assumes the divorce to be certain, if the pope was delivered, 'by whose authority and consent your grace's affair should take most sure, honorable, effectual and substantial end; and who, I doubt not, considering your grace's gratitude, would facilly be induced to do all things therein that might be to your grace's good satisfaction and purpose.' Burnet, p. 19.

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obtained, "there is none other remedy, but the convocation of the cardinals, who would not, and could not conveniently convene in any other place than Avignon." To this place, if they could be induced to come, he proposed to repair, and there he would be near the emperor's confines, and within one hundred miles of Perpignan, which would be a commodious point to commune and treat with his imperial majesty, in person[26]. This document sufficiently proves, that subjects connected with the divorce formed an important part of Wolsey's business on this journey.

In considering the primitive cause of this attempted dislocation of a long subsisting union, it is remarkable that it was not at the time, when prejudice and passion were disposed to be most acrimonious, imputed to the king, that he had originated the disturbing question. He had loved the queen[27], he had been contented with her amiabilities; he had behaved to her with such attentions as a husband, that Erasmus thought his palace a model of domestic virtue, and he had made her the dignified partner of all his state and festivities, up to the very period when the critical disquisition was

[26] Burnet, p. 19. On 17th August one of the pope's agents wrote from Amiens, that he had been directed to request Francis to persuade the cardinals to meet at Bologna; but that the king would not alter his opinion that Avignon was a preferable place, because it was most secure, and would be most convenient to Wolsey, who desired greatly to be there, and to be able from thence to have an interview with the emperor. The writer describes Wolsey as being then so zealous for the conservation and restitution of the papal power, which is called the church, and so fervent to procure the pope his liberty, 'that truly we ought to have an immortal obligation to him.' Lett. Prin. v. 2. p. 78.

[27] See before, vol. i. p. 17.

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opened[28]. The objection taken to annul the marriage, that she had been previously his brother Arthur's wife, was not the discovery of a new fact, bringing with it this invalidating operation. Upon his own accession, he had discussed it with his council, heard their different opinions, and had decided upon the nuptials[29]. It had been a frequent topic of public conversation since that period[30]. It was therefore a possible difficulty, which had long been generally notorious, but which had been treated only as a matter of argumentative debate. Something more than the mere existence and notoriety of the objection must have occasioned the importance and hostility which eighteen years afterwards came to be so seriously attached to it.

The persons most interested to know, and to explore the true beginning of the unexpected mischief, were the queen and her imperial nephew, with whom her family honor was most linked; but Catherine never ascribed it to her husband. On the contrary, when before her legantine judges, she expressly charged Wolsey as its originator. To him she attributed the idea of the divorce, because she had censured his dissolute mode of life, and because he hated the emperor[31]. Charles himself had

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[28] See before, and also the instances in Hall, p. 708. 719. 722. 724, and other places. Even after the divorce had been solicited from Rome, she was still treated as queen; for on 2d Jan. 1528, the French ambassadors so found her, for they state to their sovereign, that after being introduced to Henry, 'he led us to the ladies. I, Brosse, addressed myself to the princess, to whom, after I had made my respects to the queen, I gave your letters.' Le Grand. v. 3. p. 60.

[29] See before, vol i. p. 21. [30] Hall, 733.

[31] She told them, 'Of this trouble I only may thank you, my lord car-

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the same conviction, and in his written answer to the English herald, who had personally denounced war against him, declared his belief that Henry would never have been led to it, but by the sinister advice of his ambitious cardinal; who had suggested it, "because his majesty would not employ his army of Italy to make him pope by force, as he caused the king his master to request, and as he himself by his own letters required; and would not satisfy his pride and ambition [32]." To the same producer, the historian of Italy, who from his confidential employment under Clement VII, was most likely to know the truth, also ascribes the first suggestions of the divorce to Henry [33]. But it would have been at total variance with all the cardinal's state transactions, that have been already recorded, and with his mode of conducting those already exposed, if he had raised the scruple in a direct and open manner; he who did nothing but with a circuitous mystery, was not likely to have begun this dan-

dinal of York; for, because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhor your voluptuous life, and little regard your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore, of malice you have kindled this fire and set this matter abroach, and in especial for the great malice that you bear to my nephew, the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you pope by force.' Hall, 755. The chronicler gives us the speech from the note of cardinal Campegio's secretary, who was present. 756. Pol. Vergil mentions that she accused Wolsey of it. l. 27. p. 85.

[32] Charles added, 'he has many times boasted that he would put the affairs of his majesty (the emperor) into such a disorder as would not be seen again for a century, and would so confound them that he should repent of it, tho the kingdom of England should perish by it.' He asks where was Henry's honor in offering him his daughter, if he meant to bastardize her. See the long document in the Appendix to Le Grand, Vol. 3. p. 27-48.

[33] His words are 'the cardinal of York began to persuade the king to repudiate his first wife, because she was not justly his wife, from having contracted her former marriage.' l. 18. p. 111.

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gerous project, without concealing the hand that was contriving and causing the movements that were to effect it: and he appears to have so managed it, that the king himself did not at that time imagine that he was its author. Henry publicly stated this impression[34]. To whom then did the king refer it? In his address to his assembled lords and counsellors on the subject, in which he declared his approbation and preference of Catherine beyond all other women[35], he asserted that he had entertained the doubts which had fixed the scruple in his mind, because they had been seriously brought by others to his conscientious contemplation; among these he pointed to "one of the chief counsellors of the French king[36]." The bishop of Bayonne, one of the ambassadors from France, in London, at the time this speech was delivered, reports the king to have then declared, that "his scruples of conscience had exceedingly increased, since a French bishop, a great personage, and an intelligent man, being at that time ambassador in England, had held in his council very strong language upon this subject[37];" and the prelate points out the bishop of Tarbes as the person so

[34] Cavendish, p. 154.

[35] By Hall, who was present, and declares he gives the king's words 'as near as my wit could bear away,' we have them thus stated: 'I assure you all she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and of buxomness,—yea, and of all good qualities appertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I this twenty years almost have had the true experiment. So that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely chuse her above all other women.' p. 754.

[36] Henry, in this speech, refers it to 'divers great clerks,' and to 'one of the chief counsellors of the French king.' Hall, p. 754.

[37] He thus describes this part of the speech, 'leur declarant, le scruple de conscience ou de long temps il s'est trouvé de l'affaire susdite, qui terriblement lui a augmenté depuis, qu'un evêque François, grand personage et savant homme (significant Mr. de Tarbe) étant pour lors

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designated, who had come to England, at the end of February 1527, and was also here in the following April and May[38]. Cavendish mentions that Henry, on being asked by Wolsey, if he had been the *chief* inventor or mover of the matter to him, answered, that after the French ambassador[39] had started the difficulty, he had consulted the bishop of Lincoln, his confessor[40], who advised him to take the opinions of other prelates, and that the king, adopting the advice, desired their sentiments on the subject[41].

The popular report in London, in 1527, was, that Longland, the bishop of Lincoln, and confessor to Henry, had urged the objection to him[42]. This prelate admitted that he had conferred with the king upon the subject, but is represented by his chaplain to have assured him in answer to his questioning,

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ambassadeur deça, en avoit tenu en son conseil, *termes terriblement* expres.' Lett. Bellay, 3 Le Grand, p. 218.

[38] He landed at Dover 26th February 1527. 1 Le Grand, p. 47: who misdates it as 1526, from forgetting that such a date in the letter then, was 1527, as we now compute the year; and on 5th May 1527, took his leave, ib. 49; and went afterwards to Spain, where we find him in July 1527. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 145. Hall states that he went to France in the spring, and so came twice here between 26th February and 5th May. Le grand says, that 'this prelate's papers contain no minute of this remark.' I wish he had printed his dispatches as he promised, v. 3. p. 639. Perhaps some other French gentleman will yet do so for the fuller illustration of the history of this period. It is not probable that Tarbes could have made such an objection and not have mentioned it to his court.

[39] Cavendish calls him bishop of Bayonne, instead of bishop of Tarbes, p. 154—a natural mistake, as both were here in the capacity of ambassador.

[40] Cav. p. 156. [41] Cav. p. 157.

[42] Hall, 728. From a letter of Erasmus to Longland, of 30 April 1526, we find that this prelate was one of his patrons, and had sent the scholar several liberal presents of money, with some remarks on his Latin colloquies. See it in Knight's Eras. App. p. 58.

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that Henry "broke the matter to him first, and never left urging him until he had won him to give his consent[43]." At this distant period we can only assemble and compare the contemporary authorities, and make the best reasoned deductions from their several statements. Tyndale, who published his book in 1530, has noted that the talk of the time was, that Wolsey had made the bishop his instrument to instil the doubt[44]; and Polydore Vergil, who was much countenanced by the great at that time[45], affirms, that Longland went with Wolsey to the king, and assured him that the world were scandalized at the marriage, and that as his confessor, he was in duty bound to inform him of it, and to advise him to have it duly investigated[46]. Hall,

[43] In a MS. life of More, in the Lambeth library, and in Emanuel college, Cambridge, which Dr. Wordsworth ascribes to Harpfield, the author affirms that he heard Dr. Draycott, the chaplain of Longland, make this statement. Baker's Notes on Burnet, Ref. 3. p. 400. and Wordw. Eccl. Biog. Life of Wolsey.

[44] See his passage quoted in note 53, from his Practice of Prelates.

[45] He was collector of the pope's annates, archdeacon of Wells, and a prebendary in Hereford. He lived 40 years in England.

[46] Hist. Angl. l. 27. p. 82. As Henry was sincere in his religion as far as he understood it, and as under the papal system he was practising it, I thought it probable, that the man he chose for his confessor was, like himself, a cultivated man as well as a pious one, and therefore have looked into Longland's chief work, to form some estimate of his character. This is his Expositio Concionalis of the 51st Psalm, which he preached in Latin sermons before Henry, during the years from 1523 to 1529. As his name is so materially involved in the origin of Henry's divorce, I will give a few extracts to show the reader some features of his intellect, style, and feeling.

His first topic is on Providence, on which he says,—'It is the Deity who gives to all creatures the forms in which they exist, the habits which they use, and the natural inclinations and tendencies by which they are carried to the completion of their assigned and limited ends. What ability of multiplying themselves can the animal, the seed, or the bird possess, if you take away the power of God? The best philosophers declare that the divine mind so infuses itself in all things as to bestow on them essence, motion, life, sense, and reason. It governs all things under itself as the first cause, as the effectuating power directing the effect

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the recorder of London, has stated in his Chronicle, that the Flemish ambassadors in England, finding the princess Mary not given to their imperial master, CHAP. XX.

and it is the end to which all things are tending.' p. 357. Longland considers evils to be permitted for three reasons—'as a commutation here for the punishment which we deserve for what we do amiss, and therefore lessening or preventing the painful retribution of the future; as the means of preserving us from other dangers and worse misfortunes, and as the cause of the remuneration which will be received for the well doing which they will occasion. How many more evils and follies would abound than we see, if no vexations or adversities ever happened! Continuing worldly prosperity is the root and cause of all social evils. It produces forgetfulness of God, forgetfulness of ourselves, of our health, of our life, and of both the heavenly and the infernal futurity; but troubles are the nurses of virtue.' p. 361.

We may remember that Lud. Vives had urged Longland to dissuade the king from the love of war. See before. The following passage spoken from his pulpit, before Henry, will show how the bishop fulfilled his friend's wishes:

After remarking that 'the Deity calls us to himself as a mother her beloved babe; but, if we resist or reject his invitations, often sends his evils of pestilence, poverty, famine, misery, and war'—he takes occasion to express the following effusions:

'O war! thou calamity, thou severest infliction from the hand of the Almighty! Among all his scourges this indeed is the greatest. No other chastisement, no other adversity, can be compared with it. Who can number the discomforts and the mischiefs that arise from it? Rapines, plunder, robbery, homicides, burnings, and the destruction of towns and temples: Women violated—children torn from their parental homes and forced into armies, and crimes and vices of every sort! All things in society are deteriorated by war.' He pursues his theme at great length. p. 365–7. and with many thoughts that could not have fallen, and, from a consideration of the whole reign, we may say did not fall, ineffectually on Henry's ear.

Many valuable passages abound in his thick folio, as he takes occasion to deviate into dissertations on most of our ethical and religious obligations. His picture of what monks and friars would be 'if they lived truly according to their religion,' 417–9, can only be considered as a grave and dignified irony, when we recollect what contrary habits they were seen to indulge in. Few books of the length like this, of 1,024 pages, written on religious topics before the reformation, contain so much good matter, with so little of the then favorite Romish superstitions. He rarely notices them, but teaches all that is substantially opposite.

His last page has these remarks, which were so many public admonitions to his sovereign. 'The remedy to root out these tares will be, that princes and prelates, and they who confer benefices, should sow in the field of the church men of letters, the learned, discreet, good, and virtuous rectors and curates, who will instruct the consciences of their parishioners, who will know how to give wholesome counsels, and whose

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in compliance with the treaty of Windsor, counselled him not to wait for her, and suggested to him the question of her illegitimacy, from her mother having been the widow of Henry's brother[47]. By whom the doubt was put into their minds is not mentioned; but as they were in England when they expressed it, and as Wolsey was then laboring to put the king into a decisive variance with the emperor, the suspicion of the suggester, considering every other circumstance, lies nearest to him. And if it be the fact that the dispatches of the bishop of Tarbes to his own court, do not announce to it that he made the objection to Henry's marriage which is ascribed to him, such an unofficial silence countenances the idea that he was acting in a concert of private intrigue with the English cardinal.

But that Wolsey and not Henry began the question of the divorce, does not rest only on the assertions of others, and on the circumstantial evidence of the fact. It was an achievement which, tho when he sat as judge he asked Henry, from his dread of its unpopularity, to shift from him, he afterwards, privately, to the French ambassador, avowed to be his own, and even claimed merit for it; and he made this declaration at a time when he was most likely to be sincere; for he expressed it when the subject had become so embarrassing to all con-

vigilance will drive away the wolf and the fox from their sheep. Kings and princes and nobles will plant in their nations and territories just governors, mayors, and bailiffs; rulers of integrity, and magistrates and officers of probity, who fear God alone, and above all things will hate covetousness. They will never appoint over their people any who are cruel, rapacious, oppressive, or extorting.' p. 864.

[47] Hall, p. 711.

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cerned, as to make every thinking mind regret that it had ever been stirred, and to look with displeasure on its author[48]. Nothing but the certainty of the fact being so, could have made the severest upbraiders of Henry, who would have delighted to have put any additional brand upon their sovereign, the Romish priest Sanders[49], and cardinal Pole[50], and the hostile author of the Sloane MSS.[51], concur with Pallavicini, the papal advocate of the council of Trent[52], in ascribing it to the cardinal. His con-

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[48] It was on 21st October 1528, that the French ambassador Bellay wrote to his court, that Wolsey had just said to him, 'Every man can judge of it, who shall know that the first terms of the divorce had been put forward by him, to make a perpetual separation between the houses of England and Burgundy. To this point tended the subject that he had discussed with the lady Louise, at Compiegne, that if she lived a year, she should see a perpetual conjunction of one side, and such a disjunction on the other, that a greater could not be desired.' Lett. Le Grand, 3. p. 186. So at another time, he mentioned 'the great separation that would occur with the emperor from the divorce, according to his designs et entreprise.' Ib. p. 200. A similar intimation was made by him afterwards. p. 318, 19.

[49] Sanders asserts, that Wolsey took all occasions to injure queen Catherine, p. 7. That seeing Henry's regard for her lessening, thought it would displease her and would vex Charles to have her divorced, and therefore gave Longland reasons against the marriage, and took him to the king to advise it to be investigated. p. 9. That theologians were consulted, and a year passed in private examinations. p. 10. That the king thought nothing more should be done about it; but Wolsey so urged it, that Henry bade him mention it to Tarbes, and his wish to take the sister of Francis. p. 11.

[50] Pole says of Wolsey, 'Instigator et auctor consilii existimabatur.' Apol.

[51] This, which is entitled, 'The life of Henry 8th, from his falling in love with Anne Boleyn to the death of queen Catherine,' and seems to be the same as or like the one called a MS. History of the Divorce, says of Wolsey, 'because he was of the French faction, and for some private occasions, angry with the emperor, he was the principal instigator that a scruple was made.' Sloane MS. No. 2495. p. 3.

[52] Pallavicini says, that Wolsey began to contrive how to separate Henry from Cæsar, 'extra omnem reconciliationis opem,' and therefore called to mind the prohibition in Leviticus, against marrying a brother's wife, and hoped that by this opportunity the king's mind might be allured to the widow of Alençon, and therefore 'sub specie religionis,' he discoursed with the king's confessor about annulling his marriage,—'uti rem

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temporary, Tyndale[53], and Polydore Vergil[54], and the angry son-in-law of sir Thomas More[55], give a similar intimation; as also the more impartial and disinterested Flemish historian, who was in England more than once during this reign[56]. The objects of Wolsey seem to have been, to wreak his resentment on Catherine, and on her imperial nephew; to place on the throne a queen that would owe her elevation to him; and to establish an interest with Francis which would be a source of pecuniary treasure, and a consolidation of his ministerial power.

At what precise time Wolsey began this machina-

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secum concorditer *Henrico proponerit*.' Hist. Concil. Trid. v. 1. p. 203. He adds, that Wolsey persuaded the bishop of Tarbes to impugn to Henry Catherine's marriage, and to suggest a new one with Alençon. Ib. 204.

[53] This author, in his Practice of Prelates, mentions that 'the cardinal sought to pluck us from the emperor, and enspired the king that the queen was not his wife, by the bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, as the saying was.' He 'imagined the divorcement between the king and the queen.'—If Longland, at a future time stated that the king first mentioned it to him; Polydore's account in the next note, of Wolsey having suggested it to Henry *before* Longland conferred with his sovereign about it, reconciles the two accounts.

[54] The account of this author is, that the idea of the divorce originated with Wolsey. He wished another queen, because Catherine disliked his immoral conduct, and mildly reproved it. His resentment led him to converse with Longland, the king's confessor and bishop of Lincoln, on the validity of the objections that had formerly been taken to Henry's marriage. The result of these conferences was, that Wolsey intimated, at a fit opportunity, and with plausible pretexts, the beginning scruple to the king, who at first rejected it. Three days after it was renewed, in the presence of the confessor, and Henry was urged to have it examined. Wolsey then recommended him to make the duchess of Alençon his next choice. l. 27. p. 81–3.

[55] Roper, the son-in-law of sir Thomas More, and therefore likely to have had some information from him on a subject so discussed, and who wrote about 1557, on mentioning Adrian's election adds, 'Wolsey waxed so wroth therewith, that he studied all ways of revengement of his grief against the emperor; therefore soon inclined Henry to withdraw from his wife queen Catherine, and to cast fortune to one of the French king's sisters.' p. 30, 31.

[56] Meteren. Hist. des Pays bas. p. 20.

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tion, his cautious and secret steps do not allow us to trace. If the king's letters to the duchess of Alençon were connected with the cardinal's first conception of it, they were delivered in March 1526. Catherine had become incurably diseased[57]; and it was before this period that the king's withdrawing from her connubial society had taken place, according to his intimation to Grynœus[58]. Such a circumstance may have suggested the new scheme to Wolsey's ever-contriving mind, tho he did not venture to hint it to Henry, till a year afterwards, when Tarbes gave or was led to make the opportunity. The consultations with the theologians cannot be dated on any authoriry[59] before 1527. When it was first started to Henry, he rejected the idea of such a divorce[60]; and when at last urged to the investigation, and made uneasy in his conscience about it, he desired only a just determination of the question[61].

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[57] Wolsey mentioned this fact strongly to Cassalis, in his letter of 5th December, to be stated to the pope, 'ob morbosque nonullos, quibus *absque remedio*, regina taberat.' See it printed in Burnet, v. 2. octavo ed.

[58] This MS. letter to Bucer, 10th September 1531, cited by Burnet, v. 1. p. 59. mentions that the king had then intimated to him, that it was seven years since this change had taken place.

[59] Le Grand has printed a letter from Pace to the king, on this question, whether Deuteronomy superseded Leviticus, as written in 1526. But this is an error of Le Grand. Knight, in his life of Erasmus, has printed the same letter, in its original English, as of 1527. It is only a reprint of it from the scarce pamphlet printed by Berthelet, in which it is dated 1527. Knight. App. 26. One is also added of Wakefield's. 28.

[60] Pol. Vergil states this, p. 81–3.

[61] Pace, in reply to Wakefield's question, whether the king 'would be content to hear the truth in this matter, whether it were against him or for him,' states to Henry, 'I made him this answer, that your grace intended nothing but what was convenient to the person of a noble and a virtuous prince; and that he should do unto your grace right acceptable service, if he should study to shew unto you the said truth in this matter.' Lett. Ap. Knight. p. 28.

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That the cardinal had worked up his feelings to that enmity to the emperor, with which queen Catherine and that emperor charged him, is manifest, from many circumstances already narrated, and from the diplomatic correspondence of the next succeeding years. When the French ambassador artfully, as a bait, hinted to him that popes had deposed emperors, and that the present might depose Charles, Wolsey drew him to a window, and swore that he should be glad to employ himself upon such an event till he had accomplished it, and that he would not rest till he had employed all his credit with the pope to persuade him to it[62]. He was so delighted with the scheme that he adopted it as his own[63], and urged it till Henry damped his ardor by a message of disapprobation[64]. He procured afterwards, from the pope, a promise to lay Charles under an interdict, and complains that it was not fulfilled[65]. He exhibited strongly to Bellay his hostile feelings against the emperor[66], and his superior attachment to the French interests[67]. Hence Francis declared, what no cabinet minister of any country ought to

[62] It is from the evêque Bellay, letter of 2d January 1528, to the ambassador of Francis, that we learn this curious fact. Le Grand, v. 3. p. 65.

[63] The Frenchman says, that Wolsey next day mentioned it to Staphileo, and wished to have the honor of having invented it. Le Grand, v. 3. p. 69.

[64] 'The dean of the king's chapel came to me and shewed that it not be good for the church 'de picquer le pape et le animer s'avant.' ib. p. 69.

[65] Bellay, p. 137.

[66] Bellay wrote to the French grand master, 'He bears to your affairs as good an affection as he can do, and as bad a one to those of the emperor.' ib. p. 91.

[67] The ambassador reports that he said, 'If his credit were to diminish, we should immediately feel it; affirming by all that he holds sacred, that after his master's welfare, he has ours en recommendation, more than any other.' ib. p. 158.

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occasion to be said of him by a foreign sovereign, "I will not in that or any other thing govern or conduct myself without his advice and counsel[68]." But the strongest proof of improper passion against the emperor exists in his directing the herald officially to declare war against him, without the authority and against the wishes of his royal master[69]; and in the words he chose in that master's name to speak of Charles to the French ambassador to be transmitted to his court[70].

But altho the king is not stated to have previously felt any uneasiness on the subject, yet in the year 1527, he had been made so unquiet in his conscience, or so unsettled in feeling about it, as to determine to have it duly investigated. Divines, probably by the cardinal's instigation, intimated to

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[68] So the French king wrote to his embassy in England, on 11th November 1527, adding an expectation of a great victory by Lautrech, 'not without a great participation from the good offices which the cardinal has done, my good friend, to whom, as to myself, I have such obligations as I shall never forget.' ib. p. 20. In the same spirit, Bellay tells his sovereign, 'I offered him my despatches, to shew him that your intention is, that all things which come from you, or that touch you, shall be open to him as they are to the first of your council, and even to yourself. He desired me to leave them with him, to look over at his leisure.' ib. 59.

[69] Hall. 744–7.

[70] Bellay, in the same letter, writes to his sovereign, 'M. the Legate charged us to write to you, that the king your good brother took the proposal of the emperor's chancellor in no less displeasure than ourselves,—et que la ou l'empereur voudroit porter ou faire porter telles paroles,—he would himself take them up, and present to the emperor the combat on this quarrel; but it seemed to them, that for the words, *D'un ribault belistre; garçon trompereau; homme de neant; villain en toute perfection de villenye*; such a personage ought not to move you.' Le Grand, 3. p. 63, 4. The phrases of Billingsgate or of the Fauxbourgs St. Antoine could not well go beyond these epithets. They seem to contain Wolsey's answer to the emperor's charge against him of originating the divorce question, as mentioned before, p. 141 and note 32. These words were either applied to the emperor, directly or circuitously, thro his chancellor, for expressing what he had been ordered to say.

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him its religious importance[71]. Both theologians and men of learning expressed their arraigning sentiments[72]; so that before any application was made to the pope about it[73], his mind had been strongly disturbed by the exciting officiousness of others. To terminate his own anxieties, and to stop the public criticism, he consulted his ablest friends[74], and the most celebrated lawyers and doctors in England and elsewhere[75].

The preceding facts have been collected to show, that the doubts of the legitimacy of his marriage

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[71] 'It has been told us by divers great clerks. Hall, 724. His great enemy Pole declares, that it was suggested to him by certain divines, tho from his bitter animosity against Anne Boleyn, he absurdly charges her with having sent them.—The earliest indications that I have seen of these consultations, and that I believe to exist, are the before mentioned letters of Pace and Wakefield, to the king, in 1527, and reprinted by Knight, in his Appendix to Erasmus, p. 25-9. Wakefield's was written after Fisher's book on the subject, as he talks of answering it.

[72] So Wolsey, on 5th December 1527, reminded sir G. Cassalis, at Rome, that he had informed him. *Before* this time, I have 'opened to you how his royal majesty, partly by his assiduous study and erudition, partly by the relation and judgment of *many* theologians, and by the asseveration *of men learned in every kind of learning*.' See his Lett. printed by Burnet and Fiddes, in their appendixes.

[73] These are Wolsey's words in the letter directing the application: 'From which causes therefore, now for a long time by the interior remorse of his conscience—as in all his actions he principally set before him the divine being to himself, he has lived with great trouble and perturbation of heart.' ib. Lett.

[74] One of these was sir Thomas More, who dates his first knowlege of it before he went over to sea (in July 1527) and the king's first conference with him about it after his return, which was in October of that year. Roper, 117. More had gone abroad as an ambassador, with others, in April 1519. MS. Galb. B. 5. p. 381. and was again at Bruges, in the September of a subsequent year. MS. Galb. B. 7. p. 118; probably when he went with Wolsey to the emperor, as Roper mentions that he did. p. 23. But his letter alludes to his embassy with Wolsey to Amiens in 1527.

[75] So Wolsey declared in the above letter. 'On which thing he has consulted the mature and sound judgment of the most illustrious and famous doctors, and of many other excellent men and prelates, partly theologians, and partly lawyers, as well within his kingdom as elsewhere.' Lett. ib.

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did not originate with Henry; that Wolsey was the chief agent in the inception of the divorce; and that it was begun and at first pursued, independent of Anne Boleyn. The letters of the cardinal which I found in the State Paper Office, support these positions, and supply some important illustrations.

Before Wolsey commenced his journey to France, he found that the queen had, to his surprise, become acquainted with the disquieting fact, that scruples were entertained upon her marriage. Dr. Sampson showed him, that she "was very stiff and obstinate," and had already become so much aware of the most endangering point, as to assert her virginity when she wedded the king. She desired counsel, as well of his subjects, as of strangers. Wolsey thought "this device could never come of her head, but of some that were learned." He mentioned to Sampson what he thought most expedient, in the presence of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, apparently to be communicated to her Majesty; and then proceeded thro the metropolis into Kent[76].

The first night of his journey he met the archbishop of Canterbury, at sir John Wiltshire's. He showed to this prelate, that the king's secret matter had come to the knowlege of the queen; how displeasantly she was taking it; and what his majesty had done to pacify her, by declaring that he had neither intended nor done any thing, but for the searching and trying out of the truth. The cardinal assured the metropolitan, that they were proceeding upon the occasion, which had been given by

[76] These facts are mentioned in the cardinal's letter of 1st July 1527.

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been raised by the French envoys, when they sought the princess in marriage; and who, on being urged about the precontract of Francis to lady Eleanora, had thrown out this objection to Henry's marriage, as a counterbalancing difficulty; he directs them to declare to his imperial majesty, that the report of a divorce being in contemplation was a fable; "For," adds Wolsey, "I should be unwilling that it should be believed by Cæsar; lest the falsehood should become an impediment to peace." They were therefore instructed to contradict it without hesitation; but not to divulge the reciprocal obligation that had taken place between the cardinal and the Frenchmen[81].

After this evidence from the person who must have known the truth, there can be no further doubt that Henry was correct in stating to the public court, that the scruple had been raised in his mind from the suggestion of a leading member of the French embassy; Wolsey also mentions the first step that was afterwards taken on the subject; "I had certain learned men in the law sworn to write their minds in that matter[82]." But he had these legal inquiries so secretly made, as to be astonished to find the queen apprised of them at the end of June. When the first rumor of the objection to her marriage reached her ears, he says it produced "a short tragedy;" the natural effect of an alarm so unexpected; the serenity, of both her countenance and language, was shaken, till she was

[81] These facts occur in a Latin letter from Abbeville, dated 1st August 1527. Herbert very briefly notices this dispatch, p. 217.
[82] Letter of 5th July.

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pacified by soothing explanations. But tho she seemed to have laid aside all suspicion, she had taken care to communicate the report to her imperial nephew. Ferdinand her physician, and Philipps, one of her most confidential counsellors, had gone off to Italy, and were believed to have been sent by her to Charles. Wolsey ordered the English embassy in Spain to have the movements of these persons solicitously observed[83]. By the 5th September he learnt from the communication of the bishop of Worcester, who had joined him, that "it had come to the emperor's ears that Henry was minded to separate from the queen;" Philipps had arrived at the Spanish court, and had passed a whole day in conference with Charles. But the unqualified contradiction of the English ambassadors somewhat altered the emperor's belief of it. Yet Wolsey thought there was no doubt but that he would "set forth all things that might impede the purpose[84]."

All these circumstances combine to prove that the retorting inquiry of Tarbes first raised the scruple in Henry's mind. What occasioned the French bishop to think of it, is a different and more difficult question; whether it was his own original conception; whether it was taught him by the Parisian cabinet; or whether it was the product of a secret confederacy between him and Wolsey, of which he was to be the public mouth-piece to the English government, I have seen no documents to elucidate. In this journey, Wolsey chose to place the idea

[83] Letter 1st August.
[84] Letter to the king, of 5th September 1527, from Compiegne.

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entirely on the bishop, tho, as we have before shown, he claimed it at a future period as a meritorious conception of his own.

The cardinal's first object at the conferences at Amiens, was to arrange and conclude the treaties of federation and amity between the French and English crowns. Till these were effected, he purposely abstained from discussing the matrimonial subject, and he apprised the king that he was pursuing this policy[85]. Five days after this intimation, he announced the completion of his more public negotiations, and that on 16th August "the perpetual peace was, with great triumph sworn to in the cathedral church." He then added to his letter a paragraph, which implies, that whatever might be the favoring sentiments of the lady regent, he expected some repugnance in Francis to his matrimonial speculations. It is this: "So then, now, sir! there is a little or nothing more to be capitulated or treated with the French king, unless it be the opening of your secret matter; the disclosing whereof I purpose to defer till I shall be at the point of my departure; handling the same after such a cloudy and dark sort, that he shall not know your grace's utter determination and intent in that behalf, till your highness shall see to what effect the same will be brought. Nevertheless, if your grace does not like my opinion, advertised of your contrary pleasure, I shall not fail most humbly and lovingly to accomplish the same[86]."

In the beginning of September, Wolsey moved

[85] Letter of 11th August.

[86] Letter 16th August.

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from Amiens to Compiegne. What passed between him and lady Louise, on the subject of Henry's future queen, his correspondence does not explain. We find that all the French princesses were there. Margaret, then become the wife of the king of Navarre, was out of the question, but she was among them; and the cardinal mentions madame Renée with the duchess of Vendome and madame de Nevers, as dining with him; as well as the lady regent, the French king, and all the other nobles and ladies of the court[87]. But instead of committing his more delicate negotiations to paper, he informed his sovereign, on 19th August, that he intended within two or three days to send to him the bishop of Bath, who would more amply inform him, "of certain things, which I have devised for your particular affairs, forbearing, therefore, the explanation thereof in these my letters[88]." Five days after this communication, he wrote to the king, that he had fully instructed the prelate as to the "expedients to be devised to be sped at Rome[89]."

Another letter that seems to have accompanied the bishop, announced that this prelate would declare the things to be obtained "at the pope's own hands, if any access may be had to him, for conducting of your secret matter to the desired end, which to bring to pass is my daily study and most inward desire[90]." From his dispatch, of 13th September, from Compiegne, we learn that two of the documents which he had advised and prepared,

[87] Letter 19th August. [88] Letter ib. [89] Letter 24th August.
[90] Letter without date, apparently written after 24th Ausust.

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were a protestation and a commission[91]. There is something in this letter which indicates that some divergency of opinion was arising between him and the king, on some part of the subject; but it is not explained. The king's secretary, Dr. Knight, was sent to him, whom he then says he had dispatched to Rome[92], tho his own wishes would have recommended in preference the bishop of Worcester[93].

That both the cardinal's mind and his sovereign's had been fully settled to apply for the divorce in September; and that Wolsey was bent upon it also in August, and seemingly from the beginning of his journey; are the inferences that cannot but be made from many parts of these official papers. It will be no injustice to the cardinal to add, that his statements of the measures which he was advising and pursuing in order to obtain it, contrasted with his directions to the ambassadors in Spain, to deny it formally and officially to the emperor, present another instance of that discreditable inconsistency, which other parts of this history prove to have occurred more than once, in his foreign diplomacy. But these papers indicate, that the king made no application to Rome till the beginning of September 1527, when he sent Knight to Wolsey, and that his scruple had not arisen till May or June in that year[94].

Before Wolsey left Compiegne, he had a con-

[91] Letter 13th September.

[92] 'I trust, by one means or other, he shall have access to the pope.' Lett. ib.

[93] He remarks that Worcester, 'having letters from the emperor to the pope, may get more ready access.' Letter dated 5th Sept.

[94] Knight is first mentioned in the letter of 13th Sept.

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ference with the pope's lieutenant of the rota; and he remarks, that having fully instructed him of the facts on the subject, this papal minister had "altered his opinion, and now expressly affirms that the pope's dispensation is clearly void and nought; as also that the pope cannot, nisi clave errante, dispense with the same; for the publication of which opinion, he hath written a great book right substantially and clearly handled[95]." Wolsey left Compiegne after the middle of September, arrived at Boulogne[96] on the 21st, and hastened to England with such little delay, that on 9th October he was able to write to the king from Hampton court[97].

The letter of Clerk[98], the bishop of Bath, whom Wolsey made the bearer of his most private communications to the king, gives an important picture of the king's mind on this trying subject, and shows it to have been, as the summer of 1517 began, in a reasonable and equitable state, if his listening at all to the plans for prosecuting the divorce can be allowed to have these epithets. Wolsey had directed him to say, that as the queen might appeal to Rome, the business could not be determined in England, unless the pope would give him an absolute authority in every event—to recommend that she should be persuaded to go into a convent—and lastly, to suggest that if neither of these could be effected, it should be thought what could *secretly*

[95] Letter 5th Sept. from Compiegne.
[96] Letter 21st Sept.
[97] Letter 9th October. St. P. O
[98] We owe all our knowlege of this letter to lord Herbert, who has quoted from it in his history. p. 216.

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be done as to the forum of conscience[99]. Clerk stated to his Machiavellian patron the honest answer of Henry[100]; "My lord of Bath! The bull is good, or it is nought. If it be nought, let it be so declared; and if it be good, it shall never be broken by no ways for me." When the bishop, aware that protraction would not suit the cardinal's politics, intimated that the process before the pope might occupy six or seven years, the king as promptly declared, since he had had patience for eighteen years, he would stay yet four or five more[101]. A manly answer, which shows that moral integrity of mind for which Erasmus had praised him; a real desire for a just determination of it, and the absence of any settled scheme to exalt any other woman to the prejudice of the queen.

This private and confidential unbosoming of himself to his great statesman, puts the king's heart legibly before us, as it at that time felt. But after this period, as Anne Boleyn's attractions increased upon him, his desire for a divorce became more determined, and therefore it is with a recollection of this qualification, that we must read this public declaration, which in the following year he made before his nobility and council, on the coming of Campegio; "I have sent for this legate as a man, indifferent only to know the truth, and to settle my

[99] Herbert dates this letter in his margin as 30th August 1527. p 216. The '*clam* fieri,' is a phrase that excites some suspicion of the cardinal's fair meaning.

[100] Herbert says, he had seen his original letter. 207. I do not know that it now exists, but most letters of the embassies in France during 1527, have been destroyed by a fire in the British Museum.

[101] Herb. 207.

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conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the queen, if it be adjudged by the law of God, that she is my lawful wife, there was never thing more pleasant nor more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her[102]." That he entered into the question only to learn the truth, is a fact which the evidence supports; but his wish for its ending in a divorce, became in time a predominant passion. In his speech, he avowed his motives to be the desire of an undisputed succession, and of withdrawing from a matrimony, which he had been assured was incestuous and illegal[103]. The objections of Richard III. to his nephews' birth, from circumstances connected with the father's marriage, give some weight to the king's observations, on its importance to the future tranquillity of the crown and country.

When Henry sent Dr. Knight to Wolsey, he required that this secretary should be forwarded to Rome[104], and that the cardinal should return home[105], as if the king no longer favored the objects which that minister was there pursuing, but was now acting on some newer ideas of his own. Dr. Knight, after

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[102] Hall, 754. Hall gives this speech as he heard it spoken by the king.

[103] Hall, 754. This speech was delivered on 8th November 1528.

[104] We learn this from the king's letter to Wolsey, printed by Burnet, v. 6. p. 20. He thanks the cardinal for his services, and orders Knight to Rome, for three purposes—to salute the pope on his captivity—to have a person resident there—' and also, lest the queen should prevent us by the emperor's means in our great matter.' ib.

[105] ' Greatly I desire your return home, for here we have great lack of you.' ib.

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his conferences at Amiens, passed on to Italy; but the vigilance of the imperial officers who had Clement in their custody, precluded the intended interview, and on 13th September the baffled envoy wrote that he could not gain access to the pontiff[106]. On 16th September, Wolsey, before he quitted Compiegne, in conjunction with the legate in France, Salviati, its chancellor, and two other cardinals, addressed a joint epistle to the pope, stating their grief at his miserable condition and contumelious captivity; informing him, that they had ordered fasts and prayers thro France and England, for his liberation; had appealed to the emperor, not to continue his detention, and had solicited the aid of the French and English kings, by their arms, to procure his freedom; and then declaring, lest Charles should extort from the imprisonment an enlargement of his empire, a donation of ecclesiastical possessions, or a subversion of the ancient state of the church, that they should resist all innovations or concessions which the pontiff might make, and all new creations of cardinals; and in case of his death, would themselves proceed to the election of a new pope[107].

This document was meant to support Wolsey's application to be constituted the pontiff's vicar-general, as the governments had planned in the treaty of Amiens[108]. But the supposition that Clement would sanction their limitation of his power, or while in the grasp of their antagonist, make any vicarial de-

[106] Herbert states this letter, p. 218.

[107] Le Grand has printed this verbose document, which is almost one protracted paragraph of eight pages. v. 3. p. 4–12.

[108] Le Grand, v. 1. p. 60.

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legation of it, did no credit to the political sagacity of the petitioning statesmen. They might seem to themselves to be working in secrecy unseen; but Charles had such exact intelligence of Wolsey's applications to the pope, that he complained to the English ambassadors in Spain, of the letters to his prejudice, which the cardinal had dispatched from Compiegne[109].

On the 25th September the French king signed, in this town, his commission to his great master, Montmorency, the bishop of Bayonne, and two others, to receive Henry's oath to the last treaty, to settle the arrangements for his joining in a maritime war against Charles, if he should refuse the conditions that were to be offered him; and to ascertain what privileges the English merchants enjoyed in Flanders before the hostilities against the emperor[110]. On the 10th October this embassy reached Calais, accompanied by six hundred French gentlemen. They were received and treated in England by Henry with magnificent distinction; and the two sovereigns exchanged with each other their orders of St. Michael and the Garter[111].

Undismayed by the combination of these courts against him, the emperor persisted in continuing the

[109] Dr. Lee, on 24th October 1527, acquainted Wolsey with this remonstrance. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 208. Altho the detail has not been preserved of Wolsey's secret transactions at Compiegne, they so gratified Francis, that on 11th November he wrote of the cardinal to his ambassadors in England, that 'without his advice and counsel, he would not govern or conduct himself;' adding, 'not without a great participation from the good office which the cardinal has done, in that my good friend to whom as far as I am concerned I bear such an obligation as I can never forget.' Le Grand, 3. p. 20.

[110] It is printed in Le Grand, v. 3. p. 15-17.

[111] Le Grand v. 1. p. 61.

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custody of the pope, and in requiring the guaranteed relinquishment to him of the Milanese[112], and the recal of the French army under general Lautrec, out of Italy[113]. The threats of a fierce war from England and France, in the next month, if he did not abate his conditions, excited his resentment at the dictatorial menace, but did not intimidate him[114]. From the pope he demanded money, permanent attachment, and security for his good faith[115].

In November, the duke of Ferrara, who had contributed so materially to Bourbon's successes in Italy, was detached from the emperor by the intrigues, alliance, and promises of France[116]. This event, and the advance of Lautrec with the French forces, decided the pope to break off all compositions with Charles[117]. Yet altho Clement took this step, he was not satisfied with the tardy movements of the

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[112] On 27th September, the English envoys in Spain wrote to Henry from Valencia, 'We think—compendiously to declare in what point we stand now.—He demandeth the rendering of Milan in perpetuum. As to F. Sforza, he will give him judges, not support. He shall be restored, if he be found innocent. The French king shall defend the obedience of the state of Milan, for him.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 205.

[113] Ib. 'He also demands the gallies and ships, according to the treaty of Madrid, for his journey to Italy, and is content to take surety for the rest of the two millions.' MS. ib. 205.

[114] Their dispatch of 24th October mentions, that, 'upon these words, with others, we afterwards heard that he said, 'They go about to constrain me!' MS. ib. 208.

[115] Cardinal Trivulci, on 7th October, informed Lautrec, 'The emperor asks for his security during the war, Castelloni, Orvieto, Forum livium, Bologna and Ancona, and that the pope should never be against him, and should pay 200,000 crowns in two months.' MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 170.

[116] The convention with him, signed by Alphonso, the duke, and by the cardinals Cibo and Contarenus, the French agent Joachimo, and also Cassalis, is in MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 177-181. It is dated 14th November 1527. Hercules, the duke's eldest son, was to marry Rhenata, the Renée before alluded to.

[117] Cassalis apprized Wolsey of this circumstance on 26th November, from Parma. MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 182.

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auxiliary general, and earnestly counselled him to bolder and more rapid operations[118]. But the manifest object of the French court was not to use its army to release or aggrandize the pontiff, but to give effect to its negotiations for the return of its two hostage young princes. Its backwardness to give Saint Peter's see the benefit of its military efficacy, inclined the pope to vibrate back again to an accommodation with the emperor: and on 3d December the new English envoy, Jerningham, communicated to Henry the important information which he had that day received from M. Lautrec, that Clement had concluded his terms with the imperial government[119]; and yet with a faithlessness, that disgraced the ecclesiastical head of continental Europe, desired the French general to pursue his martial operations[120]. Lautrec foreseeing his release, and having this specimen of his honor, good faith and stability,

[118] 'Of whose slowness he complains, and urges vehemently to persuade them to celerity; for nothing can be less doubtful than that when they hasten with the army they will have victory, especially as there are great enmities between the Germans and Spaniards.' Dispatch, MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 182.

[119] This dispatch is from Parma, and states, 'M. Lautrech showed unto me that this day one arrived *from the pope*, who showed unto him that the pope is now concluded and fallen to an appointment, the manner whereof is, that the pope *hath* bound himself unto the emperor, 300,000 crowns; he hath also granted unto Spain a crusade; and farther, hath licensed the Spaniards to *sell in benefices*, within Naples, to the extent of 6,000 crowns; and hath granted unto the emperor the seisin of all his country: and for the performance *hath given* hostage.' Lett. 3d December. MS. ib. p. 188.

[120] The dispatch adds, 'Howbeit, the said *pope hath sent* unto Mr. Lautrech, that notwithstanding the said appointments taken and concluded, he, with the said army, should march forward. But he sent unto him no knowlege of any aid or assistance that he would give him in the same his journey. Nevertheless, the said Lautrech intendeth to make speedy advancement accordingly.' MS. ib. 188. May we not ask if there be any thing in Machiavel's Prince that surpasses this pontifical conduct?

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wished him to seduce the Germans to resort to his army[121]. But the pontiff, if not honest, was at least not such a shallow reasoner as to make sacrifices to get out of a Spanish imprisonment, to put himself immediately afterwards under a French one; therefore, even six days after Jerningham's communication, he escaped from St. Angelo, and turned his course to Orvieto, in the disguise of a merchant[122]. We use the term escape, as it was the public scenery of his release; but connecting it with the fact, which we learn from the diplomatic papers, of his agreement with Charles having immediately preceded it, it is probable that some secret order from the imperial government to its vigilant superintendents, was the real cause of his liberation, altho in the mode of a private evasion; that the expectant army might not interpose any impediment, nor the French obtain so important a captive, if he was publicly released with the freedom to go where he pleased. It is probable that Orvieto was the prescribed asylum when the treaty was settled[123]. Wolsey was at that

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[121] Jerningham proceeds, 'Lautrech further shewed that he once or twice covertly and secretly hath written to the pope, moving him not only to have singular respect and regard for his departing from Rome toward this army; but also, if so he may, to fall at composition with the lance knights there; and by some policy to *entice* them privately to depart from the Spaniards, and at such time as we shall approach Rome to repair unto the other said army.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 188.

[122] Le Grand, 1. p. 69. The intrigues with the German lance knights may have also induced the imperial government to let the pope leave Rome, for Jerningham added to the preceding dispatch, 'for the recovery of the which lance knights Mr. Lautrech hath one in those places to solicit the same accordingly, so as he trusteth verily by some such means the said lance knights shall be obtained.' MS. ib. 188.

[123] Le Grand has printed this treaty between the pope and the imperialists, signed in St. Angelo, Tuesday, 26th Nov. 1527. In ten days he was to pay 73,169 scudi, and to be then set 'in total liberta;' the other payments, which make the sum total 368,153 scudi, were to be

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time urging a general pacification, on the plausible grounds that the Turks might be attacked, and "the most pernicious sect of the Lutherans[124]" be suppressed. When we consider the double dealing and hypocrisy which the one ecclesiastical and the three great civil powers of Europe were alike acting towards each other, and with reciprocal knowlege of each other's practices, we are surprised that no one discerned the real inutility of the stipulating system. A Louis XI. might say to his ambassadors, "Lie to them, for they lie to you;" but such things are soon so useless, that they who use them are like the apes in the fable, who finding a glow-worm in a cold night, took it for a spark of fire, heaped sticks upon it, and sat round to warm themselves by its expected blaze; so will falsehood, whatever be its promise, disappoint and mortify those who cherish it.

Wolsey expressed his delight that Ferrara had joined the confederacy against the emperor; but also his conviction that every thing hung upon Lautrec, on whom immortal glory would descend if his operations should be successful. For this end, the cardinal, hoping that he would omit no diligence or speed, directed the ambassador, "in the king's name,

advanced by subsequent instalments in three months. To raise the money he was to create some cardinals who could pay for their promotion. He granted a bull to Charles, to sell a tenth part of all 'li beni temporali' of the church, in the kingdom of Naples; and he allowed the imperial army to remain in Rome, and in the ecclesiastical state, 'come boni amici et senza offensione.' 3 Le Grand, 48–57.

[124] So he calls them in his proposition, dated 27th November, in MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 183. On 10th December, Wolsey addressed a letter of congratulation to Lautrech, which is in the same MS. p. 201; and on 14th December the pope wrote to the cardinal on his deliverance, thanking him and his sovereign for their labors in his behalf, adding his acknowlegements 'hæc ipsa tanti fuisse et fore,' that they could only be repaid by the 'divine favor, not by his gratitude.' ib. 202.

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and in mine," to implore the general to press forward his "so necessary and useful advance[125]." Wolsey was assured that the Florentines would join the French[126]; but in three days afterwards the secret but mortifying news was sent to him, that the pope was cleaving to the emperor[127], and opposing the duke of Ferrara[128]; tho with some hope, such was the papal character, that he might yet soon join the league[129]. The next day, another envoy consoled him with information, that the pontiff, tho wretched and solitary[130], was yet only waiting the result of Lautrec's operations; and hoping to educe some benefit from them, was, without any sincerity, protracting his negotiations with the emperor[131], and

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[125] Wolsey to Cassalis, MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 203-205. The language, if not the expectation of Francis, was as sanguine as that of the cardinal as to Lautrech. On 12th Nov. 1527, this king thus wrote of him, 'May heaven give him grace to accomplish the expedition, undertaken principally for the deliverance of the pope and the apostolic see; by which he will obtain such an happy victory, so laudable and honorable for all who shall have helped him, that it will be remembered as long as the world shall last.' Lett. to his ambass. in Le Grand, 3. p. 20.

[126] Cassalis' letter to Wolsey, of 18th December. MS. ib. 208.

[127] On 21st December, Jerningham's dispatch from Bologna was, 'Mr. Lautrech hath shewed unto me secretly, and by his own report hath given knowlege thereof unto none, ambassador nor other; wherefore he willed me to keep the same secret, unless for the advertisement of your grace, that he hath received news from the pope, whereby he doth perceive his holiness is minded and fully determined to observe and perform his appointment with the enemies taken and concluded.' MS. ib. p. 209.

[128] 'And also that the duke of Ferrara doubteth that the pope will in no wise apply nor incline unto him according to his league, confederate and taken.' ib.

[129] 'Howbeit Mr. Lautrech hath also notified me, that notwithstanding the pope's strangeness and obstinacy as yet so shewed and extended, he trusteth that undoubtedly, within a short space, his holiness will enter into the said league and amity,' MS. ib.

[130] Cassalis' letter from Orvieto, of 22d December, says, 'We have come to the pope, whom we found 'miserum et solum,' since of his household only some small relics remain.' MS. ib. p. 210.

[131] Cassalis adds, that the prothonotarius Gambara had mentioned

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sowing dissensions among his troops. The ambassador had been scrutinizing the pope's real mind, by desire of the French general[132]; and learnt from him, that he must have a better prospect before he changed again, and that his heart was with the allied courts, but withheld by his fears from showing its tendency[133]. The final inference was, that if Lautrec would be active with his army, he might obtain from Clement whatever he desired[134]. The French commander, at the end of December, sent Cassalis to persuade the pope not to keep his agreement with the emperor[135]. Clement was willing to do any thing if Lautrec would advance: but this officer chose not to move then from his position at Bologna[136], although the pontiff commissioned the English agent to stimulate him forward[137].

Before Wolsey went to Amiens, the chief objection to the marriage had been placed on its con-

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'what the pope said to us, that the pope has much and long expected the coming on of Lautrech, and therefore has drawn the convention made with the Cæsareans into length; asserting that he 'maxime operam dediase,' by which the discord among the imperialists might remain, tho that would not be without the greatest danger of himself and his hostages.' MS. Vit. B. 9. p. 210.

[132] 'Paul Camillus and I proposed to the pope what Lautrech had imposed upon us, who bade us search 'quo animo:' he was offering us forces.' ib. 211.

[133] The pope said, 'that ulterius vel prospicere before he changed those things which had been appointed; and truly we obtained from him no subsidy but only good counsel, which shewed that he hath good will which he dares not at present shew.' MS. ib. 211.

[134] 'We could collect that if Lautrech will move his army, he will obtain from him all he wishes.' ib. 211.

[135] Cassalis' letter of 30th December. ib. 215.

[136] MS. ib. 216.

[137] 'The pope sent me to Lautrech with a brief that I should urge his progress, which I hope to do, but in the mean time a fine season is slipping away.' ib. 216.

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trariety to the Divine law; and the old dispensatory bull had been impeached, on the ground that the facts which it recited as its foundation were untrue. But when he returned, the king expressed to sir Thomas More a new and additional difficulty still more radical. This was, that the nuptials were against the law of nature, and therefore could in no wise be dispensable. A treatise was settled, on all these grounds, against the matrimony, by a numerous assembly of learned men at Hampton Court, which was afterwards read and approved of at Wolsey's, in the presence of divers bishops and other persons of erudition; and More has declared his sentiments to be, that the king was acting "well and virtuously," in procuring to have the scruple, "which he could not otherwise avoid, decided by the judgment of the church[138]." It is a remarkable circumstance, that if Henry had married Renée, the English reformation would have found an auxiliary and a patroness in her, no less than in D'Alençon; a consideration that may abate the animosity of the friends of the papacy against Anne Boleyn. Renée became a reformer in her little Italian principality, and disliked the pope, and on his account had differences with her husband[139]. So that, whether

[138] Sir Thomas More states these facts in his letter, which has been often printed. See it in Singer's Appendix to Roper's life of him, p. 116, 117.

[139] It is from Brantome we learn this curious fact. He says, 'she had been promised by Francis to the emperor Charles. She was for some time not comfortable with her husband the duke of Ferrara, as he suspected her of the Lutheran religion. Perhaps resenting the evil turns which the popes had done to her father in so many ways, *she rejected their authority, and withdrew herself from obedience to them.*' v. 1. p. 323.

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Henry had married Margaret, Renée, or Anne Boleyn, England would still have enjoyed an anti-papal queen. CHAP. XX.

It was on the 20th of October that the complimentary ambassadors from France visited England with the order of St. Michael, and were splendidly feasted by Henry. This date deserves attention, because Cavendish states that it was after their arrival, that the king declared to Wolsey[140] the intensity of his affection for his beautiful subject, and his desire to place her on his throne. The minister, who, until this communication, had considered his attachment but as a passing humor, was astonished to find it settling into this important determination, and on his knees endeavored to dissuade him from it. He failed; and his failure is an additional evidence that her conduct up to that time had been unimpeachable. Perceiving Henry's unaltered resolution, he began to dread the destruction of his own influence if he continued to resist it, and advised his sovereign to consult the men who were the most distinguished in the law and church. The king directed such an assembly to be convened, probably the one alluded to by More; his case was debated before them; but they deemed it too difficult to determine, and recommended commissioners to be sent to the most reputable universities abroad for their judgment on the subject[141]. This reference was adopted, and large sums of money were sent out to procure their

[140] 'The matter was then by the king disclosed to my lord cardinal.' Cav. 139.

[141] Cav. 140, 141.

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opinions[142]. Disappointed, but not deterred, Wolsey sent, in an evil hour for himself, his instructions to Knight, at Rome, to suspend the applications for the divorce, which he had been instructed to solicit[143]; and the pope received an impression that the cardinal was hostile to the measure, which stayed his acquiescence in it[144], at that critical moment when he appears to have been most flexible.

But as December began, Wolsey found that the omnipotence of his power of persuasion or command had ceased upon Henry. He combated against the attractions of Anne, only to be so signally defeated,

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[142] Cavendish says, the money was 'given to the famous clerks to choke them.' p. 142. That money was distributed abroad is proved by Dr. Croke's letter to the king, printed by Strype. He says, 'I delivered unto friar Thomas 23 crowns, since which time he hath got your highness but seven subscriptions. Of them, two only except, there is not one worthy thanks. I have, and do often call upon him; but he answereth me that there is no more doctors to be gotten. The contrary whereof I know to be true; and when I demand of him some remembrance of his hand for 47 crowns, which I have paid him, he answers, that at the end of the cause he will either make me a bill or deliver me the money again. Friar Ambrose had of me, for getting of the determination of Padua, for his part only, 20 crowns; Franciscus, for him and Dionysius, 77 crowns; and notwithstanding, when I call upon them for some fruit; of none of their labor, except Dionysius, I can get none.' Eccles. Mem. App. v. 1. p. 156–8. But the fair inference from this account seems to be, not that the universities were bribed into false opinions, for out of seven procured by friar Thomas five were not favorable; but that the agents received the money and laid it out as they pleased, and without duly accounting for it. The sums they paid for the opinions they obtained, were like fees on cases to counsel, given to obtain a sound opinion, not a corrupt one. Henry had no right to trouble strangers with his affairs, without an equitable remuneration.

[143] Le Grand, v. 1. p. 59.

[144] It is from Dr. S. Gardiner's letter, in the following spring, that we learn that the pope 'had been somewhat stayed in expedition of the king's desire, because it was shewed him that it was set forth without the cardinal's consent or knowlege.' The pope admitted it had been so reported to him, and that this report, 'altho it sank not deeply in his mind, yet to say the truth *it stayed him*, and made him doubt in the matter.' See the dispatch of 26th March 1528, printed by Strype in his Eccles. Mem. App. vi. p. 69, 70.

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as to see no safety to himself, but by encouraging what he wished to have prevented. He therefore bent his mind to withdraw his secret opposition to the divorce, and to obtain it with such dispatch as would appease and gratify the king, but thro his own instrumentality; that he might share in all its beneficial consequences, and keep them in his own guidance. With this view, on 5th December, he wrote those decisive instructions, before noticed, to Cassalis, which have been printed by Burnet[145]. In this dilated letter, the cardinal expatiates on every subject likely to influence the papal mind to break the existing marriage. He states the opinions taken as mentioned before of the most illustrious divines and lawyers of England and elsewhere, that the marriage was invalid, and the dispensation for it ineffectual. He places the king's disposition towards it, first, on the religious scruple, and "next," as he says, "on the security of his succession; weighing accurately what heavy evils may then result; and feeling how displeasing to God, how dishonorable to himself, and how dangerous it would be to his subjects, if he should knowingly and willingly persist in this insufficient wedlock." He arraigns the dispensation granted by Julius II. for the marriage, for the falsehoods of its statements; notices the king's early revocation of the contract; represents heaven as manifesting its displeasure against it, by the death of all its male offspring; and as the pope was then in the custody of the imperialists, orders

[145] His long Latin letter is in Burnet, v. 2. p. 7, and also in the Appendix to Fiddes, p. 186-195.

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Cassalis, by assuming a disgnise of dress, to get admission to him, to assure him "that nothing was more vehemently wished by all the nobility of the realm, and by the people, than a male heir [146]."

The mode by which Wolsey planned to accomplish the now double object of the king's divorce and nuptials with Anne Boleyn, was, that the pope should declare, by a decretal, the existing marriage void, if that with Arthur had been consummated; that he should commission Wolsey to ascertain and decide on this fact in England; and that he should sign a dispensation for Henry to wed again. By putting the affair in the shape of these three official documents, he kept the papal power unlessened, unquestioned, and uncensured, as they admitted its right to dispense; and put it into actual exertion again for that purpose; and placed the desired annulment on a fact which had been mistated to the former pontiff, and was now to be investigated. At the same time this scheme raised Wolsey to all the pre-eminence which his vanity coveted, and to his claim of gratitude from his king and new queen, in future, by making himself the judge and virtual granter of the indispensable divorce. Nothing could be more cunningly suggested; but as he knew enough of Clement not to trust either his word, his honor, his steadiness, or his signatures, he required the suspected pontiff to bind himself by a fourth act, an engagement that has been called a pollicitation, that he would never annul either of the three preceding instruments [147]. These four important papers

[146] Burnet, v. 2. p. 7.

[147] Herb. 218.

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were carefully prepared by Wolsey, in England, in his own phraseology; and Cassalis and Knight were instructed to get them approved and signed by the pope, in due official completeness, with the utmost dispatch.

Clement had gone to Orvieto before this letter could have reached Cassalis. But previous to the pontiff's quitting Rome, the emperor had sent the general of one of his monastic orders express from Spain, to remonstrate against his doing any act that would lead to a divorce[148]; and the pope, while in the power of Charles, had bound his own hands from ever granting Henry's wishes until military reverses should disable the emperor from resenting his faithlessness, by pledging himself to give no official sanction to the repudiation, without first apprizing the imperial government[149]. No disasters in war occurred to break this fetter[150], and therefore Henry could never obtain the papal annulment of his marriage; and England from the continued impossibility of Clement's gratifying his desire, became in time, emancipated from the power both of Wolsey and the popedom.

The cardinal was too sanguine to anticipate such

[148] Possevini admits that the emperor enjoined the 'ministro generali minorum to demand in his name from the pontiff adhuc in arce detento, ut *pro potestate* caveret, ne quid de hujusmodi divortio tentaretur.' Hist. Con. Trent. p. 206. Dr. Knight, p. 218.

[149] Herb. On 1st October 1527, Mauro wrote to a dignified friend, that 'the death of the viceroy which had occurred was very adverse to the pope's affairs, as he would have been a good instrument for his liberation.' Lett. Princ. v. 2. p. 79.

[150] Charles on 22d Nov. 1527, plainly declared his mind in a letter to the pope: 'If you be to me a good father and a good shepherd, you shall find me a humble son.' Lett. Princ. p. 80. What this condition implied, if Clement should not please him, Pallavicini's 'pro potestate caveret' sufficiently elucidates.

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an unfavorable result; and believing that Lautrec's skill and activity would release the pontiff from all dread of the consequences, he became very earnest with his ambassador, to urge on the one hand the French forces into a winter campaign[151]; and on the other, to press the pope to comply with the king's solicitations. All other things were to be put aside; every nerve of his diplomatic mind was to be exerted; every mode was to be devised to obtain this grand object[152]. Wolsey saw it to be now so deep rooted in the king's heart[153], that his own downfal, and even calamity to the popedom, would be linked with the royal disappointment[154]. Both Cassalis and Knight made their separate applications at Orvieto. To the latter, Clement expressed himself favorably to the application[155]; but intimated, that as he was not expert in making commissions, he would consult

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[151] In his MS. Letter to Cassalis of 15th December 1527, he says, 'When I look around on all sides, I think the opportunity of doing the thing well is proposed from heaven itself to Lautrech. There could not be a time more suitable to his enterprize.'

[152] The language of this second letter of Wolsey's is particularly emphatic. 'It remains that I ask you most vehemently that all other things put aside, all delay laid by, you would apply all your strength, all the nerves of your ingenuity, and all your industry; think therefore of all modes by which you may get access to the pope, to obtain most secretly and most diligently the king's desire.' MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 204.

[153] He says, 'Nothing of greater moment, or with more tenacity can adhere to the royal breast.' p. 204. 'It is peculiarly in his majesty's heart.' ib. 205. So, on 27th December he wrote, 'It is deeply felt by his majesty that the dissolution of this marriage between himself and the queen is a matter of the greatest weight and moment, partly from what relates to the quality of the personages, and partly from the occasion that may be connected with it.' MS. Letter.

[154] He added, 'the delay or prorogation of this process might be a cause that some extraordinary mode would be tried which his majesty would follow to have this affair determined, which would be to the very great prejudice of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.' MS. ib.

[155] 'His holiness was right well content and ready to adhibit all remedy that in him was possible, as this time would serve.' Knight to Wolsey, 1st Jan. 1521. Burn. 2. p.

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with the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor[156]. To the former he stated, that he had ordered this prelate to expedite the business as quickly as possible[157]. Thus closed the year 1527. It is now time to direct our attention specifically to Anne Boleyn. But if we study carefully all the preceding details, and those which follow, we shall find it curious to observe what little links of circumstances were gradually made to arise, or were permitted to occur, in the most useful succession, and rarely expected by their authors, in order to produce those chains of compelling necessities, which, without a visible miracle, and by human hands and agencies, so bound and moved the various antagonist powers, and most influencing individuals, as to cause the papal despotism in Europe to be quietly overthrown: to separate religion from corrupt and imbecile superstitions; to wrench the English hierarchy from a foreign servility that makes the subjected clergy but the obeying and disturbing puppets of foreign interests and politics; and to allow the British nation to emerge into that career of improvement, which, restricted no more by Romish prohibitions or selfishness, has been continually increasing since this fortunate emancipation, till it has become a model of intellectual energy; that can be liberal without being impious; excursive,

[156] Knight to Wolsey, 1st Jan. 1528. Burn. 2. p.

[157] On 30th December 1527, Cassalis wrote from Orvieto to Wolsey, 'I had a long talk with the pope; but because I said I could not depart thence unless the cause of his majesty was expedited, therefore his holiness *yesterday* spoke to the cardinal S. Quatuor, 'ut quam citissime hoc negotium expediet.' MS. Vitell. B. 9. p. 215. But on 10 Cal. Jan. or 23d Dec. 1527, Clement signed a bull, permitting Henry to contract matrimony again, if that with Catherine should be declared null. See it in Wilk. Conc. v. 3. p. 707.

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yet not extravagant; fearless, yet rational; generally free, but not generally licentious; seeking wisdom in its sublimest sources, and connecting virtue with its noblest origin. Anne Boleyn was one of the designated instruments, and at first, without any intention to be so, that was imperceptibly brought forward, and forced, by concurring incidents, into efficient operation, to assist in producing this momentous revolution.

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CHAP. XXI.

ANNE BOLEYN'S PARENTAGE — RESIDENCE IN FRANCE — RETURN TO ENGLAND—MENTAL AND PERSONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS—AND MORAL CHARACTER.

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ANNE BOLEYN was the daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, the grandson of a country gentleman of Norfolk, who, directing his active mind to commerce, had been knighted when lord mayor of London[1].

[1] The family of the Boleyns is supposed by a French writer to have originated in France, from Brie or its vicinity, because in an old deed of 1344, the lord of Avesnes, among the men of his fief, names a Vautier Boulen. M. Bellay, Observ. v. 18. p. 349. But our Norfolk documents precede this French one above half a century. The register of Walsingham Abbey, fol. 182, shows a John Boleyne, at Salle, in Norfolk, in the year 1283, whose descendants can be traced there to Jeffrey Boleyne, who was buried in Salle church, in 1440, and whose son was the alderman and lord mayor of London. Bloomefield's Norf. v. 3. p. 626. In 37 Henry 3, a Simon de Boleyne released Stalham, in Norfolk, and also Bromstead. ib. v. 5. p. 886; 847. The ancient John, of 1283, is supposed to be his son, and is called John de Boleyne. ib. v. 4. p. 425. It is not improbable from this name, that they may have come to England from Boulogne, which is frequently called, like the family, Bullen. In Salle church is an old inscription in Latin, to pray for the soul of Sim. Boleyn, a chaplain, who died 3d August 1482; and also, 'here lies Galfred Boleyn, who died 25th March 1440.' v. 4. p. 425.

The son of this Galfred, was the Geoffry who went to London: he was in the service of the celebrated sir John Falstaff, of Norfolk, and in a letter to Paston, he calls sir John his master. He built a chapel at the east end of Blickling church, and in its window his inscription still remains. ib. v. 3. p. 626. This sir Geoffry stands in Fabian's Chronicle, p. 443, as sheriff of London in 1446, and as its lord mayor in 1457. ib. p. 463. His will was proved 2d July 1463, and he was buried at St. Lawrence, in the Old Jewry. His donations of 1,000*l.* to the poor householders of the city of London, Speed, 782: and of 200*l.* to the poor of Norfolk, considering the value of money at that time, were princely donations, which imply a fortune unusually large. His eldest son, sir Thomas, died in 1471. Blom. v. 3. p. 626.

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The wealthy citizen's son William had attached himself to Richard III. so decidedly, as to be made one of the knights of the Bath at his coronation[2]; and during the reign of Henry VII, had so strongly interested the friendship and patronage of the earl of Surrey, who had fought for Richard in the field of Bosworth, as to obtain lady Elizabeth Howard, one of Surrey's daughters, for his eldest son Thomas[3]. His dying feelings are strongly expressed in his testamentary ejaculation, made on his death bed, and placed at the beginning of his codicil[4]. Sir Thomas and his lady usually resided at Rochford Hall, in Essex, but they had also lived at Blickling, near Aylsham, in Norfolk, where their daughter Anne was born[5]. The most authentic accounts which have

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[2] Sir William Boleyn, the second son of sir Geoffry, died in November 1505. His will is dated 7th October in that year, and, with a codicil, was proved 27th November. Besides his son Thomas, they mention several other sons, and some daughters, and his wife lady Margaret. The codicil states his mother dame Ann Boleyn, to have been buried at Norwich, near whom he wishes to be interred. They are in the Prerogative court, 1505. No. 40.

[3] Sir Thomas was in arms with his father, against the Cornish insurgents, in 1497, and in 1511 was one of the knights of the body to Henry 8th, and joint governor of Norwich castle. Dugdale Baron. 2. p. 306.

[4] They are thus expressed: 'First, Gracious Jesu, I, as a sinful creature, knowing verily my sinful soul, by reason of my merits not worthy to be accepted to the holy company of heaven, to continue in that blessed place, Lord! without Thy great and large mercy and grace; the which, thro Thy passion, to every Christian man lowly asking, Thou graciously grantest: and also, Thou, merciful Lord! not willing that the soul, that Thou with thy precious blood didst redeem, should be of none effect, but rather in everlasting life there honor Thee, and give thankings without end: wherefore, I now being in my full mind and stedfast faith, and in perfect charity, ask and cry thee, Jesu! and all the world, mercy.'—To this better beginning, he adds his trust in the request of nineteen saints, whom he calls 'my avowers,' and among whom he names St. George and 'holy king Henry the 6th.' MS. Will.

[5] A line of sir Henry Spelman, in his Icenia, has transmitted this fact. 'Natalitium hic sortita.' p. 151. This mansion, by the marriage of James's daughter, went to the Clare family.

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reached us of Anne Boleyn's birth, concur to place it in 1507[6]. CHAP. XXI.

Her father was early and repeatedly employed in embassies abroad[7]; and she herself was, in September 1514, separated from her family in her seventh year, to be one of the attendants of the princess Mary, who went to Paris to be the wife and transient queen of Louis XII[8]. After his death, in January 1515, and his widow's return to England, Anne remained in France in the household of the new queen Claude, by whom she was brought up[9]. This queen was then young, only eight years older than Anne[10], but her habits were retired, her character grave[11]; and the letters of Catherine to her

[6] Camden, whose authority as a herald, and as an accurate searcher into our antiquities, is entitled to respect, and who was so nearly her contemporary, and had full means of ascertaining the truth, has inserted in the margin of his Apparatus to his Annales, 'Anna Bolena, nata 1507.' p. 2. The same date is stated by sir Roger Twysden twice in the margin of his 'Account of Anne Bullen,' written by him in 1623, from her uncle's oral relation, thus: 'of which marriage Anne was born, 1507;' 'not above 7 years of age, A° 1514.' This date is also adopted by Bayle and by Burnet, and the most respectable of our historians. Mr. Churchill, the clergyman of Blickling parsonage, has informed me, that the register of baptisms of that parish does not begin till the year 1557, and that the name of Boleyn does not occur in it. Its burial registry begins with 1559, and has that of sir James Boleyn.

[7] In 1512, he was appointed ambassador to Maximilian; in 1519, to Francis 1st; in 1521, to the emperor; in 1522 and 1523, to Charles 5, in Spain; in 1527, in France; and 1529, to the emperor. Dug. Bar. 2. 306.

[8] Her name appears in the list signed by Lewis 12, of those whom, in October 1513, he allowed to remain in France with his English queen. This MS. is now in the Cotton library, and has been printed by Mr. Ellis, in his Orig. Lett. 1. p. 116.

[9] Camden's Annales, App. 2. The same facts are mentioned by sir Roger Twysden, in the account above mentioned. Le Grand admits these facts. v. 2. p. 40.

[10] Louisa dates her birth the 13th October 1499. Journal, p. 410.

[11] We may take her character from a respectable French biographical work: 'A sincere piety, an equal temper, and a very great kindness of heart, occasioned her to be called in her time, 'The good queen.' When Louis 12 was told by his second wife, Anne of Bretagne, that Francis I. would be too disgusted by Claude's deformity, to be a fit husband for

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imply a respect and kindness[12] which this correct and conscientious queen of England would not have expressed to one of sullied reputation or immoral manners. In her palace, Anne continued to the seventeenth year of her age[13], having the advantage also of the society of the favorite sister of Francis, Margaret[14], then married to the duke of Alençon. On the death of Claude, in 1524, this enlightened and accomplished woman, distinguished as much by her virtues as by her intellect, took Anne Boleyn into her family; she became a widow in the spring of 1525[15], and in the autumn of that year went to

her, he answered, 'she is not handsome; but her virtue will affect him. He cannot help doing her justice.' Nouv. Dict. Histor.

[12] In this epistle, Catherine says to Claude, 'I have received by your escuyer your affectionate letters, and assure you, that I am very greatly consoled to have heard such good news of your health and happiness, and of your's and my dear and loved son, the dauphin's. By your escuyer you will hear of my health, state and comfort, and news also of the king's my husband, and of my daughter the princess; and particularly of our affection and good will, and of our great desire to continue the kind love and friendship, and the brotherly understanding which now subsists between the two kings and their kingdoms. I think it is now not to be separated again, and I pray that it may continue. I desire this above all things. I will hold out my hand to promote it, as I always have done, and will still do; but I will not weary you with a long letter, but believe that I participate in all your good news. If there be any thing in which I can give you pleasure, I will do it with a friendly heart, as her who means and wishes always to continue to be your good sister and cousin, Catherine.—To my good sister and cousin, the queen Claude of France.' MS. Calig. E. 1. p. 1.

[13] Claude died the 20th July 1524. The French writers give the same account of Anne's being under Claude and Margaret, as the English; and Laboureux, in his notes on Castlenau, says of the last, 'it was with this princess, who was among the first who embraced the Lutheran religion, that Anne Boleyn became infected with her heresies.' Obs. Bell. 348. Meteren, the contemporary historian of the Pay bas, also places her under Margaret, after Claude. p. 20.

[14] Louisa dates her daughter Margaret's birth on 11th April 1492, or seven and a half years before Claude's, and her marriage with D'Alençon on 9th October 1509, who was then in his twenty-first year, he havin oeen born 2d September 1489. Journal, 410–412.

[15] The duc D'Alençon died in the spring of 1525, apparently of mortification at his discredit for quitting the fatal battle of Pavia before it was decided, and thus contributing to the captivity of Francis.

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Spain, as already narrated[16], where we may presume that her maid of honor was her companion; and in 1527, married the then dispossessed king of Navarre[17]: This incident, taking her from Paris, may be supposed to have been the occasion of sir Thomas Boleyn calling his daughter into England, who was now twenty, and fit in all respects to appear with credit in general society. This marriage and recal place Anne's return to England in February 1527. There is not the least evidence that she came to it earlier.

The residence of this young lady at Paris, and with its royal family, from 1515 to 1527, was peculiarly calculated during that period to enlarge and liberalise her mind. Louis XII, in the latter part of his life, and his cabinet, had seen the evils of the papal ambition, and had threatened the pontiff[18]. Francis soon afterwards talked of receding from Rome, if a pope was chosen whom he disliked[19]. His mother Louisa, whose attentions to her dying

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[16] See vol. 1. chap. 15. Margaret returned into France in December 1525. The bishop of Bath, on 16th of that month, wrote to Wolsey, that Louisa had then told him, that 'her daughter, the lady Alençon keepeth on her way homeward.' MS. Cal. D. 9. p. 99. On 24th December he stated, that on the preceding Wednesday, the lady regent had departed to a town in Languedoc, 'where her daughter, the duchess Alençon, met her.' ib. p. 102.

[17] The date of this marriage has been variously stated; but I at last discovered the exact day, in Pierre Olhagaray's Historie de Foix et Navarre. Ed. 1609. It was on the 24th January 1527, she was united to Henry, second duc D'Albret. p. 488. Their only surviving daughter, Jeanne, was the mother of the celebrated Henry 4, who was born 13th December 1553. p. 507.

[18] See vol. 1. ch. 4. p. 98. Notes 85, 6, 98.

[19] Our ambassador, Fitzwilliam, apprized Wolsey, in January 1522, that the French king had written to the cardinal, 'expressly, that as they elect the cardinal de Medici—he protested that he, nor none other within his realm, should obey to the church of Rome.' MS. Cal. D. 8. p. 196.

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husband had been exemplary[20], has left in her own memoirs a strong expression of her discerning and emancipated mind, as to the main supporters of the papal hierarchy[21]: and Margaret herself, even to our ambassadors, did not disguise her unfavorable opinion of the pontiff[22].

The accomplished Margaret, who seems to have had Anne Boleyn for two years and a half under her care[23], was the favorite theme of the best writers of the day. Alike praised by Erasmus[24], by Bran-

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[20] St. Gelais, who witnessed her behaviour, thus described it. 'His illness lasted a month; during which time she never left his room, and always lay at his side, mostly in her clothes, as he was so ill. She waited on him day and night, as gently and as tenderly as the poorest woman of the country could have done towards her husband. She had no proper sleep all the time, and when his last moments came on, she was taken by force out of his chamber, more dead than alive.'—He adds this pleasing family picture: 'I often saw them together. They never had an harsh word, nor any anger. They did not know how to be too kind to each other.' Hist. Louis 12. p. 99. She was left widow at eighteen, and devoted herself to the education of her two children, Francis I. and Margaret.

[21] In December 1522, she penned this remark in her journal: 'My son and I, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, began to know the hypocrites; white, black, grey, smoaky, of all colors—from whom may heaven, of its clemency and infinite goodness, defend us! for if Jesus Christ did not speak falsely, there is not a more dangerous race in all human nature.' p. 434.

[22] See his report of her remarks on the pope's conduct, cited in note 74, of the 10th chapter of vol. 1. And see further, chap. 26, note 44.

[23] From July 1524, when Claude died, to January 1527, when Margaret married.

[24] In a letter to her in Spain, which he wrote from Basle, 29th Sept. 1525, he says, 'I have admired and loved in you a prudence worthy of a philosopher; chastity, temperance, piety, an unbroken strength of mind, and such a remarkable contempt for the fluxionary things of this life, which we scarcely find in priests and monks. I would not mention this, if I did not certainly know that you ascribe these qualities, not to your own strength, but to the Lord of all blessings. If you ask me how I know you, who have never seen you; I would tell you, that many worthy and erudite men have in their letters painted your mind to me, more expressively than any painter with his colors can make a visible portrait of your person.' Ep. L. 20. ep. 11. p. 970. In August 1527, he also wrote to her, applauding her for defending good letters, and men who were sincere Christians. ib. p. 971.

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tome[25], by Ronsard, and by many learned versifiers[26], she was distinguished for superior intelligence and superior piety. She not only favored the improved opinions of the most eminent reformers that were emerging around her[27], but she cultivated private habits that elevated and enlightened the mind, and must have contributed to moralize the conduct. We have Brantome's assurance from his own experience, that he had never seen her at dinner without honorable and intelligent persons at her table[28], whom she always led to converse on excel- CHAP. XXI.

[25] Brantome, in several of his dedications, shows that he was fond of complimenting her. In his longer essay upon her, he mentions, that, 'if there ever was a perfect beauty in the world, it was the queen of Navarre. Her lovely countenance was on a fine body, of an imposing air and rich shape. Her deportment had a grace more than human, and was singularly majestic.' v. 1. p. 218, 219. 'She was very curious to get all the good new books that came out, on human as well as sacred literature. She read them to the end, frequently losing in their perusal, both her dinner and her sleep.' p. 288.

[26] Ronsard composed upon her two of his most elaborate poems, the 'Hymne Triumphale,' and a pastoral ode; besides minor pieces. She died 2d December 1549, and two years after appeared 'Le tombeau de Marguerite.' It contains 104 couplets upon her, in Latin, by the three sisters, Anne, Margaret and Jane Seymour, who are called the three illustrious princesses of England; with a Greek, Latin, and several French translations of each, by different poets. To these were added, three Greek poems upon her, by J. Auratus, J. Goupulus and G. Denesot; several Latin epitaphs, by N. Borboneus; others by C. Espencius and M. Pacus. There is also a Latin ode on her, by J. Auratus, with a French translation by Ronsard, and an Italian imitation. Antoine de Beuf added his epitaphs, and the Conte D'Alsinois his panegyrics. The whole volume was printed at Paris in 1551.

[27] Beza states, that thro her patronage, Paris was furnished with three excellent preachers, announcing the truth more boldly than it had been usually heard. That she did all she could to soften Francis to favor the new opinions, and published a work in French verse, intitled, 'Le Miroir de l'ame Pecheresse,' in which she omitted all mention of saints, merits and purgatory, and even the Salve Regina. Hist. Eccl. L. 1. 5–14. Florimond de Remond gives a fuller detail of her conduct and sentiments on this subject, in his Histoire de la Naissance de l'Heresie. l. 7. c. 3; from which Bayle has made a large quotation in his article, 'Navarre.' Sleidan also notices her reforming sentiments.

[28] Brantome states this fact in his dedication to her, of his Harangues

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lent topics[29]. She maintained many French Lutherans at the schools of France and Germany; succored the refugees at Strasburg, and Geneva, and proposed to her brother, Francis I, the plan of a reformed mass[30]. The Sorbonne condemned her valuable book, the genuine produce of her heart[31]; the more bigoted

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Militares. v. 13. p. 6. He says, 'when he went to pay his respects to her, at Usson, he had the honor to be admitted to her ball, and to see her dine every day.' ib. His enthusiasm calls her, 'la merveille du monde.' p. 10.

[29] As a specimen of their intellectual subjects, he mentions one on Julius Cæsar—his actions, 'merits, and death. She praised him with 'gentils and brief mots,' which they discussed. She censured his murderers strongly, 'because,' she remarked, 'the finest glory which the Romans had possessed, was acquired for them by Cæsar. He was worthy of a larger fame than Rome itself.' ib. p. 7. This commendation led Brantome to translate Cæsar's address to his soldiers, before the battle of Pharsalia, from Lucan, p. 13–19. He adds those of Pompey and Cleopatra, from the same poet, to please her; and wishes he could translate the whole work for her 'car, ma plume ne vola que pour vous.' p. 26.

[30] Florimond, Hist. l. 7. c. 3. Being a Romanist, he calls her 'bonne, mais trop facile princesse,' and says, 'she alone was the cause, sans y penser mal, of the preservation of the French Lutherans, and that the reformed church was not stifled in its cradle.' ib.

[31] This was the 'Miroir de l'ame Pecheresse.' It corresponds with what Brantome mentions of her extreme affection for the Deity. The copy I have seen was printed at Alençon 1531. An extract from it will show the sensibility with which she composed it.

Helas! mon Dieu! je ne vous cherchois pas:
Mais, vous fuyoye, en courant le grand pas.
Et vous ça bas a moi étés venu;
A moi, qui suis ver de terre tut nud.

O quel honneur! quel bien! et quelle gloire
A cette ame qui toujours ha mémoire
Qu'elle est de vous fille! et vous nommant
PERE, elle fait votre commandement!—
Pére, Pére? las! que puis je penser?
O! sera bien mon esprit s'avancer
De vous nommer pére? ouy. Et notre
Ainsi l'avez dit en la paternostre.
Or bien Pére! Mais votre fille? quoi?
L'avez vous dit? Mon Dieu! dites le moi,
Helas! ouy, quand par grand douceur,
Dites, 'Fille! prêtez moi votre cœur.'
O mon pére! en lieu d'en faire pret,

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theologians attacked her[32]; and the heads of the French aristrocracy, becoming alarmed out of their liberality[33], even hinted at her destruction[34]; till she was driven to keep secret in her own bosom, her preference for opinions which her royal brother was persuaded to persecute, from a dread of their revo-

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De soi donner a vous, du tout est pret.
Recevez le; et ne veuillez permettre
Que loin de vous nul y le puisse mettre:
Et que a jamais en fermetè loyale
Je vous aime d'un amour filiale.

As it is a very rare book, and is now scarcely to be met with, the reader may like to see another passage, which breathes the same spirit of animated and affectionate piety.

Doncques Pére! mais, quel Pére? eternel!
Invisible! immutable! immortel!
Qui pardonnez par grace tout forfait!
Je me jette, ainsi qu'un criminel
A vos saints piez. O doux Emmanuel!
Ayez merci de moi, Pére perfect!
Car j'ai pensè, voulu, et dit et fait
Tant defautes, que mon cœur est d'effet
Plein de peche, pire que veniel,
Dont je sens bien, le mal être mortel.
Mais, *par vous seul*, il peut être refait.
Sacrifice, vous étés, et autel—
Vos mérite effacent mon m'effect.
Recevez, donc, Pretre sempiternel!
Cœur, corps, esprit; le tout trop imperfect;
Vour montrant doux; piteux et paternel.

One of the great offences to the Romish prelacy, of this work, was, that it put no saints or rites, or relics or priests between the devout spirit and its Saviour.

The 'par vous seul' was in complete contradiction to the inculcated and practised superstitions of the day.

[32] They preached against her in their sermons; and a drama was acted in the college of Navarre, in which they represented her as a fury of the infernal regions. Beza, Hist. Eccl. l. 1. 5–14.

[33] Beza remarks that 'the chief part of the great began to coincide with the king's inclination, and by degrees abandoned the study of the sacred volumes, and became worse than any other.' ib. p. 22.

[34] Brantome mentions that the constable of Montmorency presumed to tell the king, that if he wished to exterminate the heretics of his kingdom, he must begin with his own court, and especially with the queen, his sister.. Dames' illust. p. 335.

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lutionary effect[35]. She was fond of reading the scriptures, and every day perused a portion of them, that she might, as she said, refresh her spirit with their celestial dew[36]. The volume was seldom out of her hands[37]. She has described this habit herself, in the person of the dame Oysille, in the preface to her tales[38]. As this was the favorite practice of this

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[35] Brant. 334. Francis said, that this and every new sect tended more to the destruction of kingdoms, monarchies, and dominations, than to the edification of souls. ib.

[36] This is mentioned by P. Olhagaray in his Histoire de Fois, p. 502. So Brantome states, 'she read much in the Scriptnres, finding in them her repose and consolation.' v. 1. p. 288.

[37] See Bertrand Elias, p. 103. cited by Olhagaray. Her device was a sunflower, with the words 'non inferiora secutus;' intimating that, as that turned with the solar ray, so she would direct her thoughts and feelings to the Great Sun of the Universe, the Deity himself. Brant. 333. This increased the suspicion of her Lutheranism, as it discountenanced the intervention and efficacy of saints, relics, madonnas, priests, penances, indulgences, and all the inventions of ceremonial and political superstition.

[38] Having mentioned the persons who had assembled at the baths and that the party had agreed to pass their time as agreeably as possible—'Le dame Oysille,' as the eldest lady, was desired to direct them. The princess Margaret thus words her answer. 'You ask me, my children, to do a very difficult thing—to invent a diversion that will drive away your ennuis. I have been seeking all my life to effect this, but I have found only one remedy, which is, reading THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. In perusing them my mind experiences its true and perfect joy; and from this pleasure of the mind proceed the repose and health of the body. If you desire me to tell you what I do to be so gay and so well at my advanced age, it is because as soon as I get up I read these sacred books. There I see and contemplate the will of God, who sent his Son to us on earth to preach that holy word, and to announce the sweet tidings, that he promises to pardon our sins and extinguish our debts by giving us his Son, who loves us, and who suffered and died for our sakes. This idea so delights me that I take up the Psalms, and sing them with my heart; and pronounce with my tongue, as humbly as possible, the fine hymns which the Holy Spirit inspired in David and the sacred authors. The pleasure which I receive from this exercise so transports me that I consider all the evils that may happen to me in the day to be real blessings; for I place Him in my heart by faith, who endured more misery for me. Before I sup, I retire in the same manner to give my soul a congenial lesson. At night I review all that I have done in the day. I implore pardon for my faults; I thank my God for his favors; and I lie down in his love, in his fear, and in his peace, my soul being freed from every

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admired duchess and queen, it will account for the attachment which Anne Boleyn afterwards displayed for the divine volume, and the reformed opinions, and will tend to make the impartial mind discredit the slanders that attempt to depict her as a vulgar hackney of depravity, in the sweetest and most beauteous season of the female life[19], the usual spring-time of every virtuous feeling and nobler purpose.

No man was likely to have been more vigilant over his daughter's conduct while in France, and no man more certain to know what it was, than sir

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worldly anxiety. Lo! my dear children, what has for a long while made me so happy. I have sought every where else, but have found nothing but this so solid and so satisfying: and if you will give an hour every morning to such reading, and say your prayers devoutly during the mass, you will perceive in this solitude those charms which will attend you in every city. Indeed, whoever knows God, will find the most beautiful things in him; but without him, what is there that will not become ugly and disagreeable? You must believe what I say, if you wish to have a safe and pleasant life.' Preface to her Contes et Nouvelles.

[19] The most unfounded, and therefore the most atrocious libels of Sanders are, not only that Anne's mother was extremely vicious, and was Henry's mistress; but that Anne was the king's own daughter, and was herself so profligate in France, that is, before she was 20, that she was called the English hackney, and afterwards, from her intimacy with Francis, the royal mule. Schism. 24–27. Le Grand admits that these assertions are what Sanders is most reproached for, and that no author besides himself has mentioned them, and that he has too much inveighed against her. v. 2. p. 47. And Pere Orleans remarks, that they are not very credible, and that he has not supported them by proof. Revol. Ang. 2. p. 427. More wilful calumnies, I believe, never issued either from the pen or the press. Sanders has a command of Latin style, but a most bitter mind against the English reformation. The very next sentence after his defamation of Anne, shows us why he inserted it: 'She was addicted to the Lutheran heresy,' p. 25. The life of Sanders was treasonable—his end miserable. He was made a priest about 1560, and landed, as nuncio from pope Gregory 13th, in Ireland, in 1579, with three ships full of Spaniards, to excite and assist the Irish to rebel against Elizabeth. After their defeat, Camden says, that forsaken by all, he wandered among the woods and mountains till he died of famine. In his pockets were found several speeches and letters, written to confirm the rebels, and with large promises from the pope and Spaniards. Camden's Annal. 1583. and Ant. Wood's Athenæ, v. 1. p. 205.

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Thomas Boleyn. His embassies there had given him the acquaintance of the first French society, and therefore the means of knowing its habits and its scandal. It is impossible that Anne could be a common profligate, and he be unacquainted with it; and when we read his high charaeter[40], and observe his attachment to the same venerated books which delighted the princess Margaret[41], it is incredible that he should have permitted his attractive daughter to have continued in a place where, according to this unsupported defamation, she was polluted and disgraced for ever. The marriage of Margaret led this princess with her family to her husband's territory in Gascony. It was quite natural that sir Thomas should, to such a seclusion among the Pyrenees, prefer the residence of his mature daughter with himself, and in the English court. He therefore obtained for her, from queen Catherine, the appointment of one of her maids of honor[42]. That this unimpeachable lady should have allowed one who

[40] Frasmus applauds him for this specimen of an excelling mind, that he did not think himself sufficiently adorned by his ancestors and honors, unless he also became distinguished by the most honored studies of philosophy; Ep. 32. l. 29. p. 1753; and calls him more illustrious for the study of piety than for the ornament of fortune. He had desired Erasmus to compose a treatise on this important subject, 'How every one ought to prepare himself for death.' ib. p. 1523.

[41] He requested Erasmus to make a commentary on the 22d Psalm; who thus addresses him: 'I more earnestly gratulate you that the sacred letters should be so much at heart to a layman so powerful, and a courtier; and that you are actuated by the desire of possessing a jewel so noble. I have therefore more willingly undertaken the psalm you designated. You have made me still more learned by it.' Ep. p. 1753. He afterwards desired the same scholar to expound the Creed.

[42] Cavend. 57. Wyatt's Mem. 188. Brantome remarks, that 'when Louisa took her daughter Margaret from the court, to go to Gascony to meet Navarre for the marriage, all the court regretted the departure of the princess, as if some great calamity had befallen them.' 1. p. 238. So much was D'Alençon admired and esteemed.

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had become publicly proverbed for her general viciousness to be in this station in her court, is an additional improbability, which vindicates Anne Boleyn's youth from the vulgar slander that defames it. Cavendish, who knew her well, and was not disposed to befriend her, speaks of her as at that time unsullied [43].

[43] Cavendish introduces her in his metrical visions as saying of Henry, 'at home with my father a maiden he me found.' Song. Cav. v. 2. p. 41. Among archbishop Parker's MS.S. at Cambridge, is a French letter to her father, written from his castle at Hever in Kent, about her going to court, and as if he was there and had been speaking to queen Catherine about her. It is certainly the earliest of the few that remain from her, and has been first printed by Mr. Ellis, with an English translation in his second series, V. 2. p. 10–12. He thinks it was written by her *before* she went to France in 1514. But its style and topics and object do not seem to me to be those of a child but six years old; they suit better her father's endeavor to place her under the queen after her return from France. Hence I am inclined to refer it to that period. The French manner in which she writes her name in the signature to it is more like a manner acquired in France than that of an English girl in her seventh year. I will attempt a literal translation of it, tho it is difficult to understand from its peculiar orthography and division of some of its words, and from a few chasms, with the aid of that given by Mr. Ellis. The reader must judge for himself to what period he will ascribe it.

'Sir! I have understood by your letter, that you desire that ..... (I should behave like a) respectable woman when I shall come to the court; and you inform me, that the queen will take the trouble to converse with me. At this I am very much rejoiced to think of talking with a person so discreet and honorable. This will make me have a greater desire to continue to speak French well, and also to spell it, especially because you have so much recommended it to me; and I inform, you by my hand, that I will keep these acquirements the best I can. Sir, I beg you to excuse it if my letter be badly written; for I assure you that its orthography is from my own mind alone, which the others were not that I wrote in my own hand; and Sommerset tells me, that the letter 'mes demeutre,' in order that I may make it myself, for fear that any one should know that I am sending it to you. And I pray you that the light of your sight may not have the liberty of overcoming the wish which you say you have to help me. For it seems to me, that you are sure ..... where you can, if you please, make me a declaration of your word ... And for myself be certain, that I will not treat the duty of a father with an ingratitude that shall pass it by nor perform mine with 'sion queste'. And I purpose to live as holily as you will please to command me: and I promise you, that my love is founded with so great a firmness that it will never have the power to lessen. I will now make an end of my purpose, after recommending myself very

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Her personal charms, fascinating both in countenance and manners[44], were enhanced by a sweet vivacity of temper[45]. Her accomplishments included music and dancing. French, from her long residence at Paris, must have become a natural tongue; and she had added a knowlege of Latin[46]. In her public station at court, she could not fail to interest several to whose continual gaze she was exposed. The poet and courtier, sir Thomas Wyatt, tho married, allowed his feelings to be improperly but unavailingly interested for her[47]; and lord Percy

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humbly to your kind favor. Written at Hevre (Hever), by your very humble and very obedient daughter,

ANNA DE BOULLAN.'

As all the thoughts of this letter suit better the situation and mind of Anne at nineteen than at six, I read it as an interesting picture of herself at the critical moment when she was about to be placed where she would come into the presence of that sovereign, whose steady attachment to her eventually caused such an unexpected, decisive, and permanent revolution.

[44] Wyatt, who wrote chiefly from the relation of two ladies living in those times, one of whom first attended on her, both before and after she was queen, describes her as of 'rare and admirable beauty, clear and fresh above all we may esteem, increased by her noble presence of shape and fashion.' Memoir of Queen Anne Boleyn. Singer's Cavend. v. 2. p. 182.

[45] Wyatt remarks, that her beauty 'appeared much more excellent by her favor passing sweet and cheerful,' ib. reminding us of Spenser's lines, that I have sometimes thought alluded to her:

> 'And her against sweet Cheerfulness was plac'd,
> Whose eyes like twinkling stars, in evening clear,
> Were deck'd with smiles that all sad humor's chac'd,
> And darted forth delights, the which her goodly grac'd.'
>
> Faery Queen, l. 4. c. 10.

[46] Sloane MS. in the British Museum, No. 2495. This is a MS. of the century in which she lived, and purports to be, 'A Life of Henry 8th, from his falling in love with Anne Bullen to the death of Queen Catherine.' Like Cavendish, it takes the papal side.

[47] His grandson describes his attachment, and his taking from her, 'as she was earnest at work, a small jewel, hanging by a lace out of her pocket, which he thrust into his bosom,' and would not restore. Wyatt. Mem. 145. His verses thus describe her—

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meditated a serious attachment; when the king became affected by her attractions so far as to be uneasy at the young earl's attentions, and to desire Wolsey to apprize him that his majesty intended another person to be her husband. The cardinal rebuked Percy[48]; and to terminate decisively the progress of the attachment sent for his father the earl of Northumberland out of the north, who made another alliance for his son[49].

We cannot now determine the precise date of the commencement of Henry's regard for this interesting young woman; but there is no evidence that it preceded the spring of 1527. He confined it, in its origin, to his own bosom; and as Wolsey is stated not to have allowed any one to become too interesting to the king, whom he aspired wholly to govern, we may ascribe to him the fact mentioned by his usher, that she was sent away from the royal household, and was then ignorant of the king's beginning regard[50]. She was recalled to the court again; but some time further elapsed before she became ac-

A face that should content me wond'rous well,
Should not be fair, but lovely to behold:
Of lovely look, all grief for to repel
With right good grace: so would I that it should
Speak, without words, such words as none can tell.
Her tresse also should be of cresped gold.

Songs & Sonnets, p. 35. Cav. 184.

[48] Cavendish, p. 57–60. By his letter of 13th May 1536, lord Percy denied any 'contract or promise of marriage' to her.

[49] Cav. p. 62. This interview fixes the beginning of Henry's regard for Anne to have been before the middle of May 1527. As the inquisition taken on this nobleman's death, recites that it happened on 19th May, 19 Henry 8th, or 1527. Collins' Peerage, by Sir E. Brydges, v. 2. p. 307.

[50] Cavendish mentions, that after lord Percy had been commanded to avoid her, 'even so was she commanded to avoid the court, and sent home again to her father for a season; for all this while she knew nothing of the king's intended purpose.' p. 66.

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quainted with his attachment[51]. This silence of Henry is fairly attributable to his endeavors to subdue the emotions she had excited in his bosom: and we may extend this suppression of his feelings to the end of July 1527, because no person had a greater interest in being lynx-eyed on the subject than Wolsey; and it is not probable that he would have gone to France to frame a match between his sovereign and a French princess, nor that he would have been allowed to pursue a suit or treaty for Renée, in an embassy so public, if Henry had previously determined to make his lovely subject his queen, or had even meditated upon it. There is no proof that he had mentioned to Anne his feelings at that time; but during the cardinal's absence, from July to October, this event seems to have occurred.

According to the account believed at the time, and transmitted to us by one of her adversaries, and therefore more credible, on Henry's first solicitations, she fell on her knees and made this answer: "I think, most noble and worthy king! your majesty speaks these words in mirth to prove me, without intent of defiling of your princely self. Therefore, to ease you of that labor in asking me any such question hereafter, I beseech your highness most earnestly, if you do not rest, to take this my answer, which I speak from the depth of my soul, in good part. Most noble king! I will rather lose my life than my virtue, which shall be the greatest and the best part of the dowry that I shall bring my husband." He met these sentiments with a declaration that he should

[51] 'After—all things finished that were before devised, mistress Anne Boleyn was revoked unto the court, where she flourished after in great estimation and favor, nor yet being privy to the king's secret mind, altho that he had a great affection unto her.' Cav. 67.

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not abandon hope—a natural feeling to one possessed of his splendid advantages, and daily conscious of their possession. Her reply was as creditable to her good sense, as to the spirit of true honor which was influencing her mind: "I understand not most mighty king, how you should retain any such hope. Your wife I cannot be, both in respect of my own unworthiness, and also because you have a queen already; and your strumpet I will not be[52]."

But in whatever expressions this accomplished lady conveyed her resolution, the fact is admitted by all, that she resisted the king's importunities[53], and by this conduct raised herself immediately to a distinction amid the higher titled females of his court, which fixed his permanent attentions. It is a preference of the improbable to the natural, to suppose that a speculation of the contingency of becoming queen, could on his first application, have suggested her prudent conduct.

The divorce was then a topic of disputed theory; it had not been applied for; its concession by the pope was doubtful; its resistance by the emperor certain; the opposition of Wolsey not less so. The idea of it was unpopular; a French princess had been fixed on, if the marriage should be annulled.

[52] It is from the Sloane MS. No. 2495, that these particulars are taken.

[53] Sanders, who has disgraced both literature and the papal church, by his wicked and wilful slanders, admits, that she repelled the king's intreaties more vehemently the more he urged them; declaring, that she would devote her virtue to her husband, and to no one else. Schis. p. 26. This merit, he unwillingly and depreciatingly acknowleges, because the fact of her being made queen was an insurmountable evidence that she had rejected all base solicitations. Pole, whose irritated mind cannot even allow her any merit for the virtue which disappointed him, admits its existence, but sneers at her for it. 'Concubina enim tuam fieri, *pudica* mulier *nolebat*; uxor volebat.—Illa, cujus amore rex deperibat, pertinacissime *negabat* sui corporis potestatem, nisi matrimonio conjunctam, sé illi unquam facturam.' Pol. ad Reg. Scotl. p. 176.

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Henry loved fame, and was proud of his royal honor. The obvious policy of regal government was repugnant to nuptial unions between kings and their subjects; and it was not, in the beginning, likely, that he who was the most celebrated potentate in Europe, would have stooped from a wife who was the sister of an emperor, to one who was her servant, and who had been the servant of two French queens, and of a princess, and who was but the unimportant daughter of a person he had knighted. Under these circumstances, few events could have seemed more unlikely to Anne Boleyn, when the king first addressed her, than that she should have been able to dispossess Catherine of the throne, and to step into it herself. Her reforming opinions were not to her advantage with Henry: for altho the emperor's mind was not unaffected by them[54]; yet Henry's altercations with Luther, and the all-ruling cardinal's unconcealed hostility to the German reformer, and suppression of his writings in our island[55], turned the current of regal favor towards the adherents of the ancient system. Therefore, as far as the fashion of the day, the usual guide and rule of those who live most conspicuously in a court and a metropolis,

[54] Brantome mentions, from the book he cites, 'that it had once been determined by the Spanish inquisition, in the presence and with the consent of his son, to disinter his corpse, and to burn it as an heretic, because he had in his life held 'quelques proper legers de la foi,' and had too much adhered to the opinions of the archbishop of Toledo, who was deemed an heretic.' v. 1. p. 47. It is remarkable, that, like his grandfather, he wished to make himself pope; 'ne peuvant donc être pape, il se fit religieux.' Brant. p. 44.

[55] See his commission to the bishop, stating the pope's condemnation of Luther, and desiring them to require all his books and writings to be brought in, and delivered up to them, from all persons whomsoever, on pain of excommunication: and also ordering the prelates to send them up to himself, in Strype's Eccl. Mem. App. v. 1. p. 20–25. He calls Luther's opinions, errores pestiferi, pernitiosi, and scandalosi. ib. 25.

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or a desire of coinciding with the king's opinions, could affect the impressible mind of youthful beauty in its first budding, and in this era of its most delicate and lively sensibility, could influence Anne Boleyn, she was likely to have been as pliant as the plumage of her head-dress to the solicitations and aspirations of a royal and interesting admirer. If she perseveringly resisted these effects, both in her religious sentiments and moral conduct, at the age of twenty, we must look for the reasonable cause, in her steady principle and interior virtue, rather than to any of those machiavelian schemes which actuate older heads, experienced selfishness, and indurated hearts[56].

It is unnecessary for the defence of our reformation, to blazon Anne Boleyn with any unmerited praise. She neither conceived nor produced, in England, this intellectual improvement. It was spreading before she obtained influence or power. It was unaffected by her disgrace and death. If it had risen with her rising, it would have declined when she set; but as it preceded, so it survived her. The new opinions and feelings recorded in our History of the Middle Ages of England, had been ever since spreading thro the island, and were now producing, every day, new stems and new fruit. Colet, Cranmer,

[56] Her residence in Catherine's court was not likely to deteriorate her better principles. Erasmus thus depicts the queen in the year 1528. In his dedication of his Luke to Henry, he says of her, 'Your noble wife, the only example of true piety in this age, weary of female trifles, devotes a good portion of her day to the sacred volumes, thus admonishing other princely women, who waste the greatest part of their time in dice, and such like games.'—Yet even while Anne was with Catherine, Sanders speaks of her impudicissima instituta, and makes Wyatt go spontaneously to the king, and assert her vicious intercourse with himself, and the Parliament, on his information, to represent her to the king as stained 'with the greatest spots of infamy,' and therefore unfit to be his queen. All, the gratuitous *invention* of this Romish priest.

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Cheke, Ridley, Tyndale, Latimer, and the hundreds of other men who were becoming earnest for religious reformation, did not spring from Anne Boleyn. These great men referred their impulses to heaven, and their new knowlege to its scriptures. Anne Boleyn was but an accidental and a temporary appendage. She did a little good in her short reign, but such extensive harm by her crimination and downfal, that the benefit was counterbalanced by the mischief. In truth, no particular individuals produced the welcomed revolution. It had many causes and many authors; and so many of these had no such end in view, altho they were made efficient to occasion it, that we shall never adequately account for it, without referring it to a far superior origination.

But Anne Boleyn, like every person who fills a pedestal in our national history, claims from our justice those impartial considerations on her situation, pretensions, feelings and conduct, which, equally avoiding panegyric or prejudice, may assist the discriminating reader in his ultimate decision on her merits and defects. Her moral heraldry will gain no lustre by concealing the imperfections which accompanied her trying, tempting, embarrassing and difficult course; and therefore, as these occur, they shall be fairly noticed. The girl of twenty, whose school, since her age of seven, had been a gay and luxurious court, must be expected to display many faults both in judgment and high principle, during a too prosperous life, tho modesty, taste and religion, preserved, at first, her female honor, and for some time afterwards upheld it, amid urgencies, allurements, delays and disappointments, by which many, both older and wiser, have been vanquished. It may in-

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deed be questioned if biography can furnish a parallel of another young lady, of merely gentle birth, resisting for six years the seductive agencies that were surrounding her, when her lover was a king; and yet retaining his continued and ardent preference amid the competition of the chief beauties of England, when so many suggestions of political ambition and regal pride were dissuading him; and notwithstanding the irritating impediments, attacks, fears and failures which he had to indure and to overcome, before he could place on the throne the woman he could not subdue, and for whom he was compelled, by the obstinacy of others, so vexatiously to wait.

It is revolting to the cultivated mind to reciprocate abuse, as that is contaminating ourselves with what others are defiled by; and yet it requires some coercion of the pen to avoid transmitting to the page the heart's emotions on reading the attacks of some of the papal advocates on this depreciated lady. Her mother, her sister, as well as herself[57], have been disgustingly, and from the total absence of confirming evidence, we have a claim to add, unjustifiably lacerated, by those who, with treason as well as by

[57] The assertion of Sanders, that Henry sent sir Thomas Boleyn to France, to be out of the way, and that Anne became Henry's daughter, from lady Boleyn, in his absence, is falsified by the fact that Anne was born two years *before* Henry came to the throne. This palpable untruth shows the true character of the next calumny of this vituperative writer, —that during his invented intimacy with lady Boleyn, the king cohabited also with her eldest daughter, Maria. Sanders then completes the fictions of his inveterate animosity, by exhibiting sir Thomas as travelling express from Paris, to declare that Anne was Henry's daughter: The king laughing at him—and then making his alleged child his wife. Schism. Angl. p. 22–7. It is singular, that amid such revolting fictions, Sanders can apply to one of Henry's courtiers, and ambassador at Rome, sir Thomas Brian, the surname of 'Vicar of Hell,' (p. 24.) without perceiving that such defamatory stories as his own were far more suited to that miserable locality, than to any English page that bears the name of history, or that aspires to interest an honorable reader.

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argument, and by arms as well as in their religious character, have supported the cause of too-vindictive Rome.

The great offence which has drawn these attacks upon her, has been, that her interesting qualities so much excited the king's attachment, that he persisted in that divorce which placed the pope in the dilemma of breaking with him or with the emperor; but it would be a new crime in our moral catalogues, if we allowed it to be a fault in a woman to be beloved, because she was lovely. That Anne Boleyn, by maintaining her virtue, should become the occasion of the separation of England from the papal supremacy, may seem to the friends of that domination, an unpardonable sin. But even they should recollect that she no more meant at first to dispossess the pope of his English treasury, than lady Elizabeth Grey, when she charmed Edward IV. and refused to stoop to dishonor. Nothing, therefore, can be more unjust and unreasonable, than to make her name a topic of the coarsest invective, because the charms of her maturing nature won the heart and influenced the actions of the admiring king. Placed in the queen's household, she was, without any immodest self-protrusion, frequently in his sight; but no more than she had been for several years in the daily contemplation of the princes of France, as, when transplanted to England, she was in the daily society of its most eminent nobility. Catherine noticed Henry's preferring eye[58], but did not therefore

[58] Wyatt mentions, that the queen, playing with her at cards, said to her, as an honor turned up as she was dealing, 'My lady Anne! you have good hap to stop at a king; but you are not like others; you will have all or none.' p. 188. Alluding thus both to the king's partiality, and to her virtuous resistance. When we consider Henry and Wolsey's

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dismiss her attendant, altho she had the power of consigning her to absence and obscurity. That a face so beautiful; that her subduing eye, her lively vivacity, her courtly elegance, her dignified form, and her engaging manners, should impress the sensibility of Henry, as they fascinated lord Percy, and interested Wyatt, was a natural effect of such rich and rare endowments of that Divine Artist, from whose matchless skill and benign taste all beauty springs; and who has chosen to make female loveliness on his own peculiar plan, and by his spontaneous will, as well as the innumerable charms of other forms of nature, as intimations to us of the sovereign perfections which centre in himself. It is therefore natural that beauty should generally, tho not equally, affect us, It is created to please. It is a gift of its Divine Parent, that it may interest the sensibility, delight the admiring eye, increase his generous boons of human comfort, and attach the heart more affectionately to its munificent benefactor. But it is with this, as with all our enjoyments and tastes, and even with our reason itself: the emotion and the indulgence must be subdued, whenever the gratification becomes linked with immorality. We otherwise drive our Creator to withdraw our sources of happiness, because, while we have them, we shall be vicious. Hence, tho no one

minute information from their ambassadors in every court of Europe, we may conceive it to be impossible for Anne to have been the creature described by Sanders, and for the king to have been ignorant of her vices. Yet Henry, after his marriage, thus speaks to the pope of 'her approved and excellent virtues; that is to say, the purity of her life, her constant virginity, her maidenly and womanly pudicity, her soberness, her chasteness, her meekness, her wisdom.' Burnet, v. 6. p. 85. This is the king's own portrait of her, after six years acquaintance, and amid all the enmity that attacked her.

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has a right to demand of Anne Boleyn, that, like the forgotten abbess of Coldingham, when Danish pirates were prowling around, she should have mutilated her countenance, in order to make it ugly; yet it was both her duty and Henry's to have recollected, that until the marriage of Catherine had been disposed of satisfactorily to the conscience and legal judgment of the day, neither his susceptibility nor her attention to it could be guiltless, or would be felicitating, if continued, or if made a motive to insist on the divorce. That both erred in the premature attachment, and suffered from the error, we may admit and must perceive; but that she should be therefore assailed with all the bitterness of envenomed phrase and feeling, as if she had really been the worthless hussey, the jezebel, the Messalina, and the monster which her sacerdotal enemies delighted to paint her[59], till she sank under that destruction of character which they so pitilessly and wilfully contributed to produce, is not creditable either to their memory or to their cause. So eager have her defamers been to depreciate all her merit, that while Sanders acknowleges her "fine proportion of body; the peculiar beauty of her lips; her sportive gaiety; her grace in dancing; her skill on the lute; and her elegant taste in dress, which made her a mirror to all the court[60];" he yet has taken the pains to assert that her complexion had a tinge of yellow, as if she was diseased; that one of her upper teeth had a very small prominence[61]; that her right hand had a sixth

[59] Cardinal Pole calls her, before her fall, a jezebel, an adultress, and a strumpet. Eccl. Un. p. 369; 389. Apolog. p. 88. And cardinal Allen, out-heroding Herod, styles her, 'an infamous courtezan,' and her daughter, queen Elizabeth, 'an incestuous bastard.' Allen's Admonitions to the Nobility and People of England.

[60] De schism. p. 25.

[61] 'Paululum prominebat.' ib. p. 24.

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finger, and her chin a wen, which made her cover her neck, contrary to the former fashion of the English ladies, who used to leave it naked[62]. Thus, what may have been the choice of modesty and good taste, could, in his estimation, be only a contrivance to conceal a deformity. For her mind, he has no other characters, than that "it was full of pride, ambition, envy and luxury[63]." We may pity the heart that could deliberately regale itself with such obvious detraction. CHAP. XXI.

When secret knavery applied itself to purloin the private love-letters she had received from Henry, altho we may be sure that it seized all that it could find, and above all would have been delighted to secure those that could furnish matter for the greatest moral reprobation on their being publicly exposed; yet the earliest that was taken away does not precede April 1528, at least six months after the latest date of Henry's avowed attachment to her; and so far from any thing appearing in most of them that implies an excitation, on her part, of the king's impatience, we shall find her voluntarily seceding from the court, to his expressed regret: nor did she return to it till after much solicitation, and when the proceedings for the divorce had been far advanced, and the pope's verbal approbation of it intimated, while he acknowleged its official sanction to be

[62] De schism, p. 24, 25.

[63] Ib. 25. One decisive specimen of this person's falsehoods may be here given. He says, when she was fifteen, she was ruined by two of her father's servants, and soon afterwards sent to France; 'mox in Gallias mittitur.' p. 25. Now we know by the document still remaining in the British Museum, and quoted before, p. 183, note 8, that she went with the princess Mary to France, at the age of seven. But he carries his detraction of Henry so far, as to make him the father of lord Cromwell, as if every person obnoxious to the papacy had sprung from his loins. Sanders would be unworthy of notice, but that foreign historians, ignorant of our real history, have made him too much their guide.

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withheld only by his fears. We cannot therefore be certain, that she did not recede at least for some time, and till the divorce seemed approaching, from his pursuit. It is true that all secessions are liable to various constructions; some have arisen from art and policy, and every one may therefore be suspected of contrivance; but it is equally and perhaps more generally true, that they have also proceeded from the purest suggestions of honor and duty: and therefore while on the one hand we may admit it to be possible that youthful beauty may have been playing with the king's regard by temporary absences, we must also recollect that she may have retired, because she felt that she ought not to be Catherine's competitor; and that while the king was an husband, he could not, in common probity, be her encouraged suitor. With these suggestions as to the only point on which her first behaviour seems to merit our blame, we leave a subject that, from the scanty documents which remain on this branch of our history, cannot now be more satisfactorily elucidated. We are often tempted to censure, when we ought to be forbearing; tho the more we ourselves become what we ought to be, we are less acute and less gratified, in marking or mentioning the failings of others. The school for scandal is a spacious academy, and history gives it an area as large as the busy world. But there are so many characters whose flagrant delinquencies compel the writer to exhibit them like moral anatomies, to deter unprincipled selfishness from a pernicious imitation, that every right feeling calls upon us not to criminate in other cases without certainty, or to suspect where the suspicion has neither evidence nor necessity.

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CHAP. XXII.

THE POPE SIGNS THE FOUR DOCUMENTS REQUIRED, BUT SOLICITS A SUSPENSION OF THEIR EXECUTION—GARDINER'S EMBASSY TO HIM, AND URGENT IMPORTUNITIES—CLEMENT'S INGENIOUS DELAYS—HIS HESITATION ABOUT THE JOINT COMMISSION, AND DREAD OF THE EMPEROR—WOLSEY'S PLAN TO DECEIVE HIM INTO THE GRANT OF A LARGER AUTHORITY—THE POPE SIGNS A DECRETAL ANNULLING CATHERINE'S MARRIAGE—OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEMANDED DIVORCE.

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THE application of the English ambassadors to the pope, for his official sanction to the four documents which Wolsey had sent them, was received with verbal courtesy: but on the ground of being unskilled in such instruments, Clement expressed his wishes to consult with his minister, the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor. This prelate, objecting to some of the clauses of these papers, mentioned the emperor's opposition, and the pontiff's promise to advertise him of what should be required on the divorce before it was acceded to. He frankly acknowleged the obstructing truth, that as long as the imperial forces commanded Italy, the pope, tho not now personally in a dungeon, was substantially a prisoner; and that if he granted this commission, it would make the emperor his perpetual enemy, without any hope of reconciliation[1]. The pope, however, signed the documents; but Dr. Knight apprized the king,

[1] Knight's letter to Wolsey, printed in Burnet, vol. 2. p. 30–3.

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that he had obtained them on the understanding that nothing should be done upon them until the pontiff was quite at liberty; which could not be while the imperialists commanded in Italy. The ambassador uprightly added his own undisguised opinion of Clement's danger, in granting what his urging solicitations had obtained[2]. Clement implored Henry and Wolsey not now to precipitate him for ever[3]! The release of the pope, and some advantages gained by Lautrec, filled the cardinal with a transport that compels a smile as we read of it[4].

But to possess a commission which he was re-

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[2] In his letter to Henry from Rome, of 1st Jan. 1528, Dr. Knight stated: 'Albeit, every thing is passed according to your highness's pleasure, I cannot but see that in case the same be put in execution at this time, the pope is utterly undone; and so he saith himself. The imperialists daily spoil castles and towns about Rome. Monsr. de Lautrec is yet at Bologna; and small hope is of any great act that he intends. The Cæsarians have taken, within these three days, two castles lying within six miles of this; and the pope being in this perplexity, not assured of any one friend, but of your highness, who lieth too far off; if he at this time do any displeasure unto the emperor, he thinks he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his honor and health wholly into your highness's power and disposition.' Burnet, vol. 2, p. 36.

[3] Knight to Wolsey, p. 32. If Lautrec would have 'marched and driven out the emperor's forces, the pope formed the following Machiavellian plan to oblige Henry.' Knight says, 'he intends to save all upright thus: If M. Lautrec would set forward, at his coming, the pope's holiness may have good color to say, that he was required by the ambassador of England for a like commission; and denying the same, because of his promise to the general; he was eftsoons required by M. Lautrec to grant it, as it was but a letter of justice. By this color he would cover the matter, so that it might appear unto the emperor that the pope did it not, as he that would gladly do pleasure unto the emperor, but as an indifferent prince; and immediately he would dispatch a commission, bearing date after the time that M. Lautrec had been with him, or *nigh unto him*.' Ib. p. 32, 3.

Knight gave the cardinal 4,000 crowns, and his secretary 30. ib.; but the cardinal returned the corrupting present. Strype. Eccl. Mem. App. v. i. p. 74.

[4] Bellay, on 2d January 1528, thus describes it to Francis: 'You can hardly think, sire! how he rejoiced! You may believe that he did not omit a single point of every demonstration of great joy which it was possible to exhibit.' Le Grand, 3. p. 58.

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stricted from executing, was but a mocking and useless favor; and as the pope was displaying a design of breaking the engagement made, in his confinement, with the duke of Ferrara[5], which would impede the expulsion of the imperialists from Italy, Wolsey determined to send two new ambassadors, to keep him from throwing the Italian prince into the arms of the emperor again, and to press for an unconditional authority as to the divorce. He selected his own secretary, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, and the king's friend, Dr. Fox, for this purpose, who went to Italy the same month to execute their mission[6]. If suasion failed, they were instructed to be peremptory; and few men were better fitted both in heart and countenance, for prevailing by intimidation and forceful importunity, than that messenger was, who became afterwards so notorious in his episcopal capacity with Bonner for the intolerant violences, which distinguished the short reign of her who was now the powerless and inoffensive princess Mary.

They attended the pope with Cassalis on 23d March[7]. Clement acknowleged his obligations to Henry[8], and also to Wolsey, and expressed his desire to gratify the king's request; but he made an early dis-

[5] Wolsey's own words, in his letter to the grand master of France, are, 'for since there is no appearance that he will consent to the conventions and promises made to the duke of Ferrara, in the time of his captivity, as his holiness hath openly declared to the king my master and myself, by the bishop of Tortonne.' Le Grand, 3. p. 78, 9.

[6] It was on 11th February 1528, that the cardinal apprized the grand master that he had sent them; and desired him to give credence to them, as to himself. Lett. in Le Grand, p. 78. They left England 10th February, and arrived at Orvieto 20th March.

[7] Strype has printed Gardiner's long details to Wolsey, of his mission, in his Eccles. Mem. App. v. 1. p. 66–112.

[8] Strype, 66.

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tinction between what he wished and what he meant to do[9]. The first was largely declared; the second was qualified[10]. He was reminded that he had promised to make the commission and dispensation which he had signed fully effectual[11]; and Gardiner declaring that, with the alterations which he suggested, they would serve for achieving the king's wishes, desired that their deficiencies might be supplied. Clement admitted his promise; but stated that he "must be content to dissemble, and keep the same secret till all things were in Italy composed and pacified[12]."

Being assured that Wolsey, who had objected before, now seriously wished his compliance, he desired time to read the king's book on the subject, and to consult his cardinal man of business, "how and in what form the commission should pass[13]." He

[9] 'His holiness shewed unto us, how much he and the see was and is obstringed and bound to your grace; adding thereunto of what mind and intention his holiness hath been and is, to do all things that might be to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's highness; and now especially in this cause, touching so near the quietness and tranquillity of the king's conscience with the wealth and commodity of that realm; and many such words, spoken, as we might judge, as those which proceeded sincerely from the bottom and root of his heart and mind.' Strype, p. 66. 'Saying, that of the truth of the matter he was persuaded by the king's and your grace's relation.' p. 73.

[10] 'Wherein he would give such resolution without tract or delay, as we could reasonably desire, and as might be agreeable with law and equity for justification of his doing, and the maintenance of her and the king's honor hereafter.' ib. 67.

[11] Gardiner told him, that his own prothonotary Gambero, 'added thereunto, as of special credence from your holiness, that if the same were in any point thought insufficient, or that, by the advice of learned men, any other thing could be devised to be added thereunto, with all such receipts, briefs and bulls, as might conduce to the effectual definition and determination of the matter, your holiness would therein, without delay or difficulty, interpose the uttermost of your authority.' Strype, p. 67.

[12] Strype, 68.

[13] Ib. 70.

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thought the Spaniards would adopt a Fabian system of delay against Lautrec, and weary the confederates into financial difficulties[14].

They found him the next day in a humble costume, a while standing, and afterwards sitting upon a form, covered with a piece of an old coverlet not worth twenty-pence; perhaps an affectation of poverty, to avoid the demands for subsidies, which the allied courts were frequently urging; for it is improbable that he could be really so destitute as this exhibition represented him. Here he read the king's arguments with commendation; and asked if his majesty had broken the matter to the queen. He was answered in the affirmative; and that she was content to stand to the judgment of the church[15].

But he now objected to Wolsey's arrangement of the business. This minister, having sanctioned the king's book, had in a manner given sentence beforehand, and would not, therefore, be considered hereafter as an indifferent judge. His decision would be refused, as suspected[16].

Gardiner conversed with the official cardinal on the form of the commission, and showed him that it had been taken from the precedent in the decretals[17]. He reports, that he found that fear of the victory of the Spaniards was the only impediment to their object; but that they were all in alarm, lest the "victrix exercitus Hispanus" would make a quarrel upon it[18]. This impression was confirmed by the pope's words the ensuing day[19]. It was in this interview

[14] Strype, p. 71. [15] Ib. p. 72. [16] Ib. 73.
[17] In the chapter 'Veniens;' under the title 'de Sponsalibus.' ib. 75.
[18] Ib. [19] Ib.

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that the English envoys suggested the plan of adding cardinal Campegio in the commission with Wolsey [20]. This junction seems to have been thought of, because the English minister supposed he could easily influence a man who had repeatedly solicited him for gifts and preferment [21]; and his concurrence in the decision would lessen or remove the imputation of its partiality.

On 26th March they repaired again to the pontiff. They found him, with four cardinals, in his bed-chamber. He withdrew with them into a little study where he slept, and sitting with his back to the wall, desired the others to sit round him on stools [22]. The theatrical discussion then began; for as he could not then do from fear what he would have done from choice, his objects were merely to talk, to employ and to procrastinate. He managed this admirably. Four hours were occupied in discussion, whether the particular causes expressed in the commission might be justified or not as sufficient for a divorce. The pope declared, that he had so much confidence in the king's conscience, as to found his upon it; and to persuade himself, that what appeared to that to be true and just, was really so; and would, upon this ground, privately pass any thing he could do by his autho-

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[20] Strype, p. 76.

[21] In the British Museum are Campegio's letters in 1520, asking Wolsey for a loan of 1,000*l.* for three years. MS. Vitell. B. 4. p. 42. In April 1521, asking for the bishopric of Worcester, its incumbent being ill. ib. p. 98; and also a translation to Salisbury. ib. p. 99. In October 1524, requesting to succeed to this see. Vit. B. 6. p. 202; and in November, on being nominated to it. ib. p. 241.

There are many other letters, showing a continual confidential intercourse with Wolsey.

[22] Strype, p. 77.

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rity; but as this case would become public, he must so act as to save the apostolic see from being thereby slandered. He then confessed his own incompetency of learning to decide the question, especially as the emperor would consult divers universities. He showed a confidential letter, which had been secretly sent to him from a gentleman in the emperor's court, from whom he learnt, that Charles had expressed himself on the divorce in such a manner, as enhanced the pope's timidity; and this was increased by "the doubtful end of the war in Naples," where the Spaniards meant to distribute their army into strong places to gain time, and therefore the military question could not be ended before Michaelmas [23]. All the next day, from an early hour in the morning to dinner time, and after dinner till it was night, the dean Symonet occupied the English ambassadors in a renewed debate on the allegations in the commission [24]. He wished them to take it in a general form, and they desired to specify its reasons [25]. This was again discussed before the pope on the succeeding Sunday, when Gardiner began to talk in a higher tone, till "every man looked on other, and so stayed;" and the pope perceiving that, by degrees, they began to speak more peremptorily than they had hitherto done, inclined to relax in his difficulties, and at last expressed an indifference as to the style for which they had been so long contending, if the causes were sufficient. But he had gained above six days by these convenient disputations [26].

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[23] Gard. Lett. in Strype, p. 78, 9.
[24] Ib. 80.
[25] Ib. 80, 81.
[26] Ib. 82–4.

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Wolsey had enjoined his ambassadors to learn how long a process about the divorce would last at Rome, if it were to be examined there. Gardiner answered, that from their dread of the emperor, the papal court would prefer not to have it determined in Italy[27]. He stated his decided conviction that what the English ambassadors asked, would have been granted, but for the pope's apprehension of being again imprisoned by the emperor[28]. Hence the length to which the process might be procrastinated, could not be foreseen, because Charles was so indignant at the affair, that no one would make himself marked for doing any thing openly on a subject that so displeased him[29]. It was the imperial sword, which was hanging over the head of Clement, from which he had suffered, and which the English government could not take away, and not his conviction, or his conscience, that made him resist Henry's wishes[30].

The pope would not, at first, determine what cardinal he should unite with Wolsey in the commission, but promised to send one favorable to the king's desire[31]. He remained fixed in his resolution to word

[27] 'To shew your grace plainly, we perceive that they would not gladly have it here, as the state of the world is now: the Cæsarians not yet purged out these parts: for *all the stop, difficulty and delay* in this matter *proceedeth only of fear*.' ib. 86.

[28] 'We find in every man as great desire to further the king's matter, as we can wish, as far as we gather of their words, fashion and manner. And in that they assent not to our request, we can impute it to no other thing but only fear that, if there were any thing done, novel and gratuitously against the emperor's purpose, it should be the matter of a new captivity.' ib. 86. [29] Strype, p. 87.

[30] Thus Gardiner also wrote: 'Wherefore, inasmuch as we perceive the let of granting thereof to be fear, which being so imminent and lately felt, we be in despair to take away, either by words of comfort or other like.' ib. 88.

[31] 'He saith, he will appoint one such as that he be agreeable to the king's desire. The cardinal Campegius is at Rome. Of his inclination

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it in that general form only[32], which avoided what would offend the emperor, but which the English thought too vague to be safe or effectual. Gardiner, in a renewed discussion, addressed the pontiff in terms that combined insult, invective, and menace[33]. To this language no answer was given, but the renewed offer of a general commission, which, as it would not state the particular cause and objections, they could afterwards, by pretending ignorance of these, overturn when they pleased[34]. When again urged to decide either for the divorce or against it, a direct reply was carefully avoided[35]; but to a private application, the pope declared himself to be de-

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there is no doubt; for the pope said, the said cardinal wrote unto him to give faith to the king's writings and reasons in this matter.' Strype, 89.

[32] 'After long altercation, I perceived that they had no substantial reasons; yet, saying they doubted, would not yield: but when they were brought to a stay, evermore for a solution, desired us to be content with a commission in a general form; and after sentence given, the same to be confirmed here.' Lett. ib. 97.

[33] Gardiner says he told the pope and cardinals, 'The king and nobles shall needs think, that either your holiness, and these most reverend lords, cannot or will not certainly answer in this cause. They will say, if these will not—if to such a prince, so deserving, they will not do what they ought willingly and spontaneously to do, O, most ungrateful race of men! most negligent of their duty! They, who ought to be simple as doves, with an open heart, are full of every deceit, and cunning, and dissimulation. They promise all things in their words, and perform nothing. We only ask justice of you; if you persist in doubt, a harder thought will arise in the mind concerning this seat, that heaven has taken away the key of knowlege from it: and the opinion hitherto exploded, will begin not to displease, that the papal jura, which to the pope himself are uncertain, are only worthy of the flames.' He added to Wolsey, that he used these words to drive them from 'their pretended hesitation and affected doubt.' ib. 97, 98.

[34] 'To my words thus spoken, no man answered; but they desired us to be content with a general commission. When I perceived they sung ever that song, I said unto the pope plainly, that by this covert dealing, and motions made to the general commission, I could perceive no other thing meant, but that every man would hereafter pretend ignorance in the matter; and if Cæsar should conquer, then they might, with their honesties, lean to him.' ib. 99.

[35] Ib. 99.

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ficient in the learning necessary to decide the point[36]; a confession of ignorance and insufficiency which he had more than once expressed before[37]; and of which he reasonably said he was ashamed[38], because, tho as the supreme judge of the question when litigated, he had to decide upon it, yet he was forced to resort to the opinion of other men for his guidance[39]. Gardiner, the next day, chided him, till he drew from him tears of vexation or regret[40]. A new form of a commission was on a future day pressed and discussed till an hour after midnight[41]. It was at last settled, except in two words[42]. On these the pope required the cardinals to be consulted. They sent word back, that they were at their collation, and would look into their books on the morrow[43]. Gardiner "began a new tragedy" of complaint and reproach[44] again; "the pope said nothing, but sighed

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[36] 'His holiness said, that he was not learned; and to say truth, albeit it were a saying in the law, that the pope has 'omnia jura' in the shrine of his breast, 'yet God never gave him the key to open it.' Strype, 99.

[37] —'In himself his holiness knowlegeth no such profound learning, as were sufficient to discuss this matter.' ib. p. 78. 'His holiness said that this matter consisted in the knowlege of the law, whereof he is ignorant.' ib. 92.

[38] 'He said it is both true, whereof he is both sorry and ashamed, and also notory, that he hath no learning in the law.' ib. 93.

[39] He 'must needs therefore depend upon the resolutions of them which be learned in that faculty, whom he hath consulted with, and cannot as yet get any certain answer of them, whether, in their opinions the causes whereupon the matrimony should be declared nought, and the dispensation void, be sufficient in the law, or not.' ib. 92.

[40] 'We spake roundly unto him, as our instructions purporteth, and to that point, that the king would do it without him: His holiness said, he would it were done; and to the other words, nothing, but sighed and wiped his eyes.' ib. 100.

[41] Ib. 103, 4.

[42] '*Omnem*' to be added to posteritatem; and '*nolente*' to the clause 'nolente aut impedito.' ib. 104.

[43] Ib. 105.

[44] 'Here began a new tragedy. We complained that we were deluded

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and wiped his eyes[45]." The doctor then threatened more fiercely than before; the pope, overpowered, bade him put in the words he contended for, and "walked up and down the chamber, casting now and then his arms abroad[46]." "These divers tempests" again lasted beyond midnight; and the pontiff ended them by mentioning, that his sending this commission was a declaration against the emperor, and that he now committed himself to Wolsey's protection[47].

We can hardly read the account of these objurgations, without some sympathy for the unfortunate pope. He had clearly and fairly exposed his whole mind upon the subject, and had showed them that he would not have hesitated to have granted the divorce, if they could have destroyed or removed the imperial armies that endangered him. As they were unable to give him this military emancipation, to scold and threaten him was but harassing him to no purpose; it was striving to extort an acquiescence, by their menaces of evil, while he pointed to the sword in the emperor's hand, whose edge he had felt, and which was waving more immediately over his head. He had but to choose by whom he would be attacked, if neither would forbear; and he deferred

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and scorned; and told the pope that this is not the way to entertain the favor of princes, to spoil their wine by intermixing water. I declared manifestly unto his holiness, that these men have done nothing in correcting the commission of learning, but only of ignorance and suspicion. That we take all this as done by his commandment, who has eyes and does not see.' He added, 'that they were lulling with sweet words, like a syren, and acting like men with hawks, who offered them flesh, and making them gape for it, and then mocking them by taking it away.' Strype, 105.

[45] Ib. 105. [46] Ib. 106. [47] Ib. 106.

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as long as he could, the decision that could not but be calamitous to himself and his see. He confessed that his intimidation from the imperial menaces, made him repent the decretal which he had granted four months before to Henry[48]; and tho the fear of this king's displeasure had drawn another commission from him, yet he still wished the proceedings upon it to be kept in a state of lingering procrastination, as little avowed and visible as possible, and therefore to be attached to other pretexts[49].

If the matter could have been decided by Catherine alone, she indicated a disposition not to oppose her husband's will; but as she inclined to concede, the emperor became more resolute in his resistance[50]. The pope, in his confidential conversations, never made his opposition a matter of conscience. He would have granted what Henry solicited, as his predecessors had done on similar occasions[51], if he

[48] Knight wrote in January 1528, 'His holiness sheweth tokens, and speaketh daily of the great repentance that he hath inwardly in his heart, for granting of the decretal, thinking and saying, verily, that he is undone for ever, if the said decretal come unto the knowlege of the emperor. Moreover, Cassalis is informed by Salviati, who governs the pope, that if sentence should be given according to the decretal, it should not only take no effect, but also be the cause of the pope's deposition.' Fidd. App. 204.

[49] The bishop of Bayonne, on 18th June 1528, says he told Wolsey, as they walked in his Hampton Court gardens, that the pope, by sending C. Campegio 'vouloit mener en bride l'empereur,' and them, waiting the effect of the things in Italy, for *under the pretence of his gout*, he could always retard or advance the matter.' Le Grand, v. 3. p. 136. On 16th Oct. he mentions that his gout was confining him to his bed.

[50] So, on 4th May 1528, Gardiner apprized Henry, 'the pope two days before said that the emperor had advertised him, how the queen would do nothing in this matter, in saying nor speaking to any man, for the let, delay or hindrance of this matter, but as your highness shall will and command her to do. And that the emperor said, *he would therefore* more earnestly look unto the cause himself.' Lett. in Burn. v. 6. p. 21.

[51] Thus Louis 12th had married Joanne, the daughter of Louis 11th, but on the pretext that he had been forced to the nuptials, and had

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had not dreaded the imperial castigation. Finding Charles unrelaxing in mind and unshaken in power, Clement could only hear Gardiner's urgencies and reproofs, with as much patience as he could command: talk with him in a doleful humor; wish Catherine dead, and express his foresight, which time soon realized, that as the emperor had ruined the political power of the popedom, so she would be the cause of shaking its ecclesiastical domination[32].

But whatever commissions the pope might sign, the certainty was so manifest, that his sanction to the divorce would never be finally obtained until the emperor was driven by arms out of Italy, that Gardiner, Wolsey and Henry, were only cheating themselves with these embassies, importunities, chidings, menaces and commissions, unless they could make them effectual by military victory; and in that case a simple request would have been followed by the pope's cheerful and willing acquiescence. It is obvious, that neither morality, religion, nor law, was influencing his mind in delaying or withholding the divorce. He had confessed that he knew nothing about its judicial right, but that he dreaded another captivity,

never given a real consent, he obtained a brief from Alexander 6th, which appointed certain judges, a cardinal and three French bishops, to inquire if the marriage was good or not. They, in 1498, gave sentence against it, and the pope declared it null, and gave the king leave to marry again; who then wedded Anne of Bretagne, to secure that duchy to him, which was his greatest object in seeking the divorce. Mem. Tremouille, v. 14. p. 157, 8.

[32] Gardiner, on 4th May, also reported to Henry, that the pope had said, he wished 'that he might grant as easily our other petitions, as he may these: adding, bye and bye, that he would for the wealth of Christendom the queen was in her grave: saying also, that he thought like as the emperor hath destroyed the temporalities of the church, so shall she be the cause of the destruction of its spiritualities.' Lett. Burn. 6. p. 22.

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and what the emperor's wrath might inflict. To torment him, therefore, by violent urgencies, before the military question was decided, was as unworthy of those who pressed them, as it was palpably useless in itself, and personally afflictive to him[53]. This appeared immediately afterwards, for, as soon as the emperor heard of this commission having been granted, he expressed his displeasure at the concession.

Dr. Fox hastened back with the papers that had been thus at last wrested from the unwilling and apprehensive Clement; and arriving with them at Sandwich on the 2d May, went the next day to the king at Greenwich, who commanded him to go to Anne Boleyn's apartment, and explain what success he had obtained[54]. Gardiner went to Rome[55], where Wolsey, addressing to him and his co-ambassadors, his answer to the preceding dispatches[56], applauds what they had done for the king "in this his great

[53] We learn the real state of things at this time in the papal mind and court, from the official and confidential letter from Rome of the pope's secretary or minister, of 10th April 1529, to Campegio: 'Nothing has yet been determined. Every day produces addition difficulties, the imperial agents having made protests, and resisted with numerous arguments every proposal of his holiness. He is extremely concerned, that his majesty and the cardinal should indulge the hope of obtaining what *it is not in his power* to grant, and endeavors to counteract the further trouble which is preparing for his holiness.' This important intimation is then added, of the real way in which the divorce might have been obtained; from which we learn, that no law or conscience prevented it: 'His majesty and the cardinal ought not to expect the fulfilment of their desires, until *they have previously compelled* (the emperor) to the *restitution of the territory* of his holiness.' Lett. Pamph. p. 135.

[54] Dr. Fox's letter to Gardiner, in Strype, App. 113.

[55] On 13th April, he wrote from Orvieto, 'I repair now to Rome.' ib. 107.

[56] It is in Harl. MS. No. 296. 'I have received your several letters of 18th and 29th March, and 8th, 19th, 20th and 21st April, to me directed.'

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and mighty cause[57];" states his perception that the pope would not act in it against the emperor's will[58], and that the emperor resisted the divorce[59]; informs them that he meant to proceed himself, with Campegio, to determine it; and, desiring them to get all they could from Clement, declares he should recal them one by one to England, and especially Gardiner and Bryan, whose presence he wished when he opened his legantine court[60]. To allow time for their arrival, he would defer the commencement of the process till after Whitsuntide[61]. But they were to get a commission more amply worded than that which the pontiff had signed[62]; and as his policitation was so expressed as to admit of his revoking it, Wolsey ordered them to pretend[63] that this had been so obliterated and spoilt by water in the packet which contained it, that the person to whom it was

[57] 'Therefore be ye all of good comfort.' Harl. MS. Burn. v. 2. p. 89.

[58] He says, 'The times be now such as all that shall be done in any of the premises, appears, by such privy intelligence and promise as is between the pope and the emperor, to hang and depend upon the emperor's will, pleasure and arbitrie, as whom the pope's holiness *neither dare* nor will in any part displease, offend, or miscontent; ne do by himself any thing notable therein, which he shall think and suppose to be of moment, the said emperor first unconsulted, as not consenting thereto.' Harl MS. Burn. v. 2. p. 89.

[59] 'And since the emperor is not only the adversary of universal peace, but also doth shew himself adverse and interposing himself against the king's great matter.' MS. ib. Burn. v. 2. p. 90.

[60] MS. ib. [61] Ib.

[62] 'Employ all your suit—attaining as ample, large and sufficient words, clauses and sentences, as ye can get, for the amplification of the new commission.'

[63] 'Whereas ye by your last letter sent the pope's policitation for the non-inhibition or revoking of the cause, the ratificating and confirming of the sentence by us his legates herein to be given, ye shall understand the said policitation is so couched and qualified, as the pope's holiness, *whensoever he will*, may resolve, like as by certain lines and annotations which in the margin of a copy of the said policitation I send you herewith, ye shall perceive.' MS. ib. Burnet, v. 2. p. 94.

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consigned had kept it by him undelivered, and therefore they were to solicit, for their justification, a duplicate of it[64]. They were to allege that they remembered the words of the old document, and so could dictate them to the officer who was to prepare it again; but as he wrote from their dictation, they were to introduce, unperceived by him, such fresh passages of enlarged power as the cardinal had marked; that the scribe, supposing he was only copying the former instrument, might insert what Wolsey wished without either contest or suspicion[65]. This fraudulent deception, which, as a matter of course, he asked a bishop and three honorable knights to practise, the cardinal called a "politic handling[66];" and as the policy of that day was little else than knavery, deceit, hypocrisy and falsehood, his verbal epithet was not unjustly applied. The only extraordinary fact is, that great and able men should then

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[64] The importance of the passage may excuse the length of the extract: —'Therefore, ye shall by some good way find the means to attain a new policitation, with such or as many of the words and additions which I devise, as ye can get, which ye may do under this color.—Shew to the pope's holiness, by way of sorrow, how your culler, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the said policitation, so chanced in wet and water in the carriage thereof, as that the packet where it was, with such letters as were with the same, and amongst others the rescript of the said petition, was totally wet, defaced, and not legible: so as that the packet and rescript was and is detained by him to whom ye direct your letters, and not delivered among the others into the king's hands: and unless his holiness, of his goodness, will grant unto you *a double* of the said packet, ye see not but that there shall be some notable blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the conservation of it.' Harl. MS. Burn. v. 2. p. 95.

[65] '—And thus coming to a policitation, and saying you will devise it as much as you can remember according to the former, ye by your wisdom, and namely, ye M. Stephen (Gardiner), *may find the means to get as many of the new*, and other pregnant, full and available words, as is possible; the same signed and sealed as the other is, to be written *in* parchment.' MS. ib.

[66] MS. ib. Burn. v. 2. p. 95.

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have habitually acted like scoundrels, without suspecting that they were so; and with their sword ready for any man's throat, that should link the term for a moment to their names. Never was the moral sense of mankind more bullied into silence, or more dazzled into blindness, than in the sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the former part of the eighteenth century[67]; and few ministers have attempted to govern the affairs of great nations so much for their own passions and purposes, as the mysterious and impenetrable Wolsey[68]. The pope on the 23d July signed another promise not to revoke or annul the commissions and documents he had issued[69]: a solemn engagement, which in a few months he unhesitatingly violated. His decretal bull, pronouncing the marriage with Catherine invalid, received also his signature, but was delivered to Campegio, to be privately used, and by whom it was either embezzled or destroyed[70]. But its future fate is imma-

[67] Even the plain and useful compiler John Strype, the worthy rector of Low Layton, in speaking of one of Wolsey's Machiavelian letters, could approvingly say, 'herein our cardinal shewed all his skill and *the fineness of his* policy.' Eccl. Mem. v. 1. p. 94. While Dr. Fiddes, the instrument of Atterbury, according to Dr. Knight, like others of Wolsey's biographers, has in like manner only admiration and panegyric to bestow on the more than questionable hero of his book.

[68] The French ambassador remarked of him to his court, 'Indeed, sir! he must be playing terrible mysteries; for I think he is the *only man* in England who wishes a war in Flanders.' Lett. Le Grand, v. 3. p. 81. An intimation how much he was then contributing to the last war that proved so fatal to the pope.

[69] It is printed in Herbert, 221, and in Burnet, v. 6. p. 23. 'We promise, on the word of a Roman pontiff, that neither at the instance of any one, nor of our own will or otherwise, will we grant any letters, briefs or bulls, which may impede or revoke the matter of the aforesaid commissions, or the process of the said commissions; but will confirm, ratify and hold the commissions and process given by us, and will not infringe the 'promissa,' nor attempt nor do any thing against them, 'nisi vi vel metu coacti.' Dated Viterbo, 23d July 1528. ib.

[70] Its existence, purpose and embezzlement, is expressly stated in the

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terial, having been once signed and issued by the pope, it was an annulment of the subsisting marriage, by the highest human authority then recognized on such subjects.

On the marriage itself, three questions may be considered—Was it originally valid? Could the pope's dispensation remove that invalidity? Ought it to have been disturbed?

The first question was discussed on two grounds, —on revealed religion, and on the moral laws of nature. The sacred scriptures only notice it twice in the Pentateuch, and allusively to that, on one occasion in the gospels. The Levitical law forbad expressly the marriage with a brother's widow. A permission was added in Deuteronomy to contract the alliance, for the purpose of continuing the brother's lineage, which the question of the scribes in the gospels assumed to have been acted on. It was not alluded to again. The force of these passages seems to be, that it was prohibited by the divine law, with a special exception that appears to have been applicable only to the Jewish economy. The moral law of nature may be inferred to be against such marriages, from the great danger of the social evil, the incest and the fratricide, that would result from their general allowance.

As to the power of a papal dispensation, it may

king's order of 1535, in Burnet, v. 6. p. 80, and in Henry's instructions to Paget, ib. p. 88; where the king also declares, that the pope sent him likewise 'a brief written with his own hand, wherein he did also approve the justice of the king's cause, in like manner as he did in his commission decretal.' p. 88. So that whatever the pope might afterwards endeavor to undo, he had invalidated the marriage. The condition he annexed was to the consummation, which, tho denied by Catherine, was as satisfactorily proved as such a subject could be.

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be remarked, that if these marriages were not repugnant to the revealed laws of God, nor to the reasoned laws of nature, no dispensation could be necessary: and if they were so opposed, what human power could suspend or abrogate the will of the universal Creator!

But whether a marriage, however thus originally objectionable, ought, after twenty years continuance, to have been disturbed, is a question of a different sort. That the parties of such a wedlock should separate, and give society the beneficial example of their regrets and self-punishment, no sound moralist will deny; but to give to either the gratification of a divorce, that other nuptials might be substituted, would be rewarding a criminality that had been voluntarily committed. Hence that species of divorce, which compels the parties to live asunder, without enabling them to marry again, would have been most applicable to their immoral alliance, and to avert the injustice of illegitimatising the innocent child of a marriage so sanctioned, so long acquiesced in, and which had been solemnized with every legal and religious ceremony. The three estates in Parliament, which have always governed the succession to the English crown, might have secured to the princess Mary her inheritance to the throne. Conscience, law, and the public welfare, would thus have been harmoniously united.

But sturdy battle being preferred to moral adjustment, one mighty question arose out of the controversy, that led with rapid steps to the English Reformation. This was, the extent and limitation of the papal power. Campegio, on this point, had

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a larger foresight than Wolsey; for while Wolsey was urging the French ambassador to find out some reasons to show that the marriage was such as that the pope could not grant a dispensation for it, and that this would be one of the surest points[71], Campegio more truly remarked to him privately, that "to say the pope could not dispense for it, would be to subvert his power, which," he was pleased to add, "is infinite[72]." The Italian legate was right; to deny the right of dispensation, might make the divorce more certain; but it was shaking the papal colossus, and it had that effect. This course of argument soon employed the ablest pens in Europe, in questioning, attacking and destroying, the mental despotism which the popedom was so assiduously establishing in Europe. But all power that rests on fancy or superstition, without any foundation in reason or in right, is in its nature but a temporary dominion, which the casualties of time, as well as the improvements of human society, are continually diminishing, and irresistibly dissolving. Many such dominations have awhile ruled the world, but all have passed into successive non-entity; others may yet arise and spread, but will again disappear, like the pleasing rainbow or the eccentric comet; while the sun of truth and beneficence permanently reigns, with undiminished influence, and with the general benediction; dispelling all mists, surviving all criticism, and surmounting all rivalry.

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[71] Le Grand, v. 3. p. 201. [72] Ib. 216.

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CHAP. XXIII.

HENRY'S LETTERS TO ANNE BOLEYN—CAMPEGIO APPOINTED JOINT COMMISSIONER—HIS JOURNEY TO ENGLAND.

CHAP. XXIII.

DURING these urgent negotiations for his divorce, the feelings of Henry, instead of abating by the delay, became more decided and impassioned. The steady conduct of Anne, so incomprehensible to her enemies, tho it disappointed the king's vanity, gratified his good taste, his moral feeling, and his religious principles. Virtue in her, excited it in him; and altho many little plots were formed to extinguish his attachment[1], it continued with undiminished constancy. We can but very rarely become acquainted with the real effusions of a kingly mind on such private occasions. But the letters in which he expressed them to his beloved lady, have perpetuated them to us. Having been by some secret pilferer deposited in the Vatican[2], and there preserved, probably as

[1] Wyatt notices, 'there were practices discovered on all sides, under sundry arts, on the part of Spain, from Rome, and that faction, and from the queen herself; and specially some plotted with the king; some with the lady herself, to break off, or stay at the last, till something might fall that might break all this purpose.' Mem. An. Bol. p. 189.

[2] They make a part of the Codices Vaticani, No. 3731. The originals were obtained by some secret management, probably by Wolsey's aid, and sent to Rome by Card. Campegio: when his baggage was searched, 'but a few letters were found, for they were sent before in post.' Hall, p. 759. They have been published incorrectly in some parts, in the third volume of the Harleian Miscellany, p. 52–62, and elsewhere. But Mr. Gunn has given the most complete edition of them, being 17, in the Pamphleteer, No. 42 and 43, correctly copied from the autographs, in the Vatican palace, with a valuable introduction, and some fac similes of the writing and notes.

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BOOK I.

an impeachment of the English reformation, we can ourselves read, and for ourselves judge of, the emotions and language of Henry's developed heart. He never assumed when he wrote them, that a pope would obtain them to become a spectacle to the criticising world; or that papal partisans would make them topics of additional vituperation. But they are what no sovereign need either regret or be ashamed of. They are genuine specimens of an honorable affection, expressed in the easy language of true feeling and good sense; reflecting credit upon his heart as a man, and upon his mind as a king. They are tender without imbecility, and earnest without being coarse. Affectionate ease without arrogant familiarity; and playful kindness, without self degradation, mark their general character. They have nothing that is incongruous with the dignity of his high station, nor depreciating to the judgment and decorum of his ripened manhood. Few love-letters, so unexpectedly betrayed to the public eye, will bear so close a scrutiny. Their respectful language is an irresistible attestation of Anne Boleyn's virtue, and of the impression it had made upon her royal admirer[3]; and as they naturally mix themselves with the history of the mind and feelings and conduct of both, and have been so wrongly characterised by discoloring prejudice, we shall lay them without scruple before the reader's eye.

The king had co-operated with some of his ablest prelates to comprize, in a small book, the most for-

[3] The editor of Bellay justly remarks, 'Ces lettres attestent que ce prince la respectoit autant qu'il l'aimoit.' p. 350. Most of these letters are in French; the translation in the text is made as close as possible.

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cible arguments for his divorce, and had sent it to the pope, with a supposition that it must affect his mind to favor the application. It was in the latter end of March 1528, that it was presented to the pontiff[4], and the fact leads us near to the true chronology of the following letter, in English, which seems to be the earliest from the king to his favorite subject:—

"Mine own sweet heart!

"This shall be to advertize you of the great longness that I find here since your departing; for I assure you, me thinketh the time longer since your departing now last, than I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervency of love causeth it, for otherwise I would not have thought it possible that for so little a while it should have grieved me. But now that I am coming toward you, methinketh my pains be half relieved; and also I am right well comforted, insomuch that my book maketh substantially for my matter. In token whereof I have spent above four hours this day, which hath caused me now to write the shorter letter to you at this time, because of some pain in my head; wishing myself specially one evening in my sweetheart's arms. Written by the hand of him that was, is, and shall be yours by his will. H. T."[5]

In May 1528, she went from the court to her father's castle at Hever in Kent, and in this retirement received these soothing lines:—

[4] Speaking of the week before Lady-day, Dr. Gardiner writes in March 1528: 'The next day, at afternoon, we went, as was appointed, to the pope's holiness, and exhibited unto him the king's book, which his holiness incontinently began to read. Holding the book, he read the before, and the latter part of the book touching the law, without suffering any of us to help him therein, noting even more the reasons, as one succeeded another, and objecting that which his holiness saw afterwards answered. Which done, he greatly commended the book, and said he would for a day keep it with him, to the intent that he might, by himself at good leisure, read, as well the first part, as also the second part again.' Strype, Eccl. Mem. App. 72.

[5] This letter is English. Harl. Misc. v. 3. p. 60. Pamph. No. 43. p. 123. I omit eight words, expressing the endearments he desired.

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BOOK I.

" My mistress and friend,

" I and my heart place themselves in your hands, praying you to let them be recommended to your favor, and that your affection for them may not be diminished by your absence. It would be a great pity to increase their pain, because the absence gives them enough, and more than I could have thought. It brings to my mind this point of astronomy, as the days are longer when the sun is farthest off, and yet its heat is then more fervid, so it is with our love. We are placed at a distance by your absence, and yet it keeps its fervor at least on my side; I hope that your's resembles it, for I assure you, that on my part the weariness from the absence is already too great for me; and when I think of the augmentation of it which I must endure, it becomes intolerable to me, but for the firm hope which I have of your indissoluble affection for me. To call this sometimes to your recollection, and seeing that I cannot be personally in your presence, I send you the nearest thing to it which I am able, my picture set in bracelets, with the device that you already know, wishing to be in their place wherever you shall please. This is from the hand of your loyal servant and friend. H. T."[6]

Some interval elapsed after this. She appears to have had a visit from him, and to have consented to return to his court, but to have afterwards altered her mind. It was, indeed, true delicacy to keep from it, as the queen was there. This change of purpose occasioned the following letter from her royal lover:—

" To my mistress,

" Because the time seems to me to have been very long since I have heard of your good health and you, my great affection for you persuades me to send to you the bearer of this, to be better assured of your health and wishes. And as since my parting with you, I am told that the opinion in which I left you is entirely

[6] French original. Harl. Misc. 52. Pamph. No. 42. p. 346. The date of this is ascertainable. The letter of Fox to Gardiner, of 4th May, see before, p. 220, note, proves that Anne was then with the court at Greenwich. Her quitting it must therefore have been subsequent to that day. Ib. and Harl. Misc. p. 50.

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changed, and that you will not come to court, neither with my lady your mother nor otherwise: If this report be true, I cannot enough wonder at it, as I am certain that I never committed a fault towards you, and it is but a small return for the great love I bear you, to keep from me both the conversation and the person of that woman whom I most esteem in the world. If you love me with as good an affection as I hope for, I am sure that the separation of our persons must be a little unpleasing to you. Tho, indeed, this belongs not so much to the mistress as to the servant. Think truly that your absence exceedingly grieves me, tho I hope it is not your wish that it should be so, for if I could consider it to be truth that you voluntarily desired it, I could do nothing but complain of my ill fortune, and relax by little and little my great folly. For want of time I end my rude letter, with praying you to believe what the bearer will say to you from me. Written with the hand of him who is wholly your servant. H. T."[7]

The preceding was soon followed by this congenial billet, which implies that she was so wisely reserved as to give him an uneasy doubt of her regard:—

"Debating with myself the contents of your letters, I am in a great agony from not knowing how to understand them, whether to my disadvantage, as some places indicate, or to my advantage, as I would infer from others. I earnestly entreat you to certify to me expressly your whole intention as to the love which is between us. Necessity compels me to obtain this answer, as I have been *more than a year* struck with the dart of love, and I am not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a true affection placed in your heart. This last point has kept me for some little time from calling you my mistress, because if you do not love me in a different manner from common regard, this name is not proper for you, for it denotes a singleness which is very far from the common one. But, if it shall please you to do the office of a truly loyal mistress and friend, and to give yourself body and heart to me, who am and have been your most loyal servant, unless by your rigor you shall forbid it, I promise you that not only the name

[7] Pamph. p. 347. Harl. Misc. 93.

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shall be your due, but I will also take you for my sole mistress, and expel many others near you out of thought and affection, and serve you only. Make me a full answer to this my rude letter, to shew me to what and in what I may trust. But if it will not be agreeable to you to give me your reply in writing, assign to me some place where I can receive it from your mouth, and I will be there with an eager heart. I will not tire you with any more. Written with the hand of him who would willingly remain your, H. T."[8]

It requires no great correctness of taste to feel that these letters are written in very decorous, affectionate, and earnest terms, and with the feelings and phrase that men use to honorable and modest women. They express not only his love, but, with guarded and respectful effusions, they are urgent to receive the avowal of her's; yet they contain no pledge and no intimation that he would make her his queen, nor is it clear from them whether he had yet determined his own mind to do so. The observation of this fact may have caused in her that backwardness in indicating a reciprocal regard, of which he seems to complain. But to this last, which evinces a more decided mind of good meaning in the king, she sent some answer, with the present of an emblematical jewel, which appears by his reply to have greatly rejoiced him. The picture of a young maiden in danger from a tempest, delicately hinted the perils of her own situation from his preference, under the circumstances which entangled him.

"For a present so charming that nothing on the whole could

[8] Pamph. No. 43. p. 114. Harl. Misc. 54. Its connection of subject with the preceding, shows it to have been written soon after them. The expression of more than a year previous, for the date of the beginning of his regard places that about April 1527, which is the time our preceding reasoning and facts tend to assign to it. The original is in French.

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be more so, I most cordially thank you, not only for the fine diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is in such distress, but principally for the sweet interpretation, and too humble submission used in the case by your benignity. I know well that it would be very difficult actually to merit this, unless I should be aided by your great humanity and favor, which I have sought and do seek for; and I will seek by all the kindnesses that I can shew, to continue that feeling in which my hope has placed its unchangeable intention, saying with the motto, 'Either here or no where.'[9] The demonstrations of your affection are such: The sweet words of your letter are so cordially expressed, as to lay me under an obligation for ever truly to honor, love, and serve you. I entreat you to please to continue in the same firm and constant purpose, assuring you on my part, that I would rather increase it than make it repugnant to the loyalty of a heart which designs to please you. I pray you that if I have in any manner heretofore offended you, you will give me the same absolution which you ask, as henceforward my heart shall be devoted to you alone. I very much desire that my body could be so too. God can do this when he please, and once a day I implore him to do so. Hoping that at length my prayer will be heard; desiring that time to be brief; thinking it long: adieu till we can meet again. Written with the hand of that secretary who, in heart, body, and will, is your loyal and most assured servant. H. T. No other heart than A.B.'s seeks H. T." [10]

No letter could be well more delicate and gentlemanly than this. The king is quite forgotten, and yet nothing unseemly to kingly dignity is said. There is no intimation of superiority, no assumption; no pride; nothing dictatorial or debasing, and no unworthy solicitation. It is such a letter as a man of sense would desire to write; and as a woman of feeling, worth and modesty, would be gratified to receive from an estimable lover.

[9] The king here implies Anne's knowlege of Latin, which the Sloane MS. mentions, by inserting there these words, 'aut illic aut nullabi.'

[10] In this prolonged signature, the A. B. is written within the rude outline of a heart. Pamph. 115. Harl. Misc. 55. French orig.

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It appears to have been about this time that Wolsey made his last effort to turn the king's mind from Anne Boleyn. He saw, by this time, that the pope's situation and fears made the divorce from him unlikely, and the prospective consequences of a refusal may have alarmed him. He endeavored to lessen Henry's attachment, and to suggest the pope's possible resistance to his will; but he only excited a storm in his sovereign's mind, which threatened ruin to himself[11].

It was in June 1528, that the dreaded disease suddenly again occurred in England, which spread so rapidly, and produced such speedy death—the sweating sickness. The French ambassador, then in England, thus describes it: "We have a little pain in the head and heart. We suddenly begin to sweat, and need no physician, for whoever uncover themselves the least in the world, or cover themselves too much, are dead in four hours, and sometimes in two or three[12]". But altho so quickly fatal

[11] We learn this fact from the bishop of Bayonne: 'A little before the meeting, the king used to him terrible terms, because he seemed to wish to cool him in it, and to show him that the pope would not consent to it.' Le Grand, 3. p. 146.

[12] See his letter of 8th June, in Le Grand, v. 3. p. 127–9. He says, 'it had occurred in the four preceding days, during which about 2,000 persons had died in London. It is 12 years since it happened before, but it is much severer now.' With the characteristic levity of his countrymen, he remarks, 'It is the easiest disease in the world to die of.' ib. There is a letter of sir Bryan Tuke to Wolsey, in MS. Vesp. C. 4. dated Hunsdon, 20th June 1528, which thus notices this malady, and gives some particulars of Henry. 'The treasurer lay at Waltham sick of the sweat, and the king removed to Hunsdon. My messenger followed. His grace (Henry) asked the messenger what disease I had. He told his grace wrong. Whereupon the king said, I must needs come, tho I rode in a litter; and that if I had none, he would send me one. I followed on my mule a foot pace, with marvellous pain, insomuch that I avoided blood, to speak on the truce. His highness having his supper on the board, in his sight and being ready to sit down when he called for me,

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when it killed, it was rather an alarming than a mortal epidemy; the far larger proportion recovered [13].

Among others, it attacked one of the maids of Anne Boleyn. The king, in great haste, withdrew to a distance of twelve miles, and Anne retired to her brother's, and thence to her father's [14]. The malady entered the king's household, and several of his people died in three or four hours [15]. He left his temporary abodes as they were struck, and sought to escape the infection by frequent changes of his residence. He lived alone, and kept himself shut up, having first made his will and taken the sacrament [16].

It was in this conjuncture that Henry wrote thus to his beloved object:—

"My uneasiness, from the doubt of your health, greatly troubles and distracts me. I cannot be tranquil without knowing some certainty about it; but as you have as yet felt nothing from it, I hope and keep myself assured, that it will pass away from you as I trust it has from us. While we were at Waltham, two ushers, two valets de chambre and your friar, Master Jerenere, fell sick, but are now quite well. We have since been at Hunsdon, where

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would at that time demur no more; but said, that he had himself provided my lodging at a gentleman's place hereby, and willed me to take my rest for that night; and was willing to have rewarded me with a dish, if I had not said I eat no fish. Taking my leave, I departed two miles to my lodging. At my return this morning, I found his grace going to the gardens; after three masses heard, his highness called me to him; and after commendations of the goodness of this house, with the healthiness of the air, and how commendable it is for a time of sickness as this is, delivered me the book of his said will in many points reformed. I have here no manner of stuff but *a bed that I brought* on horseback, ready to cast in an inn or house where I should fortune to come.' p. 239.

[13] On 30th June, the ambassador wrote, 'of 40,000 affected, only 2,000 have died.' ib. p. 145.

[14] Bellay's letter of 8th June. ib. 137.

[15] His letter of 30th June. He names three, Powis, Carew, and Carton. ib. 145.

[16] Ib. 145, 149.

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no disease occurred. I think if you would retire from Surry, as we did, you will escape the danger. Another thing may comfort you; that, indeed, few or no women have had the disease, and none in our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. Therefore, I entreat, my entirely beloved! to have no alarm, nor to let our absence displease you; for wherever I may be, I am your's. We must sometimes give way to these events; for to struggle on such a point with fortune, is very often to be more injured by it. Therefore cheer yourself, and take courage, and avoid the evil as much as you can. I hope soon to cause you to sing '*le renvoyé*.' No more, from want of time; but that I wish you were in my arms, to divest you of some of your unreasonable fancies. Written by him who is and always will be your immoveable, H. T." [17]

The king's good wishes did not protect Anne Boleyn. The malady, in July, attacked both her and her father, and also the ambassador, whose dispatches record the fact. Henry, more alarmed, removed with his queen still farther off, increased his precautions, and confessed every day. Wolsey became as apprehensive and as cautious.[18], while his household suffered from it [19].

During Anne's indisposition from the disease, the king thus expressed to her his anxiety:—

"The most displeasing news that could occur, came to me suddenly at night. On three accounts I must lament it. One, to hear of the illness of my mistress, whom I esteem more than all the world, and whose health I desire as I do my own. I would willingly bear half of what you suffer to cure you. The second, from the fear that I shall have yet to endure my wearisome absence much longer, which has hitherto given me all the vexation that was possible. The third, because the physician, in whom

[17] French orig. Lett. 3. Pamph. 42. p. 347. Harl. Misc. 53.

[18] It is in his letter of 21st July that Bellay mentions these circumstances. She had then recovered. 'The day I sweated at the archbishop of Canterbury's, 18 died in four hours. I am not yet strong.' Le Grand, 3. p. 152.

[19] Ib. 145.

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I have most confidence, is absent at the very time when he could have given me the greatest pleasure. But I will hope by him and his means to obtain one of my chief joys on earth; that is, the cure of my mistress. Yet, from the want of him, I send you the second, and hope that he will soon make you well. I shall then love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advice on your illness. By your doing this, I hope soon to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious jewels in the world. Written by that secretary, who is and for ever will be, your loyal and most assured servant. H. T."[20]

Wolsey had pointed the pope's attention to Cardinal Campegio as one of the persons most proper to be the co-operating legate[21]. The pope's intimation, thro Cassalis, that Henry had better proceed to his divorce without this form, had not been attended to[22]. Wolsey may have perceived its wisdom, and foreseen the obstacles that would arise from rejecting it. But attentive to his own interests and future projects, he advised the king to require another, from the secret belief that he could always make him a passive and obedient instrument for whatever might be expedient; and on the specious reasoning that the decision of a judge, not his subject or his minister, would be more satisfactory to the world, and more impartial in itself. The prelates of England thought this measure unnecessary[23];

[20] French orig. Lett. 12. Pamph. No. 43. p. 120. Harl. Misc. 58.

[21] The English ambassadors state, that they told the pope, 'we thought cardinal Campegio should be a very meet person to be sent into England.' Lett. Strype's Eccl. Mem. 1. App. 76.

[22] Herbert mentions this from a letter of sir Geo. Cassalis, of 13th Jan. 1528. p. 219. See this letter, b. 10. p. 35.

[23] It is from the letter of the pope's secretary, of September 1528, that we learn this marking fact. He wrote thus to Campegio: 'His Holiness knows from experience the favorable disposition of (Wolsey) towards the interests of the apostolic see, and is persuaded that the same favorable disposition influenced him in advising the king to demand a legate

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but Henry, sanguine in the effect of the arguments against the marriage, and not then discerning his adviser's private schemes, and the power which this addition gave to both, of disappointing Anne Boleyn, if it were possible, without directly compromising Wolsey, acquiesced in the suggestion.

It was after the alarm at her illness, that we distinctly perceive that the king was looking forward to her marriage. In the letter to Wolsey, of which she wrote the first part[24], and Henry the last, she declares that she longs to hear from him news of the legate, and Henry remarks, "the not hearing of the legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse[25]". Her separate letters to the cardinal

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for this cause, *altho it was represented by the prelates of the kingdom*, that such a step was unnecessary. But I wish his reverence had not interfered, for if the king had determined without the authority of his holiness, whether he had done ill or well, no blame could have attached to him.' Lett. xiii. Mem. Illust. Ap. Pamph. No. 43. p. 131.

[24] This joint letter is in MS. Vitell. B. 12. p. 4. and has been usually printed and referred to as from Anne Boleyn and the king. The last catalogue of the Cotton MS. and Mr. Ellis, in his valuable collection of original letters, mention it as queen Catherine's. Mr. Ellis's judgment would in all doubtful cases influence mine; but on comparing the original letter with the handwriting of the queen, and with others of Anne, I believe it to be the latter's; and if we contrast it, letter by letter, with Anne Boleyn's unquestionable epistle in MS. Otho, c. 10. p. 218. we shall perceive that the joint letter is from her. The h, t, e, r, and g, are exactly the same in both; so are the 'I,' 'and,' 'you,' 'that,' and 'desired.' But if the letter from Catherine in MS. Vesp. F. 13. in which the words, 'your loving mother Katherine the queen,' are her handwriting, be examined, and her signature in Otho, c. 10. p. 176. it will be seen that the letters in these are different from the corresponding ones in the female part of the joint letter. Hence I think Burnet and others were right in stating this to be Anne Boleyn's.

[25] This letter, by its allusion to the legate, implies that it was written between July and September 1528. As these letters give the true and a creditable picture of her mind at the age of 21, the reader may desire to see them in this work, altho they have been printed in the Harl. Misc. p. 60. Pamph. 149. and elsewhere.

'To Cardinal Wolsey.

'My Lord,

'In my most humble wise that my heart can think, I desire you to

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imply that he was ostensibly favoring her marriage[25], and the second expresses a gratitude which had ob- CHAP. XXIII.

pardon me that I am so bold, to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her that is much desirous to know that your grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do, the which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray, for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night, is never to be recompensed on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the king's grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt, but the daily proof of my deeds, shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the legate, for I do hope an they come from you, they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I and more, an it were possible, as I know it is not; and thus remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter. Written with the hand of her that is most bound to be——[It leaves off here abruptly in the MS. without her signature. The subject implies it to be Anne's.]

Postcript by king Henry.

'The writer of this letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand; desiring you, tho it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you there is neither of us but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have escaped this plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, especially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse, notwithstanding we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time, but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the writer would. By your loving sovereign and friend,

'HENRY K.'

[25] The allusion to his illness, places this letter about the end of July 1528. Harl. Misc.

'To Cardinal Wolsey.

'My Lord,

'In my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present, the which I shall never be able to deserve, without your help, of which I have hitherto had so great plenty that all the days of my life I am most bound of all creatures, next the king's grace, to love and serve your grace, of the which I beseech you never to doubt that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your grace's trouble with the sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for, are escaped, and that is the king and you; not doubting but that God has preserved you both for great causes known alonely of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much, and, if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end, and then I trust, my lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which, I must require you in the mean time to accept my good will in the stead of the power, the which must

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But the labyrinth of double dealing becomes at last inextricable, even to its framer, and Wolsey was now in the toils of his own fabrication. He had suggested the addition of a legate to his commission, to take off the responsibility from himself, and had named the one he supposed he could bend in subservient pliability to his wishes. But tho Gardiner's theatrical passion procured this from the pope in the end of March, yet September was passing, and his own expected creature had not arrived. He had been selected and commissioned in April, to unite with Wolsey in the investigation of the facts, but it was not till July that he set off on his journey to England in company with Gardiner[32]. He still travelled with tardy progress. His gout at one part disabled and detained him, and he did not reach Paris in his way till the middle of September, when the king, by the following letter, eagerly announced his arrival there, to her who must have been as impatient as himself for its occurrence,—

"The reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure also that I take to know them true, causeth me to send you now this news: The legate which we most desire arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past. So that I trust by the next Mon-

said if he could see the hatred of these two nations entirely taken away, and the laws and customs of the countries reformed, as he would effect if peace were to come, and especially if this marriage should take place, and a male heir occur, he would immediately withdraw and serve God for the rest of his life; and that without any doubt, on the first honorable opportunity that he could find, the other points accomplished, he would abandon public affairs.' Lett. 20th August. 3 Le Grand, 106.

[32] Le Grand, v. 1. p. 84. And took with him an engagement from the pope, dated 23d July 1528, phrased in that official verbosity, which rather darkens than illustrates, neither to counteract nor infringe their commission. See it in Herbert, 221.

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day to hear of his arrival at Calais; and then I trust within a while after to enjoy that which I have so longed for.—No more to you at this present, mine own darling! for lack of time." After mentioning by an odd association that he had been killing of an hart, he makes an explicit declaration of his intention to marry her, in his closing words, "by the hand of him which I trust shortly *shall be yours*, Henry, H. T."[33]

Campegio reached Canterbury at the commencement of October[34], and proceeded to the capital, to open and perform the appointed drama of his theatrical mission.

The letters of Henry to Anne, are such models of respectful love, and of a style not inelegant for such a topic, that we shall subjoin the rest of those which exist in the Vatican. Of these, three are French, and five in English. The first, literally translated, are these:—

LETTER VIII.

"Tho it does not belong to a gentleman to take his lady in the place of a servant, yet in following your desires, I willingly grant it to you; that I may thereby find you less ungracious in the place chosen by you than you have been in that which was given by me. Thanking you very cordially that it pleases you to have yet some remembrance of me. H. T." Pamph. p. 118. Harl. Misc. v. 3. This letter implies reserved, and not forward, conduct in Anne.

LETTER X.

"Altho, my mistress! it has not pleased you to remember the promise you made me when I was last with you, that is, to learn good news from you, and to have an answer to my last

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[33] Pamph. p. 117. Harl. Misc. Eng. Lett.

[34] In the MS. Vitell. B. 12, is sir F. Brian's letter reporting the reception of the cardinal at Canterbury, on 1st Oct. 1528. p. 2.

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BOOK I.

letter, yet it seems to me that it belongs to a true servant, seeing that he otherwise can know nothing, to send to enquire the health of his mistress; and to acquit myself of the duty of a true servant I send you this letter, beseeching you to apprize me of your happiness. I pray that this may continue as long as I desire my own; and to cause you yet oftener to remember me, I send you by the bearer of this a buck, killed last evening, very late, by my own hand; hoping that when you eat it you may think of the hunter. From want of room I must end my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who very often wishes for you instead of your brother. H. T." Pamph. 118, 119. Harl. Misc. v. 3.

LETTER XI.

" The approach of the time which has been so long to me, rejoices me so much, that it seems already to have almost arrived. Yet the entire accomplishment will not be completed till both persons shall meet together. This meeting is more desired on my part than any worldly thing; for what rejoicing can be so great in this world, as to have the company of her who is my dearest friend, knowing also that she feels the same on her side. The thought of this gives me great pleasure. Judge, then, what the person ought to do whose absence gives my heart greater pain than either my tongue or my writing can express, and which nothing but that can remedy. I entreat you, my mistress! to tell your father from me, that I beg him to advance but two days the designated time, that it may be earlier than the old term, or at least on the day prefixed. Otherwise I shall think that he is not disposed to assist the lovers as he promised, nor according to my expectations. No more at this moment for want of time, hoping soon to tell you from my mouth the pains I have endured in your absence. Written by the hand of the secretary who now wishes himself freely near you, and who is, and for ever will be your loyal and most assured servant. H. T." Pamph. 119. Harl. Misc. v. 3.

His English Letters.

LETTER VII.

" Darling! tho I have scarce leisure, yet remembering my promise, I thought it convenient to certify you briefly in what case our affairs stand. As touching a lodging for you, we have

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gotten one by my lord cardinal's means; the like whereof could not have been found hereabout for all causes, as this bearer shall more shew you. As touching our other affairs, I assure you there can be no more done; nor more diligence used; nor all manner of dangers better, both foreseen and provided for: so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialities whereof were both too long to be written, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefore, till you repair hither, I keep that thing in store, trusting it shall not be long to; for, I have caused my lord, your father, to make his provisions with speed. And thus, for sake of time, dear heart! I make an end of my letter. Written with the hand of him which I would were your's, H. T." Pamph. 117. Harl. Misc. v. 3.

LETTER IX.

" The cause of my writing at this time, good sweet heart! is only to understand of your good health and prosperity; whereof to know I would be as glad as in manner mine own; praying God, that an it be his pleasure, to send us shortly together. For I promise you, I long for it. Howbeit, trust it shall not be long to. And seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do than to send her some flesh representing my name; which is hart's flesh, for Henry: prognosticating that hereafter, God willing, you must enjoy some of mine, which I would be pleased were now. As touching your sister's matter, I have caused Walter Welze to write to my lord my mind herein; whereby, I trust that we shall not have power to distayve Adam. For surely whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honor, but that he must needs take her, his natural daughter, now in her extreme necessity. No more to you at this time, mine own darling! but that awhile I would we were together an evening. With the hand of your's, H. T." Pamph. 118. Harl. Misc. v. 3.

LETTER XIII.

This is about a nun of Wilton, who had misconducted herself. Pamph. 121. " Wolsey had nominated a female of exceptionable character to be prioress to this nunnery." ib. 120.

LETTER XV.

" Darling! I heartily recommend me to you, ascertaining you that I am not a little perplexed with such thing as your brother

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shall on my part declare unto you; to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letter I wrote to you, that I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London, than with any that is about me; whereof I not a little marvel. But lack of discreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this time, but that I trust, shortly, our meeting shall not depend upon other men's light-handleness, but upon your own. Written with the hand of him that longeth to be your's. H. T." Pamph. 122. Harl. Misc. v. 3.

This is another letter which shows that she kept discreetly away, contrary to his wishes.

LETTER XVII.

This will be found at page 255.

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CHAP. XXIV.

LAUTREC'S NEW CAMPAIGN IN ITALY—HE PENETRATES TO NAPLES, AND BESIEGES IT—MORTALITY IN HIS CAMP—EFFECTS OF HIS FAILURE ON THE PAPAL MIND—CAMPEGIO REACHES ENGLAND—HIS CONDUCT THERE—NEW URGENCIES TO THE POPE—WOLSEY'S UNEASINESS—CAMPEGIO RECALLED.

CHAP XXIV.

TEMPORARY successes and ultimate disaster had been the characteristic of every French campaign in Italy from the time that Charles VIII. had been excited to invade it; and yet in the spring of 1528, Francis allowed his own resentments, and the instigations of others, and principally of the pope, to allure him again to send a new army over the Alps, to experience, as before, the elation of immediate conquest, and the contrast of ulterior and unexpected calamity.

Lautrec passing over Mount Cenis, soon advanced to Alexandria, and began his campaign by taking by assault that Pavia [1] which had been so fatal to his sovereign. On this success two contrary solicitations importuned him. The duke Sforza intreated him to drive the imperialists out of all the Milanese. The pope's legate, Cibo, urged him to descend on Rome, and to liberate the ecclesiastical states [2]. His own wishes preferred the former object, but, yielding

[1] M. Bellay, p. 71. Guicciardini details Lautrec's actions from his entry into Piedmont, l. 18. p. 83. and his capture of Pavia, with 'crudelta grande e molti incendii,' from the remembrance of a former defeat. p. 87.

[2] Bellay, 72.

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to Cibo's remonstrances, he removed to Placentia, where the duke of Ferrara joined him; and in the commencement of 1528 stationed himself at Bologna[3]. As the vernal season disclosed its fuller beauties, Lautrec moved into the territory of the church; and the Spaniards, under the prince of Orange, withdrew towards Naples. Lautrec pressed gradually on into Apulia[4], and the two armies came into a partial collision at Troja; but Orange, after some ineffective skirmishes, receded from the French general, who might have overtaken and by a vigorous pursuit have defeated the prince, while he was quarrelling with Moncada, the viceroy, who hated him because he had been promoted above him[5]. Lautrec, by adopting the advice of subjecting the rest of the kingdom, that he might have Naples "with the cord round its neck[6]," missed this opportunity of destroying his adversary. Sacking Aquila and Melphi with the human slaughter which so often disgraced the soldiers of that cruel era[7], he arrived before Naples itself on the 1st May 1528, while Gardiner and his co-ambassadors were urging the pope to concede to Henry his divorce. Almost every

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[3] Guicc. p. 94–100. Bellay, 75. While here, this intelligent writer thinks he might have reduced all the duchy of Milan to its former duke, Sforza, without abandoning his Neapolitan campaign. ib. 74.

[4] Bellay, 76, 77. Guicciardini says, he was stimulated to the expedition by his own sovereign, 'ma molto piu dal re d'Inghilterra,' p. 105. Like all the commanders of that time, want of the money promised by his court, and wanted by his army, put him into a 'grandidissima disperazione.' Guicc. 116.

[5] Bell. 83. [6] Ib. 84.

[7] They killed the 3,000 soldiers who defended it, and as many more of its inhabitants. Bellay, 85. Guicciardini says of Aquila, that it was sacked 'scelleratamente,' p. 121; and of Melfi, that they put to death 'tutti i villani e gli uomini della terra.' p. 122.

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place in the Neapolitan kingdom submitted to the French army[8].

This divorce, and the final victory of the campaign, now rested on the capture of Naples. The attacks, sallies, and skirmishes were frequent, till sickness began to appear in the French camp. Lautrec desired reinforcements from his court, to supply this loss; but a few only arrived, while the mortality increased so extensively, that when Rencé reached his trenches, he found two-thirds of the army either dead or in disease. The imperialists on their part sent twelve thousand Germans under the duke of Brunswick, to assist the garrison; and St. Pol, with as many, marched in haste to succor the French army[9]. All the mighty events that were to evolve in the portentous future, depended on the incidents now coming into birth at Naples, in the month of July, and these became disastrous to Francis and to the pope. Before this month closed, twenty-one thousand men had perished in the French camp, during the previous thirty days[10]. Not four thousand men remained able to carry arms, and the garrison continually harassed the camp, and intercepted its provisions[11]. Lautrec himself expired on 17th

[8] Bellay, 86. Guicc. 129.

[9] Bellay, 101–3. Guicc. l. 19. p. 146. Both famine and pestilence at this critical moment, also began to distress Naples. Guicc. p. 139, 153.

[10] Bellay, 106. Paradin, sharing in a popular prejudice of his day, ascribes the deaths less to the plague than to the dregs of 'un mechant et malheureux apothecaire.' Hist. p. 225. Guicciardini, p. 165, more justly remarks, that the French having cut the canals to make the mills of the besieged useless, the waters became stagnant, and made the air deleterious. Paradin mentions that in the preceding January and February, the weather was so hot in France, that the trees leafed, flowered, and bore fruit. p. 248.

[11] Guicc. p. 163.

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August[12], of sickness and vexation[13]. The marquis of Saluzzi took the command of the surviving troops, raised the siege of Naples, and retired to Aversa. Attacked there at the end of August[14], he was wounded in the knee, and surrendered[15], with all his officers and army, to the prince of Orange. Of all that remained of the French army, a few only got back to France[16].

The state of the papal mind, during August 1528, we learn from the letters from his own court at Viterbo. On the 9th, when exhorted by the French agent to declare himself, and not to let the imperial offences against the church go unpunished, he ex-

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[12] So Cassalis reported, on 25th August, to Wolsey. MS. Vitell. B. 10. p. 106.

[13] He desired a report of the state of his army, 'on ne put lui cacher la verité; et il expira de desespoir.' Bellay, Observ. p. 325. Some Spaniards took his body out of the grave into a cellar, to extort a ransom from his family. But the grandson of Gonsalvo, the great captain, with the true spirit of a noble mind, raised a superb tomb of marble to his memory, with this inscription, 'Gonsalvo Ferdinand, a Spanish prince, erected this monument to a French general, altho his national enemy.' Observ. ib.

[14] The prothonotary, Cassalis, in his letter to Wolsey, of 10th September, ascribed the French defeat to their negligence in withdrawing the army from Naples; and says, that after Lautrec's death, 'the leaders did not provide for the evils that were likely to follow.' MS. Vitell. B. 10. p. 109.

[15] He was taken to Naples in a letter, where he soon died. His loss was much regretted. Bellay describes him as a 'gentil prince,' and as virtuous as any of his time, and much loved by his soldiers. p. 110. The letters of Cassalis, from 25th to 31st August, of which are extracts in MS. Vitell. B. 10. reported these disasters to the English government, p. 106–9. In the dispatches of Bellay from London, in Le Grand, v. 3, we see their depressing effect on Wolsey's mind. Guicc. 167.

[16] 'Such,' says Bellay, 'was the end of this superb army, which for 28 months had been commanding Italy, Romagna, and the kingdom of Naples. Man was unable to conquer it, when the Supreme attacked it, to show that to him, and not his creatures, belong all the honor and the glory of victory.' p. 112. This is one of those flights that we easily excuse for the patriotism which prompts it. This army was destroyed for other ends.

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pressed forcibly his helpless condition[17]. Twelve days afterwards, as the pestilential destruction of the French army advanced, he showed the necessity of his remaining neutral, that he might not provoke the emperor[18], at whose discretion he lay[19], and with whom he would lose all future credit, if he attempted hostilities; a measure that would probably draw down the total ruin of the Roman church[20]. In the beginning of September, when the situation of the French war became worse, he was loudly called upon by Charles to unite cordially with him; he confessed he had no other choice. He could turn advantageously no where else. It was necessary to make this union, however repugnant to his wishes[21].

This military ruin decided the war between Charles and Francis; and by evincing that Italy must remain subject to the emperor, had completed the subjection of the pope[22], ended all hope of Rome's future

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[17] The letter to Card. Salviati, mentions Clement's answer to have been, 'That amid such great tribulations in christendom, which only a peace could terminate, it was necessary to consider what it became a pope to do; and a pope who was so ruined and debilitated as his holiness was.' Lett. Princ. v. 3. p. 29.

[18] The dispatch to Salviati, of 21st August, thus states it: 'As to his (the pope's) present danger, the best step seems to be, to continue in his neutrality; especially as this will give no offence, and be even pleasing to the emperor, and be commended in England.' ib.

[19] It adds, 'For it is to be considered, that the emperor, being superior in this war, his holiness remains at his discretion, and the rest of Italy has no hope of ever getting out of servitude.' ib.

[20] It continues. By declaring war, 'our lord would lose with the emperor all the credit of being able to produce a peace, and thus would place himself in the most manifest danger of his own total ruin, and of that of the church, if the French should fail in this their enterprize.' Lett. Princ. v. 3. p. 32.

[21] Lett. 4th Sept. ib. 39, 40. On 6th September, Salviati was informed of the deaths of Lautrec and Saluzzi, and that the French army had suffered 'l'ultimo estermino:' had been entirely exterminated. p. 40.

[22] Hence the official letter to Salviati, of 6th Sept. from the papal court at Viterbo, after mentioning the deaths of Lautrec and Saluzzi,

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ascendancy in the world, and effectually precluded that divorce, with Clement's sanction, which would have kept England longer in its bonds to the papal foot. Wolsey felt, but Henry would not allow himself so distinctly to see, the unfavorable certainty. The pontiff's secretary, in September, privately wrote to Campegio, expressing his master's apprehensions[23], urging him to delay his journey to England as long as possible[24], and ordering him to try, when forced to go there, to reconcile the king and Catherine[25]; but on no account to decide the litigated question[26]. These cautions were repeated a few days after[27]. He was again directed not to de-

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and this 'l'ultimo estermino,' adds, 'this news has been to the pope like a sharp knife, (il coltello acuto,) but he concealed the effect upon him by a simulating exterior, (ma come prudentissimo l'ha dissimulato.') Lett. Princ. v. 3. p. 40.

[23] The 'lettere de xiii. nomini illustri,' contains the letters of Sanga, the secretary of Clement. His epistle to Campegio, of 11th Sept. 1528, (before which he says he had written to him three times on the same subject, apparently after the total defeat of the French army at Aversa, at the end of August,) is printed in English, with five others, from Viterbo, in the Pamphleteer, No. 43, p. 124–140. It shows how much the pope governed his conduct by the incidents of war. 'If at first you entertained any doubt respecting the motive which induced his holiness to recommend the utmost precaution in your conduct, the reason is now obvious. You will see by my letter, *the event of the enterprize* in which the kingdom is engaged.'—'It is necessary for his holiness to guard against precipitately giving cause for a new rupture. He would, by such conduct, involve in ruin the whole of his state; for the least effort of the victorious army would destroy the little which remains of the ecclesiastical reputation and power.' p. 125, 6.

[24] 'I therefore repeat to you, as I have already written, that you will endeavor, as much as possible, without giving offence to the serene king, to delay the prosecution of your journey.' ib. 126.

[25] Ib. p. 126.

[26] 'If however things should come to extremity, you will not suffer any influence *to extort from you a decision*; but will wait for further instructions hence. Hoc summum et maximum sit mandatum.' ib. 126.

[27] In a letter, dated 16th September, the papal secretary apologizes for repeating so often the same thing, and adds, 'Every day gives additional force to the reasons which induce his holiness to impress upon the mind of your reverence the necessity of acting with caution and dex-

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cide[28]. The pope was, as far as he was concerned, willing to grant the divorce[29], but was withheld by his dread of the emperor's power[30]. Campegio was commanded to do nothing but to hear and to procrastinate[31]; and therefore he went to England purposely and solely to act an ecclesiastical and juridical pantomime. His allotted part was to prolong investigation, and to suspend the sentence, while legal formalities could be made to supply a plausible pretext; and to quit the judicial bench when he could decorously protract no further. In this spirit, and aided by his severe and convenient, but not pretended gout, he managed to let September expire before he approached the English cliffs. But if he came to act his puppet character, whose strings of movement were in the pontiff's hands, no less was

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terity; and of exerting every effort to divert this king from his present sentiments.' Pamph. No. 43. p. 128.

[28] 'But if this is not to be effected, and you should be reduced to extremity, you will not by any means decide, without new and express instructions.' ib. p. 128.

[29] 'If, in complying wth his majesty's wish, his holiness incurred only his own private danger, so strong is the attachment he feels, and such the obligation he acknowleges to him, *that he would without hesitation hasten* to satisfy him. Pamph. No. 43. p. 128. In another letter, the secretary says of Henry, 'He must see that the causes are sufficiently powerful to suspend the will of his holiness, which *of itself is very ready* to satisfy his majesty.' p. 129.

[30] 'But when, from the events which have taken place, such compliance would involve the apostolic see, and the whole ecclesiastical state, not only in danger, but in certain destruction, it becomes his holiness to proceed with discretion.'—'If the emperor receives such an insult, he plunges himself and the church in a most deep and manifest destruction. The ecclesiastical state would fall a prey to the emperor's ministers.' ib. 128, 9.

[31] 'Let it not appear strange to you, most reverend signor! that you are so often requested *not on any consideration to decide*, without express commission from hence, *but to protract things*.' ib. 129. The same importunity is expressed in a subsequent letter: 'For heaven's sake, protract the conclusion, and do not advance one step beyond that to which you have hitherto proceeded.' ib. 130.

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Wolsey also alike intent on exhibiting, on his part, an artificial scenery. His objects, wishes, and practices were exceedingly complicated. To disappoint Anne Boleyn; to be revenged on the queen and the emperor; to obtain this divorce; to cause himself to have all the merit of it; to uphold in its integrity the papal power, which he yet hoped to acquire; to magnify himself in the eyes of all Europe, as the arbiter of his sovereign's destiny; to delude mankind into a belief of his equity and impartiality; to lead Campegio as he wished; to give the king's mind a direction in the choice of a new wife, that would most secure the perpetuity of his own power; and yet, while aiming at all these ends, to retain his ancient empire over Henry's mind and conduct,—were the pursued purposes of his contriving soul, which could not be clear, candid, disinterested, or direct; purposes which required a machinery too complex to subsist and work long, without obstructing itself and entangling its master. Campegio, on the other hand, came to be a more simple hypocrite; to affect a desire to be the patient and indifferent judge; but to give no judicial determination at all, in obedience to the secret orders of the pope, whose sole will could degrade him from his cardinal dignity and Italian revenues, whenever he should please. The pecuniary compensation for these Henry could have supplied; but not the cardinal's hat, if once taken from him; nor prevent tne anathemas that his desertion of the papal authority would excite. He kept the great secret, that his judicial tongue was linked to that of Clement, confined in his own bosom, and performed his character of a profound dissembler

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with a success that for many months deceived both England and Henry, and which showed that other qualities than religion were covered in that age by the red hat and costume of papal nobility.

From Canterbury, Campegio advanced to the metropolis, and great preparations were made by his legantine coadjutor, ever anxious for stage effect, to receive him triumphantly into London; "but he was so sore vexed with the gout, that he refused all such solemnities, and desired heartily that he might be conveyed without pomp to his lodging, for more quiet and rest[32]." His wishes were submitted to, and on 9th October he was carried by water to the bishop of Bath's palace, without Temple Bar[33]. Here he rested until he was somewhat relieved[34]; and at this juncture, Henry wrote to his preferred lady, a gentle rebuke, and expressing his sanguine expectation of that favor, from the new legate, which this individual had now come determined not to give.

"To inform you what joy it is to me to understand of your conformableness to reason, and of the suppressing of your inutile and vain thoughts and fantasies with the bridle of reason, I assure you, all the good in this world could not counterpass for my satisfaction, the knowlege and certainty hereof. Therefore, good sweet heart! continue the same, not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter; for thereby shall come both to you and me the greatest quietness that may be in this world. The cause why this bearer tarrieth so long, is the business that I have had to dress up here for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupy

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[32] Hall, 753.

[33] Hall, 753.

[34] The bishop of Bayonne, in his dsspatch of 16th October 1527, mentions the cardinal as 'si tourmenté de ses gouttes que a peine pouvoit il endure d'être porté en la litiere.' Lett. Le Grand, p. 169.

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and then I trust to occupy yours. This shall be recompense enough to me for all my pains and labors.

"The unfeigned sickness of this *well-willing* legate, does somewhat retard his access to your presence; but I trust verily, when God shall send him health, he will, with diligence, recompense his demur; for I know well, where he hath said, lamenting the saying and bruit that he should be imperial, that it should be well known in this matter, that he is not imperial. And thus, for lack of time, sweet heart, farewell! Written with the hand which fain would be yours, and so is the heart.—H.T."[35]

Campegio began his drama on 28th October, by having his disabled body, for he could not stand, conveyed in a chair of crimson velvet to the king's presence, and placed with Wolsey on the right hand of the throne[36]. There he made a speech of invective against the emperor that gratified Henry, who, on Sunday the 8th November, in the assembly he convened at his Bridewell Palace, made the explanatory oration on his scruples, motives and objects[37]. The legates then paid a visit to the person that is most justly entitled to our real sympathy in the transaction—the injured queen,—and made a formal declaration, that they were the deputed judges to determine on the validity of her marriage. She was nearly overcome by the painful address. She paused awhile, and then said, "Alas! my lords! and is it now a question, whether I be the king's lawful wife or not?—now, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and in the mean time, no question made of it before? Divers prelates yet alive, and lords also, and privy councillors with the king, at that time adjudged our marriage lawful and

[35] Letter 17. Pamph. 43. p. 123. Harl. Misc.
[36] Bishop of Bayonne's dispatch, 3 Le Grand, 190. Hall, 753.
[37] Hall, 754. B. Bayonne.

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honest, and now to say it is detestable and abominable; I think it a great marvel. When I consider what a wise prince the king's father was; and also the love and natural affection which Ferdinand my father bore unto me, I cannot but suppose that neither of our parents were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of such small imagination, that they could not foresee what might follow from such a marriage." She then added the invective against Wolsey that has been already stated; and charging him with having declared he would give disturbance to her nephew, the emperor, closed with these words: "You have kept him true promise. For all his wars and vexations he may only thank you; and as for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God only knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth[38]."

The court was opened, and the commission to the two cardinals was read[39]. The pope had given Campegio a decretal, annulling the marriage, if the anterior nuptials with prince Arthur should be proved to have been consummated[40]. On this deciding document, which he confided to Campegio's care, the most essential question for the commissioned legates to determine, was as to this completion. The queen denied it. Evidence, as satisfactory as the

[38] Hall, 754, 5. He had the speech, which was in French, from the new legate's secretary, who was present. The bishop of Bayonne, on 1st November, reported the substance of the queen's speech to his court. Le Grand, 3. p. 195.

[39] See it in Herbert, 233. The court began its sittings in the great hall of the Black Friars on 31st May 1529. ib. Herbert adds the bull of Julius, 238. and the objections against the dispensation, 241.

[40] So it is asserted in the royal order of 1535, Burnet, v. 6. p. 80; and also in the instructions to Paget, ib. p. 88.

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nature of the case admitted, was adduced to prove it[41]; and Campegio had only to produce the decretal, and to declare as he felt, that the testimony had fulfilled the conditions. But forbidden by his Roman sovereign to give a determination which the imperial sword should avenge on that subjected chief, he prolonged, that he might not decide, and doubted without having a doubt, only that he might delay an inconvenient conclusion.

Aware of her earnest piety, the pope endeavored to persuade her to renounce the world, and to take religious vows in a convent, which would have completely extricated him from the embarrassing difficulties[42]; but she insisted on her regal rights, and steadily refused that compromising evasion. Wolsey urged the French ambassador to find out some irresistible argument, to shake the original foundation of the marriage, by showing that no pontiff had power to grant a dispensation for marrying a brother's widow[43]. It was then that Campegio remarked to him, that to contend such a point would be to abrogate the pope's dispensing authority, and

[41] See a summary of the depositions of thirty-seven witnesses, in Herbert, 242–5. Pole asserts, that Henry confessed to Charles, that the marriage with his brother had never been consummated. De Unit. p. 268. No sound mind that reads the passage in which Pole makes this assertion, will willingly believe him; but I have seen a document in the State Paper office, in which Henry has inserted the direct contrary affirmation. In a French note that Francis was to issue in favor of the divorce, after mentioning the marriage with Arthur, the king has interlined in his own handwriting, 'et sur ce *parfait consummation* ensuyvy.' Here is Henry's own declaration on this subject.

[42] Hall, 756.

[43] B. Bayonne, Le Grand, 3. p. 200. On 1st November, he says, Wolsey flattered him with being a great theologian, and asked, 'If I could shew the marriage to be such that the pope could not dispense with it; for this was one of the surest points they had, and where they are the most founded.' p. 201.

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that this " would be subverting his power[44]." In vain the English cardinal exerted his subtle mind. Events over which he had no mastery nullified every device.

Unwilling, or persuaded not to see that Clement dared not assist his wishes, Henry sent sir F. Brian and M. Vannes to Rome, to enforce the cause with the pope, after concerting with the French government on their way[45]. A month afterwards, Dr. Knight was commissioned thither with new urgencies and solicitation: and Wolsey now perceiving that his continuance in favor and power depended on the pope's acquiescence, and that this would be advanced in proportion as his mind should be emancipated from its fears, proposed, in order to give Clement this assurance of safety, that France and England should each supply him with a guard of one thousand men, and that if the emperor's obstinacy would not be brought to reason, a grand enterprise should be executed by the combined governments, of invading Spain with a competent force, sufficient to maintain themselves in that country, till the princes were given up and the emperor humbled[46]. The popular feeling in England being adverse to a war with Charles, from the commercial and manufacturing injury that would follow, as from the extent of his empire, it would involve the suspension of intercourse with Germany, Flanders and Spain, Wolsey

[44] On 27 Nov. the Bishop of Bayonne describes this conference with Campegio. Le Grand, 3. p. 216.

[45] On 27th November 1528, Henry announced this mission to the French grand master, by the letter in Le Grand, v. 3. p. 223.

[46] Bellay stated this to his court, on 13th Dec. Le Grand, p. 225, 6.

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caused an inquiry to be made into the military weapons in London, and had the most dangerous taken away [47]. A continual watch was kept in the metropolis; the nobility was strongly warned of the king's determination to pursue the measure he was adopting, and the sovereign was himself so roused by the threat of his own subjects being excited to depose him, that his resentment against Charles exceeded even that of his cabinet [48].

Such a menace only made the emperor unpopular [49], and the appprehensions of interior commotions were fast dying away. Wolsey omitted no contrivance to direct the public hatred on Charles, and to attach its kindly feeling to France; but as to this, the ambassador looking at the inveterate tho unjust prejudices of the two nations, acutely observed, "It is a mighty thing to be only fighting against nature [50]." Yet as vicinity is more rationally a cause of regard than of jealousy, let us hope that amity between the Frenchman and the Englishman will in time become the habitual, the cordial, and the native, as it is the expedient, the philosophical, and the christian sentiment.

Wolsey communicated to the French envoy, the information he had received of the great offers made by the emperor to the pope to fix him in his interests [51]. Campegio apprised him that Charles was going in person to Italy, to support his political objects; and with a confidential foresight intimated

[47] Bellay reported this on 9th December. Le Grand p. 233.
[48] Ib. 233.
[49] One said, 'The emperor, by this word, had lost the hearts of 100,000 persons of this country.' ib. 253.
[50] Ib. 235. [51] Ib. 235.

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that if he went there, the pope would take his side, from not daring to do otherwise[52]. The bishop of Bayonne endeavored to find out reasons that such a journey would be disadvantageous to the emperor; but this was only the plausibility of an interested partisan, consulting his wishes instead of his judgment, or trying to blind others by fallacies. The apprehensions of Campegio were those of real sagacity; and of the same character was his advice to the pope, not to remain, as before Bourbon's attack, in sturdy and self-flattering security, nor to rely on his name, and surrounding forces; but to retire from the danger of attack, and be where he could live and act independent of control[53].

Francis was roused by the representations he had received, to write, before December closed, to his ambassadors at Rome, that he considered the affairs of Henry to be the same as his own, and therefore ordered them to unite with the new embassy sent from England, in urging and soliciting the pope on the king of England's matter, and to employ themselves for that purpose so actively, that he might promptly have the issue he desired. They were also directed to persuade the pontiff to raise and keep sufficient soldiers for the defence of his person, that he might avoid being again at the mercy of the emperor or his ministers, and to promise him pecuniary assistance, if he should object to the expence[54].

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[52] Le Grand, p. 236.

[53] Ib. Campegio thought the pope would adopt this advice, but yet remain neuter. ib. 237.

[54] The letter of Francis is in Le Grand, v. 3. p. 242.

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About the 20th December, Henry sent for De Bayonne, to inform him that the queen had obtained a copy of the brief, which amplified the bull of the dispensation for her marriage, tho dated the same day. The legates had doubted its being genuine, and to show that it was so, it was necessary that she should send to the emperor for the original, to produce it for legal scrutiny. The king expressed his hopes that it would be found a forgery, but confessed that it was necessary to see it before the matter was proceeded in. He expatiated upon the whole question at great length, to the diplomatic bishop, and showed himself to be so fully master of the subject, as to give the ambassador an impression that he needed no advocate[55].

The king declared his mind at length on the causes to which he ascribed the failure of the French in their military conduct. To the want of timely supplies of provisions and money, he attributed their loss and ruin before Naples. Their neglect of the famous Genoese admiral, Andrew Doria, at the critical period of his revolt from the emperor, was a palpable fault. He observed that at that very moment, St. Pol, from want of means to pay it, was breaking up his army, which, if he had kept it entire, might be made so efficacious in Italy; from the same defect of pecuniary supplies at the proper time, the army that had been preparing in Normandy, was also dissolving into uselessness. Henry declared that he could not see all these avoidable disadvantages without a marvellous regret. By such mis-

[55] Bayonne's Letter, 20th Dec. 1528. ib. 252.

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takes, their common cause, after reaching the point of victory, had fallen suddenly to the ground, to the great exaltation of the emperor, and to the disappointment of the confederated powers. The want of management in the French government was so obvious, that the counsellors of their adversary had declared that the emperor had nothing to do but to temporise, as the faults of his enemies would fight sufficiently against themselves, to make his intervention unnecessary. The king implored the ambassador to urge Francis to apply himself to his state business, and to labor with his counsel in directing the conduct, or rather the execution, of his affairs; and to abandon his pleasures, if only for one year, that he might himself see that his measures were promptly and steadily accomplished. Bayonne, with great fidelity, reported all this lecture to the prime minister at Paris[56].

At the Christmas of 1528, he describes the English court as keeping open house in the palace, and not only the king, but the queen also as she had been accustomed; miss Anne Boleyn had likewise her separate festivities; but the ambassador thought that she no longer associated with Catherine[57].

He exhibits Campegio at the time as willing to comply with Henry's wishes, if the pope would let him. The see of Durham, then worth ten thousand pounds a year, was put before him to be exchanged for that of Bath, and he remarked that he had actually lost to that amount by coming into England,

[56] The bishop's account of this conference with the king, which lasted two good hours, is in Le Grand, v. 3. p. 252–5.

[57] Lett. 25th Dec. p. 260.

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for the pope had named him to a bishopric in Spain of the same value. But the emperor, as if uncertain of his stability, would not allow him to enjoy it, and gave him another, with which he was by no means content[58]. When Wolsey had urged Campegio upon the sentence he wished, his fellow legate told him, that if the divorce should be pronounced, peace would abandon Europe, from the great indignation which it would excite in the emperor's mind. The answer of Wolsey was, perhaps, not unfounded: "Do not you mind that: I know how we shall be able to manage with it. He will not take the thing so much to heart as he pretends. I know the way to dress it up the best in the world, and you may fully rely upon me[59]."

But Campegio dared not so commit himself. The pope was carefully watching him as well as the emperor. Clement had shown, in the case of Colonna, that he could, and if irritated would, take away the cardinal's hat: and his bulls might also deprive any prelate of what bishoprics or promotions should be granted him. No vizier was more under the despotic command of his sultan, than the dignified clergy of every country were then under that of the pontiff. Hence as Charles governed Clement, so Clement governed Campegio, by his power of inflicting evil; and thus bribery was prevented by fear.

On the 25th January 1529, we learn that Gardiner had been dispatched secretly to Rome; and Cam-

[58] Le Grand, v. 3. p. 260.

[59] Le Grand, p. 266. He says, to his court, of Wolsey, 'Do not affront him. He is vindicatif et de gross cœur.' p. 266.

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pegio received a private messenger from the pontiff, whose orders this missioned agent appears to have borne, to this effect: that as all things had turned out so contrary to what had been predicted, and as the king had assured him they would; as the emperor's predominance in Naples was so great, that the pope was necessarily afraid to displease him, and as the French forces in Lombardy were not sufficient to prevent the imperial ascendancy, the pontiff, for these reasons, forbad the legate to meddle any further[60].

But the secession of the papal mind from the wishes of the English government produced as much resentment from that, as it had dreaded from the emperor. In his visit to Rome, Dr. Gardiner was instructed to declare to the pope, that if he did not order Campegio to proceed to the divorce, the king of England would withdraw his obedience[61]. Wolsey now perceived, that if his master failed, his influence would cease; anxiety agitated his bosom, and indications of diminished power already appeared and mortified him[62].

The dangerous illness and expected death of the pope at the end of January[63], roused alternately,

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[60] Bellay gives this communication, as the substance of what he had learnt, and believed to be the pope's message to Campegio. Lett. 25 Jan. Le Grand, p. 284. He adds, on the expulsion of the Flemings from England in case of a war, 'I think before long, 30,000 Flemings will be put out. They are not very content with this, but say they will make the war this year so vigorous, that it shall be belle chose.' p. 285.

[61] Bayonne, on 28 January, said he had this information from a good source. 3 Le Grand, 295.

[62] 'M. Cheney, for having offended the cardinal, was put out of the court. The *damsel* has brought him back to it whether the other would or not; and with some rude expressions. The duke of Norfolk and his set begin already to talk big.' ib. 296.

[63] On 1st February 1529, the cardinal of Bourbon wrote to Francis, 'Sire! at six o'clock this evening I received the letters you were pleased

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hope, fears, projects and intrigues, amid all the contending parties. Preparations began to be made by each to obtain the election of a successor favorable to his peculiar designs[64]. Wolsey again started in hope and effort for the long-craved honor[65]; but Clement's undesired recovery suspended all the cabals, and doomed the English cardinal to irremediable disappointment.

As May passed on, Wolsey's alarms increased. His political rivals, the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk, instilled into the king the opinion so probable, and with a due discrimination of chronology so true, that he had not advanced the new marriage so much as he might, if he had chosen[66]. The letters from Rome gave more uncertainty than before. And tho Dr. Bennet had been sent to intreat, to urge, and to menace; yet the pope, instead of annulling the amplifying brief, began to intimate his intention of revoking the English commission[67]. The duke of Suffolk was then sent to France to obtain its most authoritative interposition, and to concert the most effective measures to solicit and to intimidate against adverse intimi-

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to send me, by which you apprize me of the extreme malady or death of our holy father the pope, and therefore order me to come to you with all speed.' Le Grand, p. 404.

[64] A list of all the cardinals, with notes as to which of them would support the imperial interest; which would oppose it; which, tho neutral, might be gained, and which were absent, was then made out, and is in Le Grand, p. 299–302. In this, Campegio is thus described; 'In the conclaves and the affairs thence issuing, he has always shewn himself a *greater* imperialist than all the others.' p. 301. Wolsey was therefore either outwitted or insincere in procuring his nomination as the joint commissioner.

[65] See his letter of 6th February 1528, 29, printed in Burnett's App. 1. p. 48; the copy of his letter to Gardiner for this purpose is in the British Museum,—Harl. Misc. No. 283. Is dated 7th Feb. 1529. p. 105.

[66] Bay. Le Gr. 29 May. p. 313. [67] Ib. 314.

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dation. The cardinal pursued the court of Francis with eager requests that he would send a special agent to remonstrate with the pope, that if he refused Henry's desire to accelerate his nuptials, neither king would forget his indifference, but would make him repent of his ingratitude; and at the same time to assure him, that if he complied with their wishes, he should dispose of their wealth and subjects like his own property. The ambassador expressed to his court, that if this were not effected, he thought that Wolsey, such was his disquietude, would die from the agitation of his spirits about it[68].

Fresh uneasiness disturbed the English cabinet, as symptoms emerged of Francis making a separate treaty with the emperor. His mother, and the emperor's kinswoman, Margaret, had now planned to meet for a pacific conference. Suffolk reported to his sovereign, that the French king had expressed his belief that the ladies would settle all points in two days[69]: and Wolsey received the information with dismay and wrath, and intreated the French minister to incline Henry to disbelieve it[70]. He asked now only that their efforts should be united to prevent the pope from revoking the commission[71]. This Henry peculiarly dreaded. Wolsey wished to go to Cam-

[68] Le Grand, p. 321. [69] Bay. Lett. 30 June, p. 327.

[70] The ambassador remarks to his court, 'I assure you he is in a terrible trouble, for up to this moment he had assured his master, and every body, both in private and public, that the interview would come to nothing, and you would not do any thing without them. Now he doubts, and accuses me of having misled him, and been the cause that he has misled his master. He desired me to see the king, and to put the thing as not entirely out of hope.' ib. 327.

[71] Ib. p. 330. The bishop mentions how much Henry had been pleased with the artichokes sent him, with which he had made a great feast. ib.

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bray to break up the amicable conferences between Louisa and Margaret. The king refused his consent[72]; for how could he trust Wolsey on such missions again? New efforts were made on the mind of Campegio. At the end of June he was supposed to be half conquered; but the meeting at Cambray infused into his mind the new fear, that Francis and Charles might agree, and leave Henry in the lurch, and thereby himself, if he decided to divorce him[73]. Wolsey had therefore no resource but to importune the king of France to make vigorous efforts to compel this issue from the cardinal or his pontifical master, and to aver that such a favor would make the king of England fall on his knees before him for the future[74]. But while all these intrigues and passionate solicitations were manufacturing and were expressed, a superior power was defeating every possibility of their success. It was on the 21st of the same month of June, that Antonio de Leyva was planning and executing that movement against St. Pol, which annihilated the French forces in Italy, and every last hope of advantage which had been built on their exertions.

The French troops which had remained after the destruction of Lautrec's army, and the defeat of Saluzzi in the Neapolitan territory, were concentred in the north of Italy, under St. Pol, an officer of merit and long service, who began to act offensively in the spring of 1529, and directed his march to possess himself of Genoa[75]. He took the road to Lan-

[72] Lett. 30 June 1529. p. 333. [73] Ib. p. 334.
[74] Ib. p. 335.
[75] Genoa had revolted from the French, and St. Pol attempted to sur-

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driana, about twelve miles from Milan, and reached it on the 21st of June. But the heavy rain, which fell all the night, had so swelled the little river he had to cross, that he could not pass his artillery over it. This fact was reported in the morning to the experienced and active Antonio Leyva, who was then commanding at Milan; and, tho he was so ill as to be carried in a chair by four men, that same evening he set off with all the troops he could hastily assemble, and arrived at the French camp before the dawn had made the surrounding objects visible. A count, with two hundred light horse, and a captain with as many, were watching the roads from Milan, and saw the foot tracks of the imperial army, but, from some jealousy of each other, or mistake, neither followed the impression, nor acquainted the general of the circumstance. Relying on their vigilance, St. Pol was reposing in security, and supposing no danger from their silence; and perceiving that the river had lessened that morning, he sent over it his baggage and artillery to proceed with them to Pavia. He remained behind to extricate a cannon that had stuck fast, and while thus employed, was suddenly attacked by the Spanish troops. The divisions that were marching to Pavia, knew nothing of the conflict and went straight on to that city, while all that remained with St. Pol were broken, confused, and killed or taken prisoners, as well as those which were accompanying the artillery[76]. This disaster extinguished

prise it, and to capture the celebrated Andrew Doria, who had reconciled himself to the emperor, and who slept in his palace outside the walls. The expedition failed. Mem. Bell. p. 115. Guicc. l. 19.

[76] Mem. Bell. 119, 120. The pope's treasurer at Placentia sent im-

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all the power, and all prospect of benefit to France in Italy: and the pope was so convinced of his resulting helplessness, that he submitted to an authority which every effort had in vain been exerted to overthrow; and his agent signed on his behalf the yielding articles at Barcelona.

By these the pontiff conceded Nagles to Charles, on the feudal tribute of a white horse, and the emperor was to make the pontiff's kinsman, Alexander Medici, duke of Florence; to restore Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, and Reggio to the popedom; to assist it against Ferrara; to give F. Sforza some indemnity; to support the pontiff in his accustomed authority in ecclesiastical affairs, and to join with him against the Lutherans. Private arrangements were made as to his conduct towards Henry[77]. By this treaty, Clement abandoned all his ambitious designs of driving the emperor out of Italy, and with them all idea and possibility of affronting him, by divorcing queen Catherine. Francis, despairing of forcing better terms by the cannon or the sword, abandoned Henry and his divorce, the contested peninsula, and Rome; and to regain his neglected and suffering children[78], appointed his mother to negociate with the archduchess Margaret[79] at Cambray, that peace which

mediate tidings to England of their defeat. So did Cassalis to Wolsey. MS. Vitell. B. 11. p. 182. 188.

[77] See their substance in Herbert, p. 276. They were signed 29th June, and sworn to 3d July 1529. ib. and see Guicciard. l. 19.

[78] The French agent found them in a dark ill-furnished chamber, playing for their amusement with little dogs, and making pictures in wax. They had so much forgotten their French as to need an interpreter. Sandoval Hist. Herb. 277. The youngest of these wore afterwards the crown of France.

[79] The emperor's commission to his aunt for this purpose, dated Saragossa, 5th April 1529, is in the MS. Galba, B. 9. p. 202; and her original

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ambition and interest had so long suspended. English ambassadors were sent to the female congress, to promote the objects of their government, and to protect their national interest[80]: and the meeting of the diplomatic ladies ended on 5th August, in the treaty of Cambray, by which France ransomed its princes for two millions of crowns[81], withdrew all its forces from Italy, and gave up its feather of feudal homage for Flanders and Artois[82]. A friendly arrangement was established between Henry and Charles[83]; and Francis agreed to complete his contracted marriage with the long-waiting and not unwilling Eleanora, the eldest sister of Charles. These nuptials soon followed.

The effect of these irretrievable reverses, and of these treaties which they compelled, on Henry's suit, was immediately displayed. The pope's hesitation ended with the commencement of his despair; and on 15th July 1529, Cassalis announced, that, at the

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letters to Wolsey from Malines on 22d May, and to Henry from Brussels, 6th June, for an abstinence from war, are in the same MS. p. 211. On the same day, the English agent Hackett wrote, that she had fixed the day for the meeting at Cambray. p. 167.

[80] In this Galba MS. are three commissions from Henry, on 30th June, to Tunstall, bishop of London, Dr. Knight, sir Thomas More, and Hackett, to treat with the imperial ambassador, for peace and alliance, for the repayment of money lent, and for commercial intercourse and adjustment of complaint; and others for treating generally on peace with the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and Venice; and separately with Spain and France only. p. 180–198.

[81] Bellay, 122–5. Of this payment 400,000 crowns were to discharge the emperor's debt to Henry; to whom Francis was also to pay the 500,000 crowns which Charles had forfeited by not marrying Mary, and 50,000 to redeem the golden fleur de lys set with diamonds, which had been pledged. The receipt for these are in Rymer, vol. 14.

[82] The Latin treaty, dated 5th August 1529, is in the Galba MS. p. 212, and has been printed by Rymer, v. 14. p. 326. Herbert gives the heads of its 44 articles. p. 278–287.

[83] MS. Galba. B. 9. p. 204. 175. Margaret did not long survive this peace. There is an original letter of Charles to Henry, dated 3d January

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instance of the emperor, Clement had revoked from England to Rome, the judicial investigation of the divorce[84]. The general pacification terminating all chance of changes from military operations, the English cabinet began to deliberate on making the parliament the instrument of pronouncing, by its omnipotent civil authority[85], that annulment of the king's marriage which the predominating ecclesiastical power had refused to establish.

The legates had so managed their concurrent procrastination in England, that their judicial court was not opened till 28th May 1529. It was then held in state, at the Black Friars, with the crosses, pillars, and axis of the cardinals. The queen was called. She soon entered, attended by four bishops, her counsel, and a great company of ladies and gentlemen. She made her obeisance to the two cardinals, with great sadness and gravity; and appealing from them as incompetent judges to the court of Rome, she then departed from them[86]. They sat for several days, hearing arguments on both sides; and when the king came to them to request their decision, the queen appeared, and repeated her appeal[87]. The controversial discussions were continued, till Cam-

1531, informing him of her death. ib. 234. Mary, the queen of Hungary, was then appointed governess of the low countries. Hackett, on 13th June, reported his audience with her, p. 238. and the emperor's instructions for her administration, and to her privy council; and his ordinance for the government of those provinces are in the next MS. Galba, B. 10. p. 10–18. Henry's directions to his ambassador there, to promote amity and an alliance with the emperor, are in a rough draft. p. 26. His credentials to Mary, the new regent, in favour of Wrottesley and Vaughan, a draft corrected by himself, are in the same MS. p. 38.

[84] Le Grand has printed the fragment of this important letter. v. 33. p. 336.

[85] B. Bayonne mentions this circumstance. ib. p. 342.

[86] Hall, 757. [87] Ib.

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pegio, in July, by a bold adjournment till October, on the ground that the papal courts at Rome had such a vacation, gained a few months more protraction[88]. In vain the king resisted, and his commissioned nobles threatened[89]. He was obliged to wait the October meeting; but by that time Campegio had received the revocation of his judicial authority, and astonished and irritated the English king and court, by announcing that the pope had recalled the cause to his own tribunal at Rome. This satisfied Henry and the nation that the divorce was hopeless from the pope, and that he had been amused by a stage play. The plans and dissimulations of Wolsey became apparent; and when Campegio announced his resolution to depart from England, Wolsey fell, like a loosened avalanche from its mountain-summit of power and intimidation, never more to be dreaded or replaced.

[88] Hall, 758. Sloane MS. No. 2495.

[89] The duke of Suffolk struck the table with his hand, and exclaimed, 'By the mass! now I see that the old saied sawe is true, that there never was legate nor cardinal that did good in England.' With that saying, all the temporal lords departed, 'leaving the legates sitting, one looking on the other, sore astonished, because they saw the temporal lords depart in anger.' Hall, 258. The Sloane MS. thus expresses Suffolk's speech: 'Never any of your coat have done good to England, and if I were as the king's majesty, this injury should not be unanswered.'

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CHAP. XXV.

THE DISGRACE AND DEATH OF CARDINAL WOLSEY.

BOOK I.

THE first concussion of the king's confidence in Wolsey, that has been noticed by the contemporary chronicler, was his detected falsehood on the subject of the last hostilities with Spain. The English herald gave to the emperor in person, the defiance and declaration of war[1]; but when Henry and his people disapproved of the act, the cardinal asserted that it had been done without his orders. Alarmed for his own safety, the herald came to England, and obtaining a private audience with the accessible king, produced to him three of Wolsey's letters, directing the defiance. These incidents could not but create distrusting recollections, and occasioned a more critical eye to be turned upon the conduct, and a more ready ear to be yielded to the unfriendly censors[2] of a minister, who was detected in a falsehood so palpable. But the unfavorable impression thus excited, assumed no visible activity, till the revocation of Campegio to Rome, and his resolution to obey it, without giving

[1] On 18th February 1528, Clarencieux wrote from Bayonne to Wolsey, 'The 22d January, by the ordinance of the king's ambassador and the French ambassador, Guyenne, king at arms, and I, made the declaration of war to the emperor's own proper person; his majesty sitting in a great hall, in the siege royal, accompanied with all the nobles and gentlemen of his court.' Twelve days afterwards, the answer was given, with a chain of gold, of the price of 500 ducats, to each. MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 231.

[2] Hall, 745.

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the sentence he had been appointed and expected to pronounce, roused the deepest suspicions of Wolsey's long personated duplicity, and produced, irretrievably, his actual downfal.

The first clear indication to himself and the observing courtiers, of his departed influence, occurred when he accompanied Campegio to the king at Grafton, where the foreign cardinal went to take leave of Henry.[3] Expecting to be received by the head officers as usual, and to be conducted to a provided apartment, Wolsey was told that no lodging had been appointed for him in the court; he listened with astonishment to a circumstance so novel; but sir Henry Norris offering him his own chamber for the time, he went, deeply musing, thither to shift his riding apparel, and was there visited by some noble friends who disclosed to him all they knew of the king's displeasure. Their private information having enabled him to frame the excuses of his defence for his next interview with his sovereign, he was led into the presence-chamber, where the lords of the council were standing in a row. He put off his cap

[3] Mr. Ellis has printed Alward's letter to Cromwell, of 29d September 1529, which describes a previous interview at Greenwich, on the 8th of that month, of the two cardinals with the king, in which he showed no change of behaviour, v. 1. p. 307. It implies that rumors of his disfavor were abroad. Their final visit to Grafton, as described by Cavendish, must have been subsequent to this. On 18th September, Bayonne wrote to his court, that Campegio was talking of leaving England in about twelve days. Le Grand, 3. p. 324; and on 12th October, added, that he was then at Dover. p. 369. We may therefore date Campegio's audience of leave at Grafton, about the end of September. Bellay says, 'It is supposed that they will treat him at his departure a little more graciously than for some days past they have thought of doing, hoping some change from Rome, as the emperor is treating the pope so ill, and therefore that some use may yet be made of Campegio.' Lett. 18th Sept. p. 355.

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to every one of them with an unusual gentleness, which they returned with congenial civility. The apartment was soon crowded with persons, who came to observe how the king would receive him[4]. It was curiosity gazing, without pity, on the foundering of an intimidating vessel. When his sovereign entered, he knelt down before him; Henry gave his hand to him, and also to Campegio; and then raising up Wolsey with both arms, led him to a great window, and causing him to be covered, conferred with him in a long and earnest communication. The king seemed to be accusing him; for Cavendish heard the royal voice give this reply to his answers, "How can that be? Is not this your own hand?" taking from his bosom a letter, which he showed him[5]. Henry ordering him to his dinner, Wolsey took this refreshment with the rest of the cabinet; but had seen and heard enough to be induced in his conversation with them, to intimate a wish that he might be allowed to withdraw to his episcopal residence at Winchester. He perceived that the storm he had dreaded was rising above the horizon, and he wished to escape its fury by a timely retreat. But to be so near the king as Winchester, was a plan that did not please those who were opposing him; and the duke of Norfolk suggested that his remoter palace at York would be better. "Even so, as it shall please the king," was the subdued cardinal's answer[6].

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[4] Cavendish 1. p. 172, 3.

[5] Ib. 174. This circumstance suits the intimation of Campion, that sir F. Brian had procured from Rome one of Wolsey's underhand letters to the pope, against the divorce which he sent to Henry. Herb. 261.

[6] Cav. 175.

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The king had dined that day with Anne Boleyn, whose conversation was not favorable to the declining minister; and had afterwards a long discussion with him alone, till night; when leaving him to get a lodging elsewhere, the sovereign ordered his attendance in the morning; but as that came, Henry, instead of seeing him, rode out with his favorite lady[7]. Wolsey went to London[8] dejected by his overthrow, and Campegio towards the continent[9]. At Dover the mistrusted foreigner was stopped on the pretence of want of a vessel, but in reality, until it was ascertained whether he was not carrying off some part of Wolsey's collected treasure. But whatever he had resolved to transmit to Italy had been taken care of before[10].

The spirits of this declining minister now sank into an unmanly despondence. As he had never anchored his life either on religion or on moral principle, his mind found no interior support when the sea of worldly fortune became stormy: experiencing and exhibiting how differently adversity comes to the good and to the proud. He wept like a woman, and wailed like a child[11]. It is the prerogative of true

[7] Cav. 175–180.

[8] On 4th October Bellay wrote, 'I see evidently, that this parliament the cardinal will totally go down.' 3 Le Grand, 364.

[9] Bellay mentions that, 'he was treated tolerably well at his departure, both in presents and other things.' p. 366.

[10] Bellay, ib. 369. Hall says, the search was to see what letters Wolsey had sent by him to Rome. p. 759. This was one great object. Erasmus states the continental report that Campegio had brought away 'Satis magnum auri vim,' to Calais, where the prædu was intercepted. Ep. Famil. Ambas. b. p. 17.

[11] Bellay wrote on 17th October, 'I have been to see the cardinal. He has shewn me his case, with the most deplorable rhetoric I ever saw; for both his heart and his speech entirely failed him. He wept much, and prayed my king and his mother to have pity on him. I can say

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Virtue, to feel in its afflictions those interior consolations which give an immediate compensation of sensible felicity. The spirit which she supports, has such a secret consciousness, from her influences, that it is in alliance with all which has been great and dignified in past time, and with all which will become so in the eternity which is ever evolving; that it rises in its intellectual happiness above the earth, from which the visitorial discipline has loosened it; the inconvenient present lessens in importance; the future beams more brightly; the invisible attracts; and it perceives, that by the consent of all who reason, whatever is immortal and most blessed, becomes, by the well-abided trial, its natural and allotted inheritance. Hence no one who is sensible of the dignifying powers of human fortitude, has considered the stoical sentiment to be a rant, that heaven looks with sympathy on suffering virtue, when it bears its endurances with resigned magnanimity. But for these results to be experienced, there must be fixed within the mind an adequate foundation of moral principle and sacred hope; and Wolsey had little of either. He had never made the virtues his favored inmates; nor their enjoyments his taste; nor their glorious aspirations his ambition. He had built his felicities wholly on the staring world; and when that began to hoot and sneer, he was enraged at the mutability which he had provoked; and was mortified into misery, that his old age was to be private, reproached, neglected, and obscure. He might in-

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nothing more striking than his face, which has lost half its proper size. Even his enemies now, tho English, cannot but compassionate him.' 3. p. 371.

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deed have obtained the retirement, the repose, and the refreshing tranquillity, which the wise covet as the best solace of their declining years; peace on earth, and soothing prospects beyond it; but an utter want of all previous sympathy with these blessings made them appear to him to be joyless, wearisome and irritating. He continued to covet and to grasp at the state and power which had perverted, and were deserting him, till he perished under his new efforts to acquire them by practices which consummated his ruin, from the alarm they created.

He went once in October to his tribunal, as chancellor, in Westminster Hall, in his accustomed state, but none of the king's servants would go before him as they had done[12]. It was the last exhibition of his theatrical greatness. On the 17th of the month, the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk came to demand the great seal from him[13], and to order him to depart to his mansion at Esher. He was weak enough to refuse to give up the instrument of his legal dignity. He received only severe rebukes, at the moment, from the noblemen who had communicated the royal pleasure, and the next day the king's written commands[14]. He surrendered what he dared no longer withhold, and having all his valuable property placed

[12] Hall, 760.

[13] Hall, 760.

[14] Cav. 181, 2. He delivered up the seals on 18th October 1529. On the 19th the duke of Norfolk announced the dismissal of Wolsey from all his offices, to the lords, assembled in the star chamber. Hall, 760. On the 24th, the great seal was given to sir Thomas More, Hall, 761, who thus accepted the chancellorship with the full knowlege of the king's situatiou as to the divorce. Bellay foresaw and mentioned to his court, that priests would be made chancellors no more. Lett. 22d October. p. 378. In his letter of 27th October, he mentions More's appointment. p. 380.

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on tables for his last contemplation, comprising numerous pieces of silk, velvet, satin, and the richest stuffs[15]; hangings of cloth of gold and tissue, with others of cloth of silver, and some of Eastern manufacture, of gold thread on silk, with interwoven feathers[16]; a quantity of plate, remarked to be almost incredible; the gilt and the golden ones set with pearl and precious stones in his gilt chamber, and the silver in his council chamber, with baskets full of old plate, put under the tables, as "esteemed but for broken plate and old, not worthy to be occupied[17];" he had inventories taken of every article, and charged his officers to give up the splendid accumulation, with the lists, to the king[18]. His trea-

[15] 'In his gallery there was set divers tables, whereupon a great number of rich stuffs of silk, in whole pieces, of all colors, as velvet, satin, damask, caffa, taffeta, grogram, sarcenet, and others not in my remembrance. Also there lay a thousand pieces of fine holland cloth.' Cav. 182, 3.

[16] Baudkyn, which M. Singer observes to have been 'derived from Baldacca, an oriental name for Babylon, being brought from thence, and to be described by Du Cange, as a pannus omnium ditissimus: its stamen ex filo auri; the subtegmen, ex serico, interwoven with plumario opere.' Cav. 183, note.

[17] Cav. 184.

[18] One of the original catalogues of his goods, as kept by his own officers, is now in the British Museum, Harl. MS. No. 599. It occupies 40 folio pages, of all sorts of arras, velvets, carpets, hangings, curtains, silks, rich cloths, linen, beds and furniture enough to set up many a substantial tradesman, besides completing a nobleman's palace. His tapestry was very costly and splendid—in pieces of seven or nine yards long, and four deep. As this curious production of human art then took the place which pictures now occupy in private houses, it may be curious to enumerate the subjects of its workmanship. Most were from the Scriptures; some from romances, and others from nature, life and fancy. Of the first kind, were 4 pieces with the story of Abraham, 12 with the old and new law, 6 of Esther, 7 of Samson, 8 of Solomon, 7 of Susanna, 10 of Jacob, 4 of Judith, 12 of Joseph, 6 of David, 7 of the Baptist, 4 of our Saviour's Passion, others on Samuel, Tobias, Moses, the Forlorn Son, Nebuchadnezzar, and the Madonna.

The subjects from romances were, St. George killing the dragon, the three kings of Cologne, the nine Worthies, Estrogeas, Hercules, Priamus, emperor Octavian, and L'Amante or the Romance of the Rose.

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surer, whom he desired to superintend the delivery, expressing his sorrow, that it was reported he was about to be sent to the Tower, Wolsey reprimanded him for accrediting such a thing: "Is this the good comfort and counsel that ye can give your master in adversity? It hath always been your natural inclination to be very light of credit; and much more light in reporting of false news. I would ye should know, sir William! and all other such blasphemers, that nothing is more false. I never deserved, by no ways, to come there under any arrest, altho it has pleased the king to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure at this time[19]." He could not believe the possibility of his downfal. He went in his barge by water to Putney, while at least a thousand boats were rowing up and down the Thames expecting the pleasure of seeing him conducted to the Tower[20].

At Putney he was cheered by a personal civility from the king, who sent sir Henry Norris to him with

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The natural and imaginative pieces were, the Sun with his beams; Hunting a wild boar; a Fountain with a lady; the twelve Months; Wood-hewers, six pieces; Wood-wyser, three; Hawking with Women; Men gathering grapes; Fine green verdure, with small flowers; Running branches of Roses, red and white; A Woman harping; Two Children saved from drowning by an Angel; A Gentlewoman playing on clavicymbals, and men playing on other instruments; St. Jerome; The seven deadly sins; Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, and the Wheel of Fortune; Six pieces of six triumphs. Harl. MS. No. 599.

[19] Cav. 185.

[20] Cav. 186. Hall, 760. This joy, from those of whom Cavendish says, 'I dare be bold to say *the most part* never received damage at his hands,' makes him exclaim, 'O wavering and new fangled multitude!' He blames the English for desiring alteration of officers, because those in place have been slowly fed by long continuance, with sufficient riches and possessions, but 'they being put out, then cometh another hungry and lean officer in his place, that biteth nearer the bone than the old. So the people be ever pilled and polled with hungry dogs, thro their own desire of change of new officers.' p. 186. We may congratulate ourselves, that no such rapacity is attempted or would be endured now, from the improved spirit both of our statesmen, and of the people.

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a ring of gold and a complimentary message. This so transported him, that he sprang like the youngest of all present from his mule unaided; knelt in the dirt on both knees, and held up his hands for joy. He continued in the mud, while he expressed his pleasure; and to receive the little present with greater reverence, tore off his velvet cap by violence, as he could not undo its knot, that he might take it bareheaded. He could not have more expressively shown to what littleness he had shrunk from his ostentatious exaggeration. But his soul was not like the fairy tent of the Arabian tale, that from the nutshell could expand into whatever amplitude was required. The optical phantom, which, tho enlarged awhile to obtain the stare of the multitude, is still but a visionary distortion, that diminishes on every trial to the pettiness of its focal original, would seem to be a more appropriate comparison.

This exertion of his humiliating eagerness, so exhausted his strength, that his footmen could hardly replace him in his saddle; but he rode up the hill to the Tower with Norris, that such a person might be seen to be his companion; and when the knight was taking his departure on the heath, he uttered this effusion of his exulting heart, "Gentle Norris! if I were lord of a realm, the one half of it would be an insufficient reward to give you for your pains and comfortable news. But I have nothing left me but my clothes on my back; therefore take this small reward;" giving him a little chain of gold with a cross; "when I was in prosperity, I would not have parted with it for a thousand pounds; wear it for my sake, and as often as ye look upon it, have me in

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remembrance to the king's majesty as opportunity shall serve you[21]." Norris left him, to be soon called back, with this recollection of his alert policy: "I am sorry that I have no token to send to the king; but if ye would present him with this poor fool, I trust his highness would accept him well; for surely for a noblemen's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pounds." Norris took the fool with him: but the simple creature had yet so much sympathy for his master, that it required six tall yeomen to overcome the struggles not to leave his side. The poor creature was at last carried off, and the king received him gladly[22]. Where so much sensibility remained, there must have been some cultivable intellect, and some perception of disgrace; and we can but wonder that persons of noble rank could find amusement in mocking, instead of consoling, the imbecility of a degraded fellow-being, who must often, amid his infirmities, have felt and mourned the debasement to which he was cast down, and the derision to which, as if a mere petted and teased animal, he was subjected.

At Esher, one of the mansions of his see of Winchester, the cardinal remained with his household three or four weeks, "Without beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups, and dishes," but with "good provision of all kind of victuals, and of drink, both beer and wine, sufficient and plenty." He borrowed some "dishes to eat his meat in, some plate to drink in, and linen cloths to occupy," from a friendly bishop and knight[23].

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[21] Cav. 188–191.

[22] Cav. 192, 1. 'The name of this fool is said to have been Master Williams, otherwise called Patch.' Singer's note, p. 343.

[23] Cav. 192. It was on the 1st December 1529, that the house of lords, headed by sir Thomas More, presented to the king the 44 articles

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It was here that Cavendish saw Cromwell, the future Burleigh of Henry's ecclesiastical changes, and who from the attack of Rome under Bourbon, had now got into Wolsey's service, leaning in the great window, saying matins to the virgin from a primer, and shedding tears abundantly. He referred his grief to his belief that he was about to lose all the benefit he had expected from the cardinal's patronage, from whom he had yet received no promotion. This feeling was too selfish to be rescued from oblivion; but it became important for the step which it suggested: "I intend (added he), this afternoon, when my lord has dined, to ride to London, and so to the court, where I will either make or mar ere I come again[24]." He went, and obtaining an audience of the king, suggested to him the mode of ending the question on the divorce by taking the deciding authority into his own hands, and for that purpose, to divest the pope of his ecclesiastical supremacy. Henry listened with gratification, and evinced his pleasure by appointing the adviser one of his privy councillors[25].

Cromwell had recommended to Wolsey to express to his household his sense of their attachment to him, and to do what he could for their courage, consolation and patience. They were assembled for this purpose. The gentlemen, on the right side of his

of impeachment against Wolsey, which Herbert has printed, p. 266–74. The king sent them down to the commons, where Cromwell ably and successfully argued, that whatever had been his faults, he could not be legally charged with the crime of high treason. ib.

[24] Cav. 194–6.

[25] Mr. Singer has mentioned this fact, note p. 195, from Pole's statement. It is in Pole's Apologia, p. 121, that he asserts that Cromwell advised Henry, 'if the pope persisted in his obstinacy,' to embrace the occasion of withdrawing himself and his kingdom from their servitude to the Roman pontiff. See Pole's full account, 118–123.

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great chamber; the yeomen on the left; and his chaplains around him. When he looked at them in this arrangement, "he could not speak to them for tenderness of heart;" a flood of tears, from many recollections of enjoyed but now decaying power, of their expectations and feelings, and of his own clouded future, burst from his eyes. Theirs caught the contagion, till, turning to the wall to wipe away the not unmanly, nor unbecoming sensibility, he at last addressed them with the language and hopes of an attached, thankful and honorable master. He lamented his destitute condition, which deprived him of the means of then rewarding them. He promised them future support, if his revenues were restored to him; and his patronage, if he recovered the power: but in the meantime, advised them to visit their families and friends for a month, and hoped by that time that the king would have extended to them the royal clemency. His chaplains supplied him from their own resources, with the means of giving each of his yeomen a quarter's wages, and board wages for the month; and with this allowance several departed[26]. But Wolsey could not see the destitution of his state, which their absence caused, without moaning it; and it was after a long and secret consultation with him, that Cromwell made that journey to London[27], with Ralph Sadler, afterwards knighted, as his clerk, which opened the first avenue to his becoming the prime minister of Henry, and the main subverter of the popish system and authority in England.

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[26] Cav. 196–203.

[27] Cav. 203.

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The same night, amid the heaviest rain which had fallen that year, it was announced that a troop of horse was knocking at the outer gate[28]. It was sir John Russell, from the king. Wolsey was waked by his gentleman usher, and, throwing his night-gown over him, received the knight, who kneeling to him with respect, delivered to him from Henry another ring of gold with a turquoise stone, with a message, that he loved him as well as ever, bore him in full remembrance, and had directed this visit to be made secretly to him for his comfort[29]. The gratified cardinal ordered his supper to be provided and a bed. But Russell, declaring that he must join the court at Greenwich before day-break, that his journey might not be known, had a private conference with Wolsey, while his attendants were drying themselves by the fire, and taking afterwards a short repast and rest, hurried back to the king[30]. This visit showed that Henry had found no counsellor who could replace the cardinal in his estimation, notwithstanding his displeasure, and that he felt a vacuity

[28] 'What is it your pleasure I should do?' said the porter to Cavendish. 'Marry,' quoth I, 'go down again and make a great fire in your lodge against I come to dry them.' I caused the porter to let them all in who were wet to the skin, desiring Master Russell to go into the lodge to the fire.' Cav. 204.

[29] 'And sir!' added Russell, 'if it please your grace, I have had this night the sorest journey for so little a way, that ever I had to my remembrance.' Cav. 206.

[30] Cav. 207. Strype has printed a letter of Wolsey to Gardiner, from Esher, reminding him that he had promised after the king had taken consultation 'upon mine ordering,' to advertise him of it: 'I pray you therefore, as ye love and tender my poor life, do so much as to write to me you said letters, whereby I may take some comfort and rest; not doubting, but your heart is so gentle and pityful, that having knowlege in what agony I am in, ye will take the pain to send unto me your said consolatory letters.' He subscribes himself—'with the sorrowful heart.' p. 135.

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both in his business and sympathies, which none about him could supply. It was this feeling, which made the cardinal's restoration, by himself an expected, and at all times a possible event.

It was one part of Cromwell's plan to obtain a seat in the Parliament then assembling, and he succeeded in his effort, probably thro Wolsey's secret aid, as he hastened to Esher to apprise him of it, and after a private consultation, rode back to London to attend the house of commons the next morning[31]. The importance of this step then appeared; articles impeaching Wolsey of high treason were brought in, but were opposed by Cromwell so judiciously as to be rejected. This failure compelled his adversaries to take the narrower but more technically legal ground, of indicting him on the statutes called Premunire, for using his legantine authority in the kingdom of England. As he possessed the king's licence under the great seal for exercising this prerogative, he met it fearlessly by a confession of the fact, and by an appeal to the sovereign himself, who had sanctioned what he had done[32].

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[31] Cav. 207, 8. It is at this time we may place this letter of the cardinal's to Cromwell, printed from MS. Vesp. p. 13, by Fiddes. 'My own entirely beloved Cromwell! I beseech you, as ye love me, and will ever do any thing for me, repair hither this day, as soon as the parliament is broken up, laying apart all things for that time; for I would not only communicate things unto you, wherein for my comfort and relief I would have your good, sad, discreet advice and counsel, but also upon the same, commit certain things requiring expedition to you, on my behalf to be solicited. I pray you, therefore, to haste your coming hither as afore, without omitting so to do, as ye tender my succor, relief, comfort and quietness of mind. And thus fare ye well. From Esher, in haste, this Saturday in the morning, with the rude hand and sorrowful heart of your assured lover. T. Car. Ebor.' Fiddes, 256. How different a style from his former bearing!

[32] Cav. 208–211.

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The duke of Norfolk, the chief leader of the cabinet in his disgrace, now appeared to him with a public message from the king, and with a promise that his servants should be provided for. He received the noble minister with that respect[33] which he had himself so punctiliously exacted, and so often withheld. The peer dined with him, and exhibited on his part a reverential courtesy[34], but, their interview being interrupted by the less pleasant visit of one of the judges, declined to be present while the legal dignitary explained its purpose[35]. It was to announce the sovereign's pleasure to make the cardinal's stately mansion at Westminster his palace, and to have his formal recognition of the royal right to his occupation. This intimation, that friendly recollection and urbanity did not mean replacement in power, stung Wolsey to make an irritated speech which could neither please his auditor nor his prince. "Master Shelley! I know that the king, of his own nature, is of a royal stomach: and yet not willing for more than justice shall lead him unto by the law. Therefore, I counsel you and all other fathers of the

[33] The cardinal, with all his gentlemen, went to the entry of the gates, and received my lord of Norfolk, bareheaded. Cav. 211.

[34] When the water was brought to them before dinner, Wolsey called the duke to wash with him, who declined with a speech, 'That it became him not to presume to wash with him any more now, than it did before in his glory.' Each washed alone. 'When he had done, my lord cardinal would fain have had him to sit down on the chair, in the *inner* side of the table; but he refused the same, also, with much humbleness.' A chair was then placed for the duke over against Wolsey, outside of the table, which Norfolk himself 'abased something beneath my lord.' p. 214.

[35] The judge meeting the duke as he withdrew, desired him 'to tarry, and to assist him in the doing of his message; whom he denied, and said, 'I have nothing to do with your message, wherein I will not meddle:' and he departed into a chamber, where he took his rest for an hour or two.' Cav. 215.

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law, to put no more into his head than may stand with good conscience. For, when ye tell him this is the law, it were well done that ye should tell him also, that altho *this* be the law, yet *this* also is conscience; for law without conscience is not good to be given to a king in council [36]." Nothing could be more just than this discrimination, but it was hardly wise to provoke others to recollect how often he had himself forgotten it. The cardinal at last submitted, and signed the unwelcome instrument [37]. Many of his servants were now gradually removed from him, and several of his promotions taken away, to his visible, but suppressed mortification [38]. But the king left him in possession of his sees of York and Winchester, and made him a liberal donation out of his superb furniture [39].

At Christmas, as he became very sick [40], the king kindly sent his own physician to attend him, who

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[36] Cav. 216, 7.

[37] This instrument is published by Fiddes, in his collections, p. 224. Hall mentions it, p. 774. The York chapter confirmed the grant, and the king changed its name from York-house to the 'Manor of Westminster.' 774. But as he did not find it large enough for a palace, the next year 'he purchased all the *meadows* about St. James, and the whole house, and there made a fair mansion, and a park, and builded many costly and commodious houses for great pleasure.' ib. 786.

[38] 'There was no one day, but ere ever he went to bed, he had occasion greatly to chafe or fret the heart out of his belly; but that he was a wise man, and bore all their malice in patience.' Cav. 220.

[39] Hall, 761. Both Rymer and Fiddes have printed the instrument of this gift. It comprised 3,000*l.* in ready money; 9,565 ounces of plates; furniture worth 800*l.*; 80 horses; 6 saddle mules, worth 60*l.*; and 6 carriage mules, of the value of 40*l.*; fish, salt and kitchen utensils; 52 oxen, valued at 80*l.*; 70 sheep, at 12*l.*; and apparel to the amount of 300*l.* The sum of all is put at 6,374*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*

[40] This was probably the occasion on which his physician, Augustinus, on 19th January 1530, wrote that Italian letter to Cromwell, requiring speedy medical assistance, which Mr. Ellis has noticed from MS. Titus. B. 1. p. 65. Orig. Lett. v. 2. p. 2.

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seeing the depressed state of his mind, intimated to his majesty, that he would die in a few days, if he had no comfort from the king and lady Anne. Henry commissioned Dr. Buttes to give him a ring that had once been his own present to his sovereign, containing the king's face engraved upon a ruby, with encouraging exhortations[41]. He also desired Anne Boleyn to send him some testimony of her courtesy[42], who immediately took her tablets of gold from her girdle, and desired them to be delivered to him with "very gentle and comfortable words and commendations[43]." The cardinal recovered of the feverish attack, but felt a dropsy to be coming upon him, and thinking the air of Esher too moist to be salubrious, expressed strongly his desire to remove out of it[44]. With a very downcast heart he sent to Gardiner, an humbled and earnest solicitation for this relieving boon[45]. His revenues from Winchester having been

[41] 'I pray you good Master Buttes! go again unto him, and do your cure upon him, for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds. Tell him that I am not offended with him in my heart, nothing at all, and that shall he perceive very shortly. Therefore bid him be of good cheer; and pluck up his heart, and take no despair.' Cav. 221.

[42] Saying, 'Good sweetheart! I pray you, at this my instance, as ye love us, to send the cardinal a token, with comfortable words; and in so doing, ye shall do us a loving pleasure.' Cav. 222.

[43] Cav. 222. He wrote from Esher the letter to Gardiner, the king's secretary, imploring him to draw up the pardon which Cromwell had told him the king had granted him, to be 'in the most ample form that any counsel could devise.' He urges him to it, that 'there may be such respect had to my poor degree, old age and long-continued service. Therefore, mine own good Mr. Secretary and refuge! now set to your hand, that I may come to a laudable end and repose. Written with the trembling hand and heavy heart of your assured lover and bedesman, T. Car. Ebor.' Strype. Eccl. Mem. App. 1. p. 135.

[44] In a letter to Cromwell, he says, 'My fever is somewhat assuaged, and the black humor also; howbeit, I am entering into the kalends of a more dangerous disease, the dropsy; so that if I am not removed into a drier air, and that shortly, there is little hope.' Fiddes' Coll.

[45] 'I pray you, that expedition be used.—The delay so replenishes

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suspended, he complained of inability to keep up his household at York as he wished[46]. CHAP. XXV.

He was permitted, towards the spring of 1530, to go to Richmond, and lodged in the great park till Lent, and afterwards in the Charter-house there, till Easter[47]. Wishing to go to his northern archbishopric, he begged hard for an additional pension[48], and professed the departure of all worldly feelings from his heart[49]. If this declaration had been true, he

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my heart with heaviness, that I can take no rest: not for any vain fear, but only for the miserable condition that I am presently in, and likely to continue to be, unless that ye, in whom is mine assured trust, do help and relieve me therein. Continuing here in this moist and corrupt air, being entered into the passion of the dropsy, with loss of appetite, and continually unsleeping, I cannot live. I must be removed to some other drier air and place, where I may have commodity of physicians.' Printed from the original at Oxford, by Grove, and in Ellis, v. 2. p. 7. and Singer's Cav. 261.

[46] 'Having but York, which is now decayed by 800 *l.* by the year, I cannot tell how to live and keep the poor number of folks which I now have. My houses there be in decay, and unprovided of every thing meet for household. I have no money to bring me thither, nor to live with till the propitious time of the year shall come to remove thither. These things must needs make me in agony and heaviness.'—This also was written with a 'rude and shaking hand.' ib.

[47] Joachino, on 15th March 1530, apprized Francis, that Wolsey was then at Richmond. 3 Le Grand, 411. He was soliciting strongly for the French king to remember his indigence. Joachino, on 11th April, advises, that if he pressed for his pensions, to answer, 'that your Majesty has nothing to pay them with.' p. 413. Cav. 232. 7. From another of his letters to Gardiner, from Esher, we learn, that the king permitted him to retain the archbishopric of York, but required the resignation of Winchester and St. Albans. Ellis, p. 10.

[48] 'Considering the short and little time that I shall live here in this world, by reason of such heaviness as I have conceived in my heart, that I may have some convenient pension reserved unto me.' He mentions again the defective state of the mansion at York, and the subtraction from its revenues of 800 *l.* a year, by the act abolishing fines on testaments. Ellis, p. 10, 11.

[49] 'I desire not this, for any mind that I have to accumulate good; or desire that I have *to the muck of the world*; since at this hour, I set no more by the riches and promotions of the world than by the dust under my foot; but only for the king's honor and high charity, and to have wherewith to do good deeds, and to help my poor servants and kinsfolk.' ib. p. 11. As good feelings often visit us without being detained as per-

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might have long enjoyed an honored and happy old age. After much discussion in council, a thousand marks were granted him out of his Winchester revenues[50]. And in the beginning of Passion week, he reached Peterborough, in whose abbey he passed the solemnity of Easter[51], making also a few days stay at sir William Fitzwilliam's in its vicinity[52]. But he was still the ancient Wolsey, for tho so fallen, his train was one hundred and sixty persons[53].

It was here that Wolsey, walking at evening in the gardens with his chaplain holding up his train, directed him to withdraw, and while Cavendish took the office, inquired anxiously what they said of him now in London, where his usher had lately been. He was answered, that they wondered he should have confessed himself guilty on the premunire, instead of standing a trial upon it. He explained his political aim, "My enemies had made it the king's case against me, and caused the king to take the matter into his own hands as his quarrel; and having thereupon seized my goods and possessions, rather than yield after that, he would have sooner imagined my utter undoing and destruction, on which the easiest result for me would have been a perpetual mprisonment. It was therefore better for me to do as I have done, than to stand in trial with the king, for he would have been loth to have been noted a wrong doer; and I do not doubt that on my sub-

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manent guests, we may believe that this was the language of his heart at this moment, tho a contradicting conduct, within a few months, produced his final ruin.

[50] Cav. 236–40. [51] Cav. 241–3. [52] Ib. 243.

[53] Dr. Wordsworth's edition, and the later MSS. have this additional circumstance. Singer, p. 242. He was now 59 years old. ib.

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mission, the king had a great remorse of conscience, and would rather pity me than malign me. It was better for me to keep still his loving favor, tho with loss of my good and dignities, than to win them at the expense of his regard, which would be only death [54]." The truth no doubt was, that Wolsey, who best knew what he had done, and how much matter of arraignment his sovereign and council would be daily discovering against him, saw with correct judgment, that it was his safest policy to dare nothing; to produce no irritation, but by submission, sacrifices, and humility, to allay general displeasure, and to conciliate what attachment it was possible to procure by wiser demeanor and unoffending forbearance. The king, with a kindness for his minister that does him honor, wrote circular letters to the northern nobility, announcing Wolsey's intention to reside in his province of York, and requesting their courtesies and attention to him [55].

The cardinal proceeded to Newark, near which at Southwell, he made his station for the summer [56], in a residence appertaining to his see of York. It was so gratifying to the inhabitants of the county, to have their prelate among them, that his house was soon frequented by a "great resort of the most worshipful gentlemen of the county." He entertained them with the best cheer he could devise, and his gentle and familiar behavior caused him to be greatly beloved and esteemed thro the whole country [57]. He

[54] Cav. 249, 250.

[55] Mr. Ellis has inserted one of these to lord Dacre, dated 28th March 1530, in his collection. v. 2. p. 16–18.

[56] Cav. 246–251.

[57] Cav. 251. From Southwell he wrote two letters to Gardiner, on

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felt the value of those softening qualities and manners which peculiarly constitute the moral beauty of virtue. Others are more sublime and distinguishing; but the kind and courteous voice, the benign amenity, the benevolent feelings, and the unassuming conduct, never fail to awake our sweetest and most endearing sympathies; to connect heart with heart, and soul with soul, in bands of mutual gratification and mutual regard; and to attest that interior loveliness of character, which attracts the esteem of intellect and sensibility, with a social magnetism, that every age and rank feel and welcome, and usually submit to.

He kept here a noble house, with plenty of meat and drink for all comers, rich and poor, and with ready alms for the most necessitous. His compassion and charity were liberally extended to his humble tenants. He became so altered, as to exhibit that familiarity to all, which he had before disdained, and to be most glad when he found occasion to do good. He harmonised the quarrels between the neighboring gentry, and united those whom domestic differences had disparted. He spared no expense where he found that money could produce a pacific arrangement; and this truly noble conduct deservedly purchased for him the love and friendship of all whom it benefited, or to whom it was communicated[55].

23d July and 25th August; the first to request him to favor the provost of Beverley, and his own poor state, and his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. The second to ask his friendship in an action brought against him for 700*l.* on a wardship. Strype, Eccl. Mem. p. 137-9.

[55] Cav. 251, 2.

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CHAP. XXV.

He changed his residence for another of his archiepiscopal mansions at Scroby, where he stayed till after Michaelmas, ministering many deeds of charity. Every Sunday, if the weather served, he would most commonly travel to some parish church thereabout, and repeat his divine service, and either hear or say mass himself, causing one of his chaplains to preach to the people. He would then dine in some honest house of that town, where he distributed alms of meat and drink to the poor, or of money, if there were not sufficient provision[59]. He found these to be the true roads to useful popularity, and to just self-esteem, which he had before missed: and he trod his new paths with an earnest perseverance that opened fresh avenues to happiness, and gave an accession of moral improvement, which he had hitherto neither known nor appreciated.

It was a pity that he did not content himself with these safe and pure enjoyments; but unhappily for his own peace and security, his remaining ambition, so far rekindled, as to incite him to fix his residence in his full metropolitan dignity at York. He tra-

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[59]. Cav. 260. The extract quoted by Dr. Wordsworth from the State Book, published by the king's printer in the year 1536, fully confirms the favoring account of Cavendish: 'Who was less beloved in the north than my lord cardinal, before he was among them? Who better beloved after he had been there awhile? It is a wonder to see how they were turned: how, of utter enemies, they became his dear friends. He gave bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts. There were few holidays but he would ride five or six miles from his house, now to this parish church, now to that; and there came one of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat among them, and said mass before all the parish. He saw why churches were made. He began to restore them to their right and proper use. He brought his dinner with him, and bad divers of the parish to it. He inquired whether there was any debate or grudge between any of them. If there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church, and made them all one.' Eccles. Biog.

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velled to this ancient city, confirming the children in the places thro which he passed, till he reached Cawood castle, within seven miles of the civic walls. Here also he cultivated the honor and affection of the people by a bounteous charity; by presenting a plentiful house for all comers, and by employing three hundred artificers and laborers to repair the decayed castle[60]; but, unable to resist the revival of his bosom passion, he prepared to be installed in the minster by a splendid ceremony, tho less pompous than some of his predecessors by not walking like them, "upon cloth right sumptuously;" but going on foot in his own hosen. Notice of this intended solemnity was circulated around; and an abundance of dainty victuals was sent to him as presents[61], for the banquets which usually accompanied an archiepiscopal enthronization.

He was now in that part of the country, which was peculiarly calculated to recal to his bosom the impure spirit, which his preceptorial humiliations had driven from it. The rebellion in Yorkshire, six years afterwards, proved this county to be the inflammable region of a sacerdotal volcano. Its priests were then distinguished for their ignorance, and the people for their superstition. And what the papal hierarchy soon found, Wolsey's experienced eye must have discerned, that as it contained all those combustible materials which were fitted in an alliance with the papacy, to wage a formidable opposition or warfare

[60] Cav. 262.

[61] Cavendish says, the quantity sent in was 'almost incredible,' 269. In Hearne's printed account of the inthronation of archbishop Neville, we see the magnificence to which such a measure might be extended. Lel. Collect. V.

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against Henry; it was just such a district as a new Becket would have desired for embattling the church against the king, and for awing the crown into submission to the tiara. The public eye saw at first no more in Wolsey's preparations for his stately ceremony, than the effusion of reviving vanity; nor in his submitting courtesies to all, than the gratification of his appetite for popular applause. But the vigilance of the cabinet detected more dangerous practices. It was discovered that he was forming conspiracies against the government, both in England and with Rome[62], and a communication was made on the subject to the French government[63]; which was also apprized by its own ambassador, of the unexpected event[64], but was not implicated in

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[62] We learn this fact from the letter of sir Francis Brian to the king, written about 20th November 1530. He was then ambassador to the French court, and says, 'Your letters under your signet at York-place, the 11th November, I received at Blois the 19th, thereby perceiving the right detestable practices and conspiracies *newly* counselled and set forth by the lord cardinal, as well to the court of Rome as within your realm, expressly against your most noble estate and royal dignity.' Harl. MS. No. 296. p. 38.

[63] Brian reports, that the grand master said, that Francis had been advertised by his ambassador, 'that the lord cardinal was by your highness committed in hold, but what offending he had made was to him utterly unknown; but the (French) king said, he thought he had well merited his imprisonment.'—'The particulars, I said, did chiefly concern presumption, and sinister practices made to the court of Rome for reducing (restoring) him to his former estate and dignity, contrary to his faith, truth, duty and allegiance.' Lett. ib. This corresponds very much with what Hall had heard; 'The cardinal had purchased a bull to curse the king, if he would not restore him to his old dignities.' p. 773. Hall also mentions, that he 'wrote to Rome, and divers princes, letters in reproach of the king, und stirred them to revenge his cause.' ib. He was not a man to fall passively.

[64] J. Joachino, on 10th November 1530, thus wrote to the grand master: 'The lords of Norfolk and Suffolk have told me, that they have many important matters against him, and many grave accusations; and among these, as the king informed me, that he has been machinating against his majesty, both in the kingdom and abroad, and has mentioned

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it[65]. The English cabinet on this detection determined that he should be arrested and brought to London. That his active spirit should spring again into activity from an internal energy which was unhappy while unemployed, was natural to a powerful and much exercised mind. If we were beings of silver, or had bodies of gold, we should prefer to be bright and brilliant, by being always in use and useful, to the tarnishing state of indolence and obscurity; unvalued, unserviceable and unknown. Yet Wolsey's mental and moral industry might have found abundance of paths for their episcopal beneficial exertion, without deviating into faction, conspiracy and evil. But his pride made even his virtues mischievous, and from his archiepiscopal station, his abilities became dangerous in proportion as they were misdirected. The public feeling was in a feverish state, and hesitation or delay would have allowed him to produce a calamitous inflammation. The legal visitation was therefore suddenly made. He was sitting at dinner, with his great silver cross at the end of the table in front of him, three days before the meditated installation, when the earl of Northumberland and sir Walter Walsh arrived to take him into custody[66]. He welcomed the earl, not aware of his purpose; but when the nobleman, trembling with compassionate agitation, said in a very faint and soft voice in his bed-chamber, "My Lord! I arrest you of high treason," Wolsey heard him with an astonishment that

to me where and how; and that one of his servants had discovered it and laid the accusation. These new things much aggravate the old ones. I greatly lament his misfortune, but cannot remedy it.' Lett. in Le Grand, 3. p. 529.

[65] Lett. Ib.

[66] Cav. 271-6.

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suspended awhile the power of speech, nor would he believe either his intention or authority, till Walsh suddenly seized his physician, and confirmed the dismaying tidings[67]. He submitted to an evil which he could not resist; and when his gentleman usher entered his chamber on the following day, Wolsey, unable longer to suppress his emotions, "fell into such a woeful lamentation, with such rueful terms and watery eyes, that the flintiest heart must have relented." Remembering his followers who remained still attached to him, he exclaimed, "I have nothing left me to reward them; I am here, their desolate and miserable master; bare and wretched, without help or succor, but of God alone." He was reminded that he might yet confront his enemies, and clear himself. "Yes," he replied, with energy, "if I may come to mine answer, I fear no man alive. He liveth not upon the earth, that can look upon this face and accuse me of any untruth: my enemies know that full well. But I shall not have indifferent justice. They will rather seek more sinister ways to destroy me[68]."

They sat down to dinner, but he eat very little. He "would many times burst out suddenly into tears, with the most sorrowful words, that have been heard from any human creature." Heaving a great sigh, he uttered some Latin exclamations. All sympathised. No one paused to consider whether he had not forgotten his manly dignity or christian resignation. The spectacle of abased greatness overwhelmed criticism by the commiseration which it

[67] Cav. 278–283.

[68] Cav. 284–7.

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excited. "There was not a dry eye among all the gentlemen sitting at table with him[69]." Yet our moral taste must regret, that one who had for nearly twenty years been acting so grand a part in the sight of all Europe, did not fall like the setting sun, with a majesty correspondent to the character he had been assuming.

Three thousand persons assembled to see him taken away from Cawood; not as in London, to exult in his humiliation, but to bless and pity him[70]. He asked where he was going, "Forsooth, sir!" answered Cavendish, "but to Pomfret." He was startled, and exclaimed, "Shall I go to the castle, and lie there and die like a beast[71]?" as if remembering how many had suffered violently in that place. He was taken to lord Shrewsbury's at Sheffield Park, where he stayed eighteen days, yet with such piteous lamentations, that the earl strove to console his grief, by assuring him that the king's letters still spoke favorably of him. This representation encouraged him to solicit Shrewsbury to procure permission for him to make his defence before Henry in person, and his noble keeper promised to intercede with the king for this purpose[72].

But shortly after, he complained at dinner that something lay upon his breast as cold as a whetstone. He retired, and became worse; Cavendish found him sitting at the upper end of the gallery, upon a

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[69] Cav. 288.

[70] 'They cried all with a loud voice, God save your grace! The foul evil take all them that hath taken you from us. We pray heaven that a very vengeance may light upon them.' 'Thus they ran crying after him thro the town of Cawood. They loved him so well.' Cav. 290.

[71] Cav. 292.

[72] Cav. 295–9.

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chest, with his beads and staff in his hands. He enquired, "What news?" The tidings which had just arrived, were, that sir William Kingston was coming with twenty-four of the guard to conduct him to the king. "Master Kingston!" said he, rehearsing his name once or twice; then striking his thigh, he breathed a great sigh. His disturbing complaint, a bilious relaxation, increased. He remembered that Kingston was the constable of the Tower, and he foreboded the worst catastrophe. At last he uttered, "Well, as God will, so be it. I am subject to fortune, and to fortune I submit myself. I am ready to accept such ordinances as God hath provided for me. There it must end. But where is master Kingston?" This officer soon approached, and kneeled with much reverence to him. "Kingston!" said Wolsey, "I pray you stand up, and leave your kneeling unto a very wretch, replete with misery; not worthy to be esteemed, but for a vile abject, utterly cast, cast away without desert[73]." This was the language of overwhelmed despair, not of real humility. He did not feel that he was what he described, but that his worldly fortunes were in that condition, and he was mortified and exasperated to find that there was no prospect of his retrieving them. "Therefore, good master Kingston! stand up, or I will myself kneel down by you." The great constable rose, and delivered to him an assurance from his sovereign of continued good will and favor, but adding, "as report has been made unto him, that ye have committed against his royal majesty certain

[73] Cav. 303–8.

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heinous crimes, which he thinketh to be untrue, yet for the ministration of justice, and to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he can do no less than to send for you to your trial: mistrusting not but that by your truth and wisdom, ye shall be able to acquit yourself against all complaints and accusations. But you will take your journey towards him at your own pleasure, as he commands me to be attendant upon you with due reverence, and to see your person preserved from all damage and inconveniences that might ensue." Wolsey replied, "If I were as able and as lusty as I have been but of late, I would not fail to ride with you in post, but I am diseased with a flux, that maketh me very weak[74]." The shock to his mind at such a sudden change, from the meditation of a stately installation to a prison and a trial, augmented his bodily malady. All the night was passed in its exhausting attacks, and he was too feeble to move the next day. But on the three following they journeyed to Leicester Abbey, tho at divers times he was likely to have fallen from his mule. He was received most honorably at the convent; but his true remark, "Father abbot! I am come hither to leave my bones among you," made earthly state little better than a mockery. Kingston led him up stairs, but mentioned afterwards that he had never carried so heavy a burthen before[75]. The debilitated cardinal could hardly support himself to his bed, on which he was immediately laid, declining every hour.

This was Saturday night. On Monday morning,

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[74] Cav. 309.

[75] Ib. 310–13.

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as the wax-lights illumined his face, his assiduous attendant saw from its expression, that the hand of death was upon him. But Wolsey had sight enough to remark a shadow upon the wall by his bed side, and asked who was there, and the hour. He was told it was past eight: "Eight of the clock!" he uttered, repeating it several times, "that cannot be eight of the clock! eight of the clock! nay, nay!" at last he added, "it cannot be eight of the clock, for by that time you will lose your master. My time draweth near, that I must depart out of this world[76]." His chaplain here desired that he might be asked if he would not be confessed, and put in readiness, towards God, whatsoever should chance. The friendly inquiry unexpectedly roused an emotion of displeasure. "What have you to do to ask me any such question," quoth he, and began, adds Cavendish, "to be very angry with me for my presumption." The chaplain thought it his duty to interfere in his own person, and talked with him in Latin till he was pacified[77]. This extraordinary excitation at such a moment seems to bear the unhappy interpretation, that he had attended too little to religion to feel its consolations, and now shrunk from it as a topic of alarm and perturbation.

A message here from the king, who was not aware of his condition, that he should mention what had become of the fifteen hundred pounds he had met with at Cawood, was communicated to him. He explained, that it was not public money, but loans which he had borrowed from his friends; he said it should be produced[78]. It had probably been pro-

[76] Cav. 313.
[77] Ib. 314.
[78] 'Master Kingston! I will not conceal it from the king. I will de-

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vided to be spent in those preparations for his day of state, or in the practices which had brought down upon him this last blow from the arm of accusing power. Poor, misjudging Wolsey! if he had continued to live with retiring simplicity in his disgrace, he might have been left unmolested, if not forgotten. But to attempt to emerge into the splendor, influence and power of a popular metropolitan, made it so likely that a dangerous Thomas à Becket might revive in his ambition, that the government determined to abase him before he had fully placed himself in the capacity of political annoyance.

He swooned away frequently that night, and was obviously dying. As the morning dawned, he asked for meat. There was none ready; he chided the negligence. "Ye be the more to blame, because you should always have some meat for me in readiness to eat, when my stomach serveth me. I pray you get me some, for I intend this day to make me strong, that I may occupy myself in confession, and make me ready to God." What he wished was ordered; he eat a little chicken, and confessed. A better frame of mind came upon him, and to Kingston's friendly inquiries, he answered, "Sir, I tarry but the will and pleasure of God, to render unto him my simple soul into his divine hands." The constable, who did not believe his danger, expressed that sentiment. "Master Kingston! my disease is such, that I cannot live; I have a flux with a con-

clare it you ere I die. Take a little patience with me I pray you.'—'Well, sir! then I will trouble you no more at this time, trusting that ye will shew me to-morrow.'—'Yea, that I will, for the money is safe enough, and in an honest man's keeping, who will not keep one penny from the king.' Cav. 317.

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tinual fever; this is the eighth day, and if ye see in me no alteration, there is no remedy but death[79]." Kingston opposed his apprehensions. But Wolsey, collecting his strength, made his last address, "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is my just reward for my worldly diligence and pains to do him service, only to satisfy his vain pleasure, not regarding my godly duty[80]." It was a singular self-delusion that he should have here forgotten that he had sought to gratify the king only to obtain power, property, and luxuries for himself. He continued to express strongly his sense of the king's sturdiness of resolution in pursuing what pleased him[81], as if he himself had been less impracticable towards others. He bequeathed a special request to Henry, to "have a vigilant eye to depress this new pernicious sect of Lutherans, that it may not increase within his dominions thro his negligence[82];" a remarkable instance of persecuting spirit at that moment, in a man to whom religion had been so little a matter of conscience or practice. He continued to inveigh at great length against the reformers[83], instead of thinking of his own errors and of the new certainties that

[79] Cav. 317–19.

[80] Ib. 320. One of Wolsey's great defects was, that he had none of that moiety of wisdom which Charron calls preud' hommie. 'This (says the moralist) without prudence, is often folly and indiscretion. But prudence, without preud' hommie, becomes nothing but finesse. True wisdom unites both.' Wolsey abounded in the prudence which he termed his 'politic handling,' but had no idea of preud' hommie, or the moral honor of a gentlemanly and cultivated mind; hence he was always finessing, and rarely acting uprightly.

[81] Ib. 321.

[82] Ib. 321.

[83] His invective occupies three pages in the report of it by Cavendish 321–4.

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were awaiting him, till his power of utterance began to cease. His last words were, "Master Kingston! farewell! I can no more, but wish all things to have good success. My time draws on fast—I may not tarry with you.—Forget not what I have said; when I am dead, you will peradventure remember my words much better." With these sounds his speech faltered, his tongue failed him, and his eyes lost their vision and became fixed. His Saviour's passion was then mentioned to him; the extreme unction hastened: the service for the dying recited: and as the eighth hour was sounding, his spirit had quitted its material frame[84]. To the surprise of his dressing attendants, and unknown to them, a penitential shirt of hair was found next his body under one of very fine holland linen. As there was nothing in his visible life which looked like self-mortification, we may suppose this to have been used rather as an amulet of calculating superstition, than as an humbling act of secret devotion; like that of the Persian ambassador in the last century at Paris, who swallowed every morning a verse of his Koran, printed on satin, and rolled up like a pill, as an efficacious adjustment of his religious concerns. All the next day, Wolsey was placed in a coffin of wood, open and bare-faced, that every one might be certain of his death; and in the evening was carried down into the church by torch light, where the funeral orisons were sung, mass chanted, and the corpse interred[85]. The king regretted his loss with a visible regard, but with no depth of personal sensibility[86].

Cardinal Wolsey's Death, 29 Nov. 1530.

[84] Cav. 325.
[85] Cav. 326, 7.
[86] Cavendish being sent for found the king in the park, shooting at the

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We may concede to Calvin, that every one has a king in his mind: and Wolsey, with the proud and domineering, may allege that he only displayed more conspicuously than others, what all that is human possess. But to disguise, is to repress; and he that represses an infirmity, not only renders it less offensive, but by his efforts to make it invisible, half subdues, however secretly he may caress it. No one venerates another's self-majesty, and the sobering criticism of time at last compels us to abate that self-idolatry which the observing ridicule without mercy, and which no one tolerates beyond his own personality. Mankind love to disappoint the exactor of their applause, and bestow it most freely when least solicited. It is the natural that permanently pleases, and our artless virtues are always our best. Hence Wolsey derived neither merit nor reputation from his theatrical demeanor and factitious state. He was great in nothing in which he labored to be so[87].

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rounds; and, awaiting his leisure, fell into a reverie, as leaning against a tree. Suddenly he was clapped on the shoulder: it was by Henry, who said he would finish his game and then talk with him. He saw the sovereign afterwards in a night gown of russet velvet, furred with sables, and was examined by him alone for an hour on divers weighty matters concerning Wolsey. The king wished he had lived rather than to have had 20,000 *l.* This was the extent of his concern. But he desired Cavendish to mention to no one where the 1,500 *l.* was deposited, probably to keep it from his craving courtiers, enforcing his charge of secrecy with this remark; 'Three may keep counsel if two be away. If I thought that my cap knew my counsel, I would cast it into the fire and burn it. For your truth and honesty you shall be one of our servants, and in that room with us that ye were with your old master.' Cav. 329, 330.

[87] One of the most laudable things in Wolsey was, the formation of Ipswich college; and his plan for its studies, which yet remains, show what he devised, though the resentment against him was extended to this institution. He divided the scholars into eight classes: the 1st was to study the eight parts of speech, with an 'apertissima et elegantissima vocis pronunciatione,' a wise provision for forming a pleasing elocution to which so little attention has been paid: 2d, to speak Latin, and to trans-

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But it will be a never-dying credit to his memory, that from the humble shed of a poor butcher in a country town, he rose to an intellectual eminence and vigor which surpassed most of his contemporaries, tho weakened in their effect by his proud egotism. But his ascendancy was distinguished; it was like the atoms of the soiling charcoal, that we little value, becoming by wise combinations and gradual arrangement, the resplendent diamond which every eye admires. Such examples shine in the history of mind, with an inviting persuasion to all, to be themselves the gems of intellect they praise. What one soul has been, all souls have the possibility of

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late into it some common subject that was neither useless nor foolish, and to read Lilly's carmen monitorum, or Cato's precepts, 'formandi oris gratia,' pursuing still his care for a graceful articulation: 3d, Æsop and Terence: the fourth class was to study Virgil, 'the prince of all the poets, whose majesty of verse it will be useful to recite with a good sonorous voice.' On the 5th class, a kindness and wisdom appear that we should hardly have expected from so proud a man; 'We admonish, particularly, that tender youth be not affected by severe stripes, or by threatening countenances, or by any species of tyranny. By their injurious effects the alacrity of the mind is either extinguished or blunted. This class should use Cicero's selected epistles, than which no other seem to us to be more proper to give a rich copiousness of phrase, nor to be easier or more serviceable.' The 6th class should begin history in Sallust or Cæsar; the Syntax of Lilly may be added, and the defective and anomalous verbs occasionally marked. The 7th class should assiduously study the epistles of Horace, Ovid's Metamorphoses, or his Fasti, composing now and then a poem or an epistle. They may turn some verse into prose, or convert prose into the prosody of verse. That the mind may be relaxed, some liberal play, worthy of letters, should be allowed. In all the studies pleasure should be so intermingled, that the bad may think them a sport, not a labor. They should not be wearied by too long reading, nor exhausted by immoderate competition. For the 8th class, the higher precepts of grammar. The figures in Donatus, the elegance of Valla, or some ancient authors of the Latin tongue, should be studied. Explain the parts that need it; thus, in narrating a comedy of Terence, dissert a little on the life, genius and elegance of the author, and the use of comedies, the meaning and derivation of the words, their novelty, etymology; the order, tropes, and rhetorical ornaments.'

Strype's App. v. 1. p. 140–3.

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becoming, and most may be, if they will form the resolution, and use the proper means. Each has the choice before him of being the jewel or the clod. The age we are treating of, repeatedly showed the humblest social condition, and the greatest penury, to be no barriers against either mental or moral advancement; and it will be always our own fault, if we prefer sordidness to glory, ignorance to illumination, and extinction to immortality.

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CHAP. XXVI.

THE EMPEROR'S INTERVIEW WITH THE POPE AT BOLOGNA —HENRY CONSULTS THE FOREIGN UNIVERSITIES—CATHERINE'S STEADY CONDUCT—THE KING'S REMONSTRANCES TO THE POPE, AND PROCEEDINGS TO LESSEN HIS POWER IN ENGLAND—HENRY'S MEETING WITH FRANCIS AT BOLOGNA—MARRIES ANNE BOLEYN—HER CORONATION—THE POPE VISITS FRANCIS AT MARSEILLES—ABOLITION OF THE PAPAL SUPREMACY IN ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

PUBLIC disputations were held in the papal consistory at Rome, during the months of March and April 1529, at which the English envoys attended and argued[1]; but they were only the scenes of an artificial drama, to occupy time, and to be doing nothing, with dignified gravity and plausible formality. The art of trifling decorously, in order to procrastinate an undesirable decision, was practised with a patience and subtlety that have never been exceeded; and if Charles had not hurried the actors[2], the harmless tragi-comedy would have outlasted Catherine. But the emperor resolved on a meeting with the pope at Bologna, to receive his imperial crown, and to settle the arrangements which he wished to establish with the papacy, while it was subjected to his power.

[1] See the description by Drs. Bennett, Karne and Bonner, in their letters from Rome of 28th March and 29th April, in Burnet, v. 2. p. 162–173.

[2] They end with saying, 'the pope's holiness will hear us no further in the consistory, saying, that the part adverse will not abide the disputations, nor come into the same.' ib. 172.

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CHAP. XXVI.

On the downfal of Wolsey, in October 1529, the duke of Norfolk became the prime minister of the English cabinet[3], with sir Thomas More as the lord chancellor, and bishop Gardiner as the state Secretary, till Cromwell succeeded to that office. One of their first measures was to watch the intended interview at Bologna; and the earl of Wiltshire, Anne's father[4], was appointed to be there, and to obtain all that could be extracted from either Clement or the emperor.

Charles, after the pope's submission at Barcelona, sailed thence to Genoa, with a royal train and attendant army[5]; and placing his powerful forces in Italy, under the command of Leyva, proceeded gradually to Bologna[6]. He had changed his family's ancient costume of long hair, by cutting off his own[7]; while the pope and his cardinals met him with beards peculiarly long[8]. Clement received him on an high raised throne, with his triple crown on his head; and Charles alighting from his horse, ascended the steps, and kissed the papal foot[9], which the pontiff returned

[3] Bellay's Lett. 22d October, Ap. Le Grand, 3. p. 377. 'In his absence the duke of Suffolk, and, above all, mademoiselle Anne.' ib.

[4] He had been recently created to this new title.

[5] He left Barcelona 28th July 1529, and arrived at Genoa the 12th August, with 8,000 soldiers. Sandoval. Herb. 288.

[6] He entered this city 5th November 1529. Herb. 289.

[7] The real cause of this change, a pain in his head, was concealed by the pretext of a vow for his safe passage. Herb. 288. The great under lip of the race of Burgundy, ib. 289, could not be taken from his features, and has marked the house of Austria to our own times.

[8] Herb. 290, from Dr. Croke's letter.

[9] Ib. 290. How this arrogant ceremony was felt, even by a clergyman, several years before Luther began to preach, we may infer from the bishop of Durham's remarks in his sermon on it, of 1538. 'The bishop of Rome offereth his feet to be kissed, shod with the shoes on. I saw myself, being then present, *thirty-three years ago*, when Julius stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt, because

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by a salute on the imperial cheek. Their political discussions were finally arranged on the 23d December, in perfect amity; for while Clement struggled for all that he could peacefully obtain, he was careful not to provoke his military master[10]. The English ambassadors pressed their sovereign's suit for the divorce. But after intimating to lord Wiltshire his repugnance to receive, in such a case, a party so interested as himself, the emperor declared his resolution to agree to nothing but what legal justice should recognise. The earl replied, that he attended not as a father, but as his sovereign's minister; and that no ill humor from his Spanish majesty would prevent the execution of what Henry intended[11]. The pope was more courteous in manner, but not more favorable in conduct. He told the bishop of Tarbes, who had so materially contributed to begin the dislocating question, and who was attending the meeting as the minister of France, that he should have been content if Henry had accomplished his new marriage by the legate's dispensation, or by any other way, which did not involve his authority or

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it stood not, as he thought with his dignity, that he should do it himself, that his shoe might appear, while a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kiss his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done as of duty. Methought I saw Cornelius the centurion submitting himself to Peter; but I saw not Peter there to take him up, and say, 'I am a man as thou art.' Extract in Strype, v. 1. p. 519.

[10] Charles seeing that it would attach the Italian mind more steadily to him, and disappoint Francis, restored Sforza to the dukedom of Milan, with the exceptions of the lands he had granted to his generals, the marquis de Guasto, and Antoine Leyva, and retaining the important fortresses awhile with his garrisons. Herb. 290. But Sforza was then very ill, and the pope was in great fear of his dying. Tarbe's Lett. p. 389.

[11] The bishop of Tarbes communicated these circumstances to Francis, in his letter of 27th March 1530. Ap. Le Grand, p. 401.

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diminish his power[12]. Beyond this he made no advance; and the emperor, after waiting to receive the iron crown of Lombardy, brought from Milan on 22d February, and the imperial one of gold from the pope, two days afterwards, on his birth-day[13], which Clement put on with a well acted satisfaction, returned in the spring[14] to his own dominions, leaving no hope to Henry of any sanction from the papal chair, or the imperial acquiescence. By this coronation, the pontiff bent not only his own neck, but the popedom also, to that yoke which Rome has never since been able to shake off. No cabalistic art, nor intellectual subtlety has restored that mysterious spell which the duke of Bourbon destroyed.

[12] In the same letter, Tarbes mentions, that the pope had more than three times stated this sentiment to him. p. 400.

[13] Herb. 291. The emperor was first dressed in the habit of a Roman canon, and then of a deacon; an old form of the papacy, established when in its full domination, that on the greatest solemnity, the emperor might appear in the habit of the lowest of the sacred orders, to learn that priests and bishops were above him. Burn. 1. p. 133. Charles submitted to an antiquated custom, which he had reduced to a nonentity.

[14] Tarbes remarked, 'the pope tried to shew the most joyous animation in giving him the sword, and putting the first crown on his head; but, (adds the prelate) I think he never performed a ceremony that so cut him to the heart; nor from which less good will result to him.' Lett. 25th February, ib. p. 386. This spring is described to have been particularly beautiful by cardinal Bembo, in his elegant letter to Clement on his return from Bologna, dated Padua, 7th April 1530. 'While your holiness has been these last days on the theatre of the world among so many lords and great men whom none now alive has ever seen together before, and has placed on the head of Charles 5, the rich, splendid and honored crown of the empire, I have been residing in my little village, where I have thought on you in a quiet, and, to me, dear and delicious solitude. I have found the country above the usage of any former years, from the long serenity of these gliding months, and by the sudden mildness of the air already quite verdant and the trees in full leaf. Even the vines have deceived the peasantry by their luxuriance, which they were obliged to prune. I do not remember to have seen at this time so beautiful a season. Not only the swallows but all other birds that do not remain with us in the winter, but return to us in the spring, have made this new and soft and joyous sky resound with their charming melodies. I could not therefore regret your festivities at Bologna.' Lett. Card. Bembo, p. 19.

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As a "magna nominus umbra," it still remains, striving in vain to convert shadow into substantiality; but the talisman cannot be recomposed. As soon as the papal see was clearly discerned by the observing eye, like the oracle of Delphos, to Philippize, it lost, with its moral character, its mental fascination. No Austrian Emperor has since sought a coronation from the Pope. It is thus that human fallacies prevail, but to disappear; while all that is truth and virtue never pass away. Time is ever separating these from their perishable companions; and by always surviving their opponents, the useful and the true are continually increasing, both in quantity and in dominion, tho in varying ratios, in every quarter of the human globe.

The next great step taken in 1530 on the divorce was to submit the case to the most celebrated universities of Europe, as well as to those of England, for their opinion. The pope's declaration to Gardiner, before noticed, of his own inability, from defect of knowlege, to judge of the disputed question[15], made such a consultation advisable. The most distinguished universities of France and Italy alike thought the marriage so contrary to both natural and divine law, that no papal dispensation could authorize it[16]. Other doctors expressed opposing senti-

[15] See before, p. 216.

[16] The foreign opinions against the marriage are printed in Burnet, v. 2. The university of Paris declared such nuptials to be prohibited by both natural and divine law, and that the pope could not dispense in such a case. p. 131. The university of Orleans thought such a marriage to be an infraction of the divine law, tho permitted by the pope. p. 132. Angers declared such a matrimony not permitted by divine or human law, even with a dispensation. ib. Bourges, that natural law prohibited what the divine had forbidden, and that no human authority could alter it. p. 133; and Thoulouse, that neither by natural or divine law could any marry his brother's widow, nor could the pope abrogate such obligations. p. 134. The Bologna faculty of theology asserted such nuptials to be execrable, and forbidden by the law of nature and of heaven, nor could the pope dispense with it; 'qui tamen fere omnia potest.' p. 135.

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ments[17]. Oxford and Cambridge, after much discussion, equally condemned it[18]. The pope and emperor had exerted themselves to counteract these decisions, and had threatened the persons who should subscribe to them[19]. These opinions, with an accommodating proposal, were communicated to Catherine by the cabinet, in the hope that they would have influenced her conscientious sensibility.

At the first rise of the scruple, they might have alarmed her; but the three years discussions had roused too many female feelings and worldly interests in and about her, to let either moral delicacy or religious principle, in its solitary purity, decide her conduct. She had made up her mind to adhere to her marriage, and to act firmly, but mildly, on her determination. Her answer to the council lords expressed this resolute spirit: "I am a woman, and lack wit and learning to answer these opinions. But I am sure that neither the king's father, nor my father,

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Padua gave a similar opinion. p. 137. The Lutheran divines pronounced the marriage repugnant to divine, natural and moral law. p. 138. See also Rymer, v. 14. and Hall, 775–80.

[17] The MS. Vitell. B. 13, contains several letters and documents about the answers obtained from Italy. On 18th June 1530, the duke of Norfolk stated to Montmorency, that Henry had learnt that 56 doctors at Paris had been for him, and only seven against him; but to his surprise, found in their opinions as transmitted, 36 opposing him, and only 22 on his side. He thought this change suspicious of some adverse influence. Lett. Ap. Le Grand, p. 472.

[18] Burnet has printed the king's letters to Cambridge and Oxford, and the account of these proceedings thereon, in his v. 6. p. 25-36. By Buckmaster's letter, it appears that the king at Windsor conversed himself with some of the heads of Cambridge upon it. p. 30.

[19] Dr. Stokely, on 13th June, stated the pope's opposition at Bologna; and Dr. Croke, in his letter of 22d June 1530, both Clement and the emperor's threatening others. On 31st August, he also wrote, 'Cæsar, by threats, prayers, money and sacerdotal influences, terrifies our friends and confirms his own. His ambassador at Padua declared, that if this conclusion against the marriage should take effect, many of the greatest princes of Christendom would be disinherited, or deemed illegitimate.' Herb. 301.

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would have condescended to our marriage, if it had been judged to be unlawful. As to your saying that I should put the cause to eight persons of this realm, for quietness of the king's conscience, I pray heaven to send his grace a quiet conscience; and this shall be your answer, that I say, I am his lawful wife, and to him lawfully married, altho not worthy of it; and in this point I will abide till the court of Rome, which was privy to the beginning, have made a final ending of it[20]."

The greatest effect of these foreign determinations was on the lords and commons in Parliament, for whose satisfaction they were perhaps principally taken. These important bodies were so impressed by them, that in July they addressed an earnest letter to the pope, stating the judgment of the foreign academies, and their own anxiety to have a male heir to the crown, and therefore soliciting from him that annulment of the existing marriage, declared by so many of the learned to be unlawful, which would admit a valid one to be solemnized[21]. Clement being still in dread of the emperor, returned a refusing answer[22]; but to extricate himself from the difficulty, and preferring expedience to principle, suggested to the English ambassador that he might permit Henry to have two wives[23]: a proposition which, altho pro-

[20] Hall, p. 781.

[21] Rymer, 14. p. 405. It is dated 30th July 1530, and signed by archbishop Wareham and Wolsey; by 4 bishops, 2 dukes, 2 marquises, 13 earls, 28 barons, 22 abbots, and 11 knights and doctors in parliament, and thus represented the feelings of nearly all the nobility of England. Herbert copies it, with their names, p. 303-6.

[22] See Clement's answer of 27th September 1530. Herb. 307-311.

[23] Lord Herbert has printed this curious letter of Cassalis to the king, dated Rome, 18th September 1530. The English minister says, 'Lately the pope, secretly, as a thing of which he thought highly, proposed to me a condition of this sort; that he might grant to your majesty to have

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posed by a pope supposed to be gifted with spiritual infallibility, would neither content a christian conscience, nor give security to the succession to a christian throne.

While the pope remained with the emperor at Bologna, he obliged his irresistible master, by issuing an order commanding Henry, during the process, to treat Catherine as his wife, and forbidding him to marry any other[24].

It is impossible and would be unjust to withhold our sympathy from the hardly-used and unoffending Catherine. With a gentle magnanimity that never faltered; with an high sense of her personal and family honor, which no persuasions could induce her to forego; with a generous affection for Henry that his new attachment did not provoke her to diminish; and with an humility of spirit and feeling which gave her that true dignity of soul, which every heart feels and bows to; she continued to assert mildly, the validity of her marriage, and to await the decision of the only authority on earth that princes and subjects had, until that time, resorted to for the determination of such disputes.

If there be any point on which she deserves our blame, it was on the delicate subject of the consummation of her marriage with prince Arthur; her denial of this was made as soon as she knew of its effect on the scruple[25], but after the evidence that

two wives. To this I said, that I would not undertake the province of writing to the king about such a thing; because I was ignorant whether he could, by that, satisfy your conscience, which your majesty desired chiefly to exonerate.' Herb. p. 302. Le Grand, in his history, refers to this as to an authentic document. v. i. p. 79.

[24] This was dated 7th March 1530, and is printed by Le Grand, v. 3. p. 446–53.

[25] See before, p. 153.

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was adduced[26], it is scarcely possible to believe that she was not, on that question, induced to affirm what she knew to be untrue. It may also be added, that as the discussions advanced, imperial and Roman advisers seem to have urged her into a behavior that corresponded less with her former equanimity[27]. But in praising her, we must not forget the decorous conduct of Henry. The opinions of the universities led the wisest men in the kingdom to think that their nuptials had been wrong, tho the English ladies felt the question differently, but the king publicly lamented the circumstance[28]. He "made no manner of mirth or pastime as he was wont to do. He dined and resorted to the queen as he was accustomed, and diminishing nothing of her estate, and much loved and cherished their daughter Mary, but he would not come to her bed[29]." He continued this respectful conduct to her, till the 13th July 1531, when he left her at Windsor, and never saw her again[30].

She was again urged to acquiesce in the divorce; her final answer was, "I am the king's true wife, and to him married; and if all doctors were dead, or law or learning far out of men's minds at the time

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[26] See the substance of the depositions of some of the first persons of rank and office, in Herbert, p. 242–5.

[27] We may infer this change from the allegations addressed to her by the king's advocate, and yet preserved in MS. Vitell. B. 12. They charge her with exhorting the ladies and gentlemen to dance and pastime; with not retaining her pensiveness in her countenance or apparel; with shewing herself too much to the people; beckoning her head and smiling at them, different from times past, and encouraging and rejoicing in their exclamations and obloquy against the king. They state, that from these circumstances his majesty began to think he was in danger of his life, and therefore must withdraw from her company; nor could he let the princess be with her. MS. ib. 64. The suggestion of her taking the veil was to be revived, if occasion should offer. It was not in human nature for such a subject to be long on foot without some mutual exasperation.

[28] Hall, 780. [29] Ib. [30] Ib. 781.

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of our marriage, yet I cannot think that the court of Rome and the whole church of England would have consented to a thing unlawful and detestable as you call it. Still I say I am his wife, and for him will I pray[31]."

That the first idea of divorcing her was exceedingly unpopular in the year 1527, the strong language of Wakefield sufficiently assures us[32]. But the discussions, after it had become a public topic of consideration, and the favoring opinions of so large a portion of the ecclesiastical body of England and Europe, had greatly changed the sentiment of the male portion of the English population. Yet the combined opposition of the pope and emperor made it a dangerous subject of state-agitation. The king and his government, to alter the pontifical resolution, had put every conceivable motive into operation, that was likely to rouse Clement into a personal activity in his favor. Wolsey, after he had become really earnest for the divorce, had early warned the pope of the heavy evils that would follow, if he should frustrate the king's expectation[33]. By his own letter, two months afterwards, to the pontiff, the cardinal apprised him, that if Henry should be driven to seek his own remedies, he would diminish and degrade the papal authority and jurisdiction[34]; and as the spring advanced, ordered the English ambassadors

[31] Hall, 782.

[32] He says, 'if the people should know that I, which began to defend the king's cause, not knowing, &c. should now write against it, surely I should be stoned to death.' Eras. App. 28.

[33] Of these 'gravia melia,' Wolsey in his letter of 5th December 1527, ordered the English envoys to remind the pope. See it in Burnet, App. 19.

[34] 'Sedis apostolica auctoritatem et jurisdictionem imminuendi et vilipendendi.' Lett. to Clem. 10th February 1528. Burn. ib. 29.

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to threaten Clement that if he revoked the cause to Rome, the king and nobles of England would "undoubtedly decline from the obedience of the see apostolic[35]." The king, a month afterwards, directed a similar intimation to be made[36], which was expressed to Clement in person[37], who lamented an evil which he was unable to prevent[38]; and yet such were the imperial importunities[39], that he chose to issue the deciding order, recalling Campegio, with a faint declaration that so just a thing ought not to have been deferred so long[40]. All these warning menaces failed to stimulate the pope to provoke the emperor's resentment, and to endure its consequences. When he found no arm in Europe strong enough to save him from feeling their personal evils, he intimated his helpless situation, and yielded to its exigencies[41]. Compelled by the emperor's augmenting preponderance to submit to his dictation, he became careless

[35] See his letter from Richmond, of 21st May 1529, printed in Burnet, v. 2. p. 104-9.

[36] See his letter of 23d June to Dr. Bennett, Ap. Burnet, 79. Before this, in his letter to Vannes, of 1st December 1528, Henry had ordered a similar intimation to be made to the pope, that he, his nobles and realm, would withdraw their devotion and obedience from him. ib. p. 48.

[37] See his letter of 21st May 1529 from Richmond, printed in Burnet, v. 2. p. 104-9. Bennett's answer from Rome, of 9th July, states, that he had warned the pope, that if he avoked the cause, it would, 'without remedy, alienate his majesty and realms, with others, from the devotion and obedience of the see apostolic.'

[38] To this, his holiness most heavily, and with tears, answered and said, 'that now he saw the destruction of christendom, and lamented that his fortune was such, as to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it.' ib. 118.

[39] Bennett added, 'If your grace saw the importune labor of the ambassadors of the emperor and Ferdinando you would marvel. I promise your grace they never cease.' ib. 119.

[40] The pope's letter to Wolsey, of 19th July 1529, in Burnet, v. 2. p. 119.

[41] On 31st May 1529, Clement in his epistle to Wolsey, lamented the impediments which prevented him from gratifying the king: On the 8th July, signified that he could not comply with Henry's request; and ten days afterwards, notified his league with the emperor. These papal letters are in Vitell. B. 11. p. 138.

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of Henry's displeasure, and issued his bull of command, that he should recal his queen, and dismiss Anne Boleyn from his court[42].

The king made an earnest remonstrance, and one of his last appeals to the pope on the long litigated topic[43]. Reminding him that he had not only disregarded, but even derided the interference of Francis, and the intercession of the English peers, he tells the pontiff that his acts proved that he had bent all his will to the emperor's; by his nod he was now governed; his decision he obeyed. Whatever Henry asked, the first consideration always was, that it should not displease Charles. He did not answer according to the prudence of his own mind, but as Cæsar was inclined. But the common father and good shepherd ought to discharge his duty according to what was good and just, and to act plainly, simply and openly. Instead of that, he had adopted a system of intimidation against all who should oppose his partial opinions or orders; and such was the conspiracy he was patronising, that even the letters of the English government could not pass safely. Henry charges the pope with having declared that his cause was most just, and yet as sanctioning his ambassador in expressing a contradicting falsehood, by telling Francis that it was against all law and reason. He calls upon Clement to conduct himself

[42] This instrument, dated from Rome, 25th January 1532, is printed in Herbert, p. 332–4.

[43] Burnet has printed this letter, vol. 6. p. 36-41. Pallavicini mentions, that the king's earnest letters to the pope that the cause should be committed to judges in Britain, were read in the Vatican senate, on 22d December 1530. This may refer to the one above alluded to in the text.

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according to the precepts of nature; according to justice; with due regard to the laws and prerogative of the English crown, and with equitable impartiality; and requires that the matrimonial cause be decided by no court beyond the English dominions[44]. But the pope now took none of these points into consideration. He let two motives only govern him; a dread of provoking against him the emperor's power, and a desire of preserving his own; and as he could not subdue Henry into an obedience to these interests, he soon conceived against him an implacable resentment for endangering them.

The first offensive attitude assumed by Henry against Rome was not till six months after the pope had thrown himself into the emperor's arms at Bologna. But instigated by some new devices that were pursuing against him, Henry then issued a proclamation, forbidding any person to purchase from Rome, or to publish, any thing prejudicial to his regal prerogative, or to the hindrance of his pur-

[44] "That the real mind of the French court or cabinet was not, any more than Henry's at that time, in favor of the pope or of his despotism, the political expediency withheld it from an abruption of its power, we may infer from some part of the remarks of the admiral or chief minister of France, to sir William Paget, in April 1535. Paget thus reports the conference to the king:—'As for the *bishop of Rome*,' quoth I, 'if he sue to be restored to my master's favor again, I think it will be hard for him to obtain it, for virtue and vice cannot stand together in one predicament.' 'Call you *him* vice,' quoth he, 'He is the very devil, I trust once to see his confusion. I have began to pick him a little, I trust to pick him better. Every thing must have a time and a beginning.' 'But when begin you,' quoth I; 'I think,' quoth he, 'ere it be aught long. The king, my master, *will convert all the abbeys* of his realm into the possession of his lay gentlemen; and so forth, by little and little, if you will join with us, to *overthrow him* altogether. Why may we not have a patriarch here in France?' See the curious dispatch in Burnet, v. 6. p. 237. It was alarm of popular excesses, which turned Francis from the ecclesiastical reformations which he was contemplating. And see before, chap. 21. notes 17, 19, 20.

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poses[45]. As it was by his legantine authority that Wolsey had forcibly placed himself above the nobility, and on a level with the throne[46]; and as the clergy had supported him in it, and upon his authority, and by his example, had raised themselves into such pride as to disdain the laity[47], the legality of their conduct was now subjected to legal investigation; and being found, according to the existing statutes, to have incurred the formidable penalties which were called a Premunire, the prelates were impleaded in the court of king's bench. To save themselves from the consequence of a sentence, they met in convocation, and solicited remission from the crown on paying a fine of one hundred thousand pounds[48]. This was the second blow at the papal hierarchy in England. No religion was involved in the measure. It was Henry VIII. acting like Edward I.[49] The persons in the commons house of parliament who had also sanctioned Wolsey's acts as legate, became alarmed, and the king was petitioned to extend the royal pardon to themselves. After a temporary rebuke, he acquiesced in their request[50].

The bishops endeavored to raise the money by a private levy from their clergy; but when they wished to impose it in a meeting of only a few on whom they could depend, at the chapter-house of St. Paul's, six hundred priests at least attended, forced open the

[45] It appeared 16th September 1530. Hall, 772.
[46] See vol. 1. ch. 7. p. 182. [47] Hall, 774.
[48] The act of parliament granting the pardons, recites that the clergy of Canterbury had paid 100,000 *l.* and those of York, 18,840 *l.* Stat. Realm, v. 3. p. 334; 383. The Statute as to temporal persons, is in p. 338.
[49] See Hist. Eng. Middle Ages. v. 3. p. 111.
[50] Hall, 785.

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doors, and entered with riotous clamors. The prelate of London expressed his surprise at their being so heady, and intreating a patient hearing, explained, that by incurring the premunire, their promotions and property had become forfeited, and their persons liable to imprisonment; and therefore exhorted them to contribute quietly a due portion of their incomes, towards the sum required. He was answered that as twenty nobles a year was but bare living for a priest, since food and other things had become so dear, their poverty compelled them to resist. "My lord! we never offended in the premunire; we never meddled with the cardinal's faculties; let the bishops and abbots, who have offended, pay[51]." The prelate could not prevail against this reasoning; but he went to sir Thomas More, then lord chancellor, and got him to send fifteen priests, and five others, to the Fleet and the Tower, for their riot and contumacy[52].

The house of commons now began to stir, to obtain those ecclesiastical reformations, for which their predecessors had been struggling ever since the reigns of Edward I. and III. They resolved to collect their grievances, as formerly, in an address to the king; and on the 18th March, presented it to the throne, from which they were reminded, that there were other evils also to redress[53]. The parliament now abolished the annates, or the money which the bishops and archbishops had to pay to Rome, for the confirmation of their appointments; and enacted, that if any prelate presented by the king to the pope for his sanction, should be delayed

[51] Hall, 784. [52] Ib. [53] Hall, 784, 5.

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in obtaining it, the archbishop might consecrate him in England to his see; and two bishops might so exalt their metropolitan[54].

In May 1532, the king sent for the speaker, and twelve of the Commons, and made this speech: "We thought that the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly; but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects—yea, and scarce our subjects; for all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, clear contrary to that which they make to us, so that they seem to be his subjects, and not ours. The copy of both these oaths I deliver here to you, requiring you to invent some order, that we be not thus deluded of our spiritual subjects[55]." The commons took and compared the two inconsistent pledges, and deliberated upon them. The death of Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, opened the avenue to Cranmer's elevation[56], who was then on an embassy in Germany[57] from which he was recalled; and sir Thomas More, probably from seeing the disposition of both the crown

[54] See it in Statutes of Realm, v. 3. p. 385. It recited, that from the second year of the preceding king, or in 46 years, 800,000 ducats, which it states to have amounted in sterling money to 160,000 *l.* at the least, had been paid to Rome for annates, besides other great sums. A power was added to the king in 1533, or before the next parliament, to declare before the ensuing Easter, whether it should take effect as a statute, or not. He exercised this power on 9th July 1533, by then adding the conclusive 'Le Roy le volt.' Stat. p. 387.

[55] Hall, 788. has inserted a copy of both the oaths.

[56] Warham died 22d August 1532, after enjoying his see 28 years. The king sent for Cranmer home, who purposely delayed his return for seven weeks, to avoid the intended preferment, as he stated to the commissioners at Oxford. In November 1532, he arrived, as the king returned from France, and was made the new archbishop.

[57] On 4th September 1532, he was at Ragensburg, whence he wrote to Henry the letter in Strype's Cranmer, v. 2. p. 679-81. He was then going to Lintz, to meet the emperor and Ferdinand, p. 680.

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and parliament to make material changes in the relations between the English hierarchy and the pope, resigned his seals as chancellor, as soon as the parliament was prorogued[58].

When the protestant princes of the empire, who had formed the league of Smalcald, for their mutual defence against Charles and the papacy[59], applied to Francis for his co-operation, he imparted the request to Henry, who sent Gardiner, the prelate of Winchester, to urge the French king to form with him an offensive and defensive league against the emperor[60]. Francis hesitated to commit himself so immediately to a measure so defying; and Henry, who was now in great irritation against Charles, for his menaces and schemes to endanger him, was so dissatisfied with this backwardness, that the French king thought it prudent to consent to a confederating treaty, which he called by the softer name of a stricter alliance[61], and to communicate to the German princes, his intention to assist them, if the emperor marched an army against them[62]. Charles called upon Francis to aid him with money, men and ships against the Turks, who civilly excused himself[63]. Henry sent fifty thousand crowns to the confederates of Smalcald[64], with a friendly and encou-

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[58] Hall, 789. More delivered up the seals on 16th May 1532, and on the Whitsun-Monday they were given to the speaker, sir Thomas Audeley. Ib. Pole, in his abusive declamation against Henry, intimates that More's chief reason in resigning, was the alterations that were projecting, in our belief to reform; in Pole's language, to destroy religion. De Unit. p. 317.

[59] This was in March 1531.

[60] M. Bellay, 148.

[61] Bellay, 149.

[62] Bellay, 151.

[63] Bellay gives the answer at length, 154–6.

[64] Bellay, 159.

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raging letter[65], and requested a friendly interview with Francis at Calais[66]. CHAP XXVI.

In this year of 1532, the cardinals had held three secret consistories by themselves, excluding all foreign envoys and advocates, and agreeing to excommunicate that member of their body who should reveal their discussions. The result was officially announced by the pontiff, to the English ambassadors, to be an exhortation to Henry to send thither a procurator by the end of October; which was stated to be a measure more favorable to him, than pleasing to his antagonist[67]. It was obviously an interlude for a few months more delay. Having created Anne Boleyn marchioness of Pembroke[68], he landed with her on 10th October 1532, at Calais, accompanied by his principal nobility[69]. Eleven days afterwards, he advanced in royal pomp, to visit Francis at Boulogne. The kings met each other bare headed, and affectionately embraced[70]. Henry was entertained with 1532.

Henry's visit to Francis at Boulogne.

[65] See the heads in Observ. Bell. 340.

[66] Bellay's letter of 21st July, states the arrangements about this meeting, which he truly said could not be kept a secret, as his government wishes, from the preparations that would be necessary. He advised his court to desire Henry to take over Anne Boleyn with him, but not Catherine; as the English king hated a Spanish habit so much, that, 'il lui semble voir un diable.' Le Grand, 553–6

[67] See the Latin letter of Cassalis and Bennett to the king, from Rome, on 13th July 1532, in Burn. v. 2. p. 173–5.

[68] There is splendid copy of all the king's grants to her, in the Harl. MS. No. 303. Her creation as marchioness is dated 1st September 1532. p. 1. with a gift of 1,000 *l.* a year, p. 3. On 14th Oct. is a settlement on her, of lands in Wales, Essex, Herts and Somerset, p. 4. On 30th of the following June, the manor of Hanworth, and others, p. 13. And on 2d July its royal house and park, p. 15. On 21st March, in the next year, is her dower and jointure, p. 17; and on 3d April, was the act of parliament confirming these, p. 31. She is called our 'præcarissimæ consorti.' p. 17.

[69] Hall, 789.

[70] Ib. 790.

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all the sumptuousness of that stately day [71]. In one of his evening festivities, returning the French civilities at Calais, his favored lady danced with Francis [72]; and on the 30th of the month, the sovereigns "mounted on their horses, took hands, and with princely countenance, loving behaviour, and hearty words, embraced each other and so departed [73]." At this

[71] Hall expatiates on the splendid furniture and dresses. Of the hospitalities of Francis, he says, 'Great cheer was made to all the Englishmen. The poultries, larders spicener and cellars of wine, were all open, and likewise hay and litter, and all other things; ask and have, and no man durst take any money, for the French king paid for all.' p. 791. Henry's supper to Francis, at Calais, he thus describes:—It was 'in a chamber hanged with tissue, raised with silver, paned with cloth of silver raised with gold. The seams of the same were covered with broad wreaths of goldsmith's work, full of stones and pearls. In this chamber was a cupboard of seven stages high; all plate of gold, and no gilt plate. Besides, that, there hung ten branches of silver gilt, and ten branches all white silver, every branch hanging by a long chain of the same sort, bearing two lights of wax. The French king was served three courses, and his meat dressed after the French fashion; and the king of England had like courses after the English fashion. The first course of every kind was 40 dishes, the second 60, and the third 80, which were costly and pleasant.' Hall. 793.

[72] Hall thus describes it: 'After supper came in the marchioness of Pembroke, with seven ladies in masking apparel of strange fashion, made of cloth of gold, compassed with crimson tinsel satin, joined with cloth of silver lying loose, and knit with laces of gold. They were brought into the chamber, with four damsels in crimson satin, with tabards of fine cypress. The lady marquess took the French king, and the countess of Derby the king of Navarre, and every lady took a lord. In dancing, the king of England, took away the lady's vizors, so that their beauties were shewed. The French king talked with the marchioness a space, and then he took leave of the ladies, and the king conveyed him to his lodging.' p. 794.

[73] Hall, 794. The result of the meeting may be safely taken from Le Grand, as the enemy of Henry. They made a league, offensive and defensive, against Turkey, and agreed to make an army of 65,000 foot and 15,000 horse, avowedly against that power, but apparently to watch the emperor. Henry complained of the pope, and expressed his wishes for a council. Francis differed about the use of this, but expressed also his dissatisfaction with the pontiff, who had refused him two-tenths from his clergy, tho he had granted as much to Charles; who ruined the French prelates by the annates; who was creating new offices to exact new payments for his bulls, and against whom his clergy was every day making complaints. The French king advised Henry to send an embassy to meet the pope, with him. Le Grand, v. 1. p. 232-4.

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meeting, Henry complained severely of the pope's conduct to himself[74]; and endeavored to rouse the French king to a dislike of the pontifical exactions in his dominions, and to appeal to a council against them[75]. Francis declined to bind himself to a specific hostility with the pope[76]; but made a full statement of the grievances, which at his approaching meeting with Clement, he intended to call upon this religious potentate to remedy[77].

1533. Pope meets the Emperor at Bologna.

French ambassadors attended the second meeting between the pope and emperor, at Bologna[78]. Perceiving Clement to be resolved on continuing an entire submission to Charles, they endeavored to shake him by pretending to enter into his resentments against Henry[79]. The pope was gratified by this flattering coincidence; secretly entered into arrangements for marrying his niece, the well known Catherine de Medicis, to the younger prince of France[80], as a provision and pledge for future activity, and agreed to visit the French king, to accomplish this alliance. Ambassadors from England were also present at Bologna, to prevent, if possible, the pontiff

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[74] Bellay Mem. 163.

[75] Ib. 164.

[76] Card. Pole, in 1536, triumphed on this backwardness of Francis. He exclaims to Henry, 'You implored his help to attack the church, and the pope's authority.' He answered, that in all other things he would show to you the mind of a friend and a brother, but neither could nor would obey you in those things which were contrary to religion. O vocem dignam, &c.' De Unit. p. 373–6.

[77] These were, the tenths which the pope had granted and withheld; the new sums exacted for bulls from his clergy, impoverishing them and preventing them from repairing their churches, and relieving the poor; excessive annates—new fees—required by new created offices—great multiplication of bulls—arbitrary compositions, and other pecuniary complaints. Bellay, 166–8.

[78] In January 1533. Bell. 175.

[79] Bell. 176–8.

[80] Ib. 181.

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from being prevailed upon by the emperor to issue any violent fulminations against Henry, whom he had cited in the mode of the old despotism of Rome, to appear at his tribunal at that city, and answer for his disobedience to former mandates[81]. They found him altogether in such a favorable humor, that they wrote to Henry, on 24th December, the strong intimations he had expressed of a secret disposition to comply with the wishes of the English monarch, and that quiet patience would be the most probable solvent of the existing difficulties[82]. But after this disclo-

[81] Henry ended a letter of strong expostulation to the pope, by assuring him that he did not intend 'further to impugn your authority, unless ye do compel us.' Burnet, 2. p. 161.

[82] The following extracts from a letter of doctor Bennett to the king, from Bologna, of 24th December 1532, will show the mind which the pope at that time chose to express to the English ambassador.

After noticing the receipt of his sovereign's letter of the 7th November, from Calais, he proceeds: 'I had right good hope, that nothing of great importance shall be attempted in your said cause during the abode of the emperor here with the pope, upon such comfort as the pope had put me in, on the day of his departing from Rome, hitherward.

He then mentions, 'that seeing all process likely to be stayed for a season, he had delayed the delivery of the king's letter of 2d October to the pope, as it would rather have retarded than forwarded its purpose.' This was probably the letter before mentioned. Bennett then goes on thus:

'I have not at any time found his holiness more tractable or propense to shew gratitude unto your highness, than now of late; insomuch, that he hath now more truly opened his mind, than he was accustomed; and said also, that he would speak with me frankly, without any observance of respect at all; at which time, I greatly lamented that no means could be found to satisfy your highness. He answered, that he would it had cost him a joint of his hand, that such a way might be excogitated. And here speaking of the justness of your cause, he called to his remembrance the thing which he told me two years passed, which was, that the opinions of the lawyers were more certain, favorable and helping to your cause, than the opinion of the divines; for he said, that as far as he could perceive, the lawyers, altho they held, quod papa possit dispensare, in this case, yet they commonly do agree, quod hoc fieri debeat ex maxima causa adhibita causæ cognitione, which in this case doth not appear. And his holiness promised me that he would herein use all good policy and dexterity, to imprint the same in the emperor's head; which done, he reckoneth *many things to be invented that may be pleasing*

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sure of his hidden mind, as favorable to the king, it is important to remark, that on the day before the date of this dispatch, he inconsistently chose to sign that bull of decisive warfare, which had been prepared a month before, by which he prohibited the king from any cohabitation with Anne Boleyn[83]; an act not only unsheathing the hostile sword, but striking with it at Henry, in a manner the least likely to be forgiven. Having thus gratified the emperor, Clement completed his other arrangements with him, and in April 1533, returned to his favorite Rome[84].

This contradictory insincerity of the pope exhibited such a subserviency to the dictates of the emperor, as to destroy all hope of arranging the question amicably with the vatican. Henry, therefore, about the 25th January 1533, determined for himself, the long-debated topic, by privately marrying Anne Boleyn[85]. Perhaps the annals of affection or of civil history will hardly furnish another instance of a king's constancy for a beautiful subject lasting

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and profitable to your highness; adding, yet, that it is not to be done with a fury, but with leisure and as occasion shall be; lest if he should otherwise do, he should let and hinder that good effect which peradventure might ensue therein.' MS. Lett. St. P. O.

[83] It was originally dated 15th November 1532, but by an additional note, on 23d December 1532. Le Grand has printed it. v. 3. p. 558–568.

[84] Bellay, 219, 220.

[85] The time of this marriage has been differently stated. But the earliest and most authentic statement is that of Cranmer. His words are in the letter printed in the Archeologia, and since by Mr. Ellis, v. 2. p. 39. dated 17th June 1533. 'She was married much about St. Paul's day.' He also declares, that he was not present at it. 'I knew not therefore (for) a fortennight after it was done.' ib. This corresponds with Wyatt, Stow and Godwin, p. 126, who all date it on the 25th January, which is St. Paul's day. Circumstances have been appended by the Roman partisans to the marriage, which cannot claim belief from persons who have so falsified the history of Henry's reign.

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nearly six years, in patient waiting for the nuptial tie; or of delaying so long the exertion of his regal power, considering that his great minister had declared that he would rather lose half his kingdom, than not gratify his inclinations[86]. And knowing as we do, his resolute character, which he too often showed, to shrink from nothing that he thought eligible, we may reasonably ask what potent cause kept him so long from breaking his papal chain, and solemnizing this marriage, on which he had so many years determined, since his parliament and prelacy and foreign authorities were on his side. A sincere veneration for the papal see, for which he has never had due credit from its hierarchy, may have contributed much to make him procrastinate that rupture with it, which the matrimony occasioned. An original unpopularity had also, at first, its due weight. But the most probable cause of the delay that has the sanction of any contemporary authority, may perhaps be found in Hall's casual intimation, that the opinions of the British ladies were against him[87]. They justly felt that the security of every woman in England was compromised, if a marriage could be invalidated without a moral fault, after twenty years cohabitation. Their good sense and good feeling; their uprightness of intention, and those domestic virtues, which have always so much contributed to purify the moral atmosphere of the British isles, as

[86] See vol. 1. ch. 2. p. 49. note 59.

[87] After the publication of the opinions of the universities against Catherine's matrimony, Hall says, 'All wise men in the realm much abhorred that marriage: *but women*, and such as were more wilful than wise or learned, spake against the determination, and said that the universities were corrupt and inticed so to do.' p. 780.

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well as to advance the felicity of our social life, created a barrier, in spite of universities and legal tribunals, which even the impatient and determined Henry did not venture to overleap, till a longer period of probation had elapsed than any lady of chivalry had exacted from her humblest knightly lover. Perceiving at last, after a penance which gave no encouragement to future dissolutions of the marriage vow, that he might gratify his wishes without a dangerous excitation, he yet deemed it prudent to have the ceremony private; and kept it unavowed, till its favorite consequence made publicity indispensable, and pleaded impressively for its forgiveness from the tenderest and purest sympathies that affect the human heart.

It is not quite clear whether the king had a private divorce from Catherine before he wedded Anne[88];

[88] I have not seen this fact noticed; but the Sloane MS. apparently a contemporary, and certainly an hostile document, asserts a preceding divorce. 'This bear-bating archbishop *pronouncing the divorce privately*, —he *proceeded* to that cursed and incestuous marriage, so fatal to the whole realm.' p. 12. Bellay, also a contemporary, puts the divorce before the marriage, and adds, '*suivant* la quelle sentence—il avoit épousé Madame la Marquise Ann Boulen.' Mem. v. 18. p. 214, 215. Pallavicini also places the annulment of Catherine's marriage before the private marriage with Anne. He says, 'The king, effecit ut conjugium Catherinæ, irritum pronuntiaretur a G. Cranmer'—and that 'hac nixus sententia clandestinum cum Anna conjugium contraxit.' Hist. 1. p. 285. Cranmer's letter to Hawkins, of 16 June 1533, does not mention it, and yet implies something to have preceded his public tribunal, 'as touching the concluding the matter of divorce between my lady Catherine and the king's grace; which said matter *after the convocation* in that behalf had determined and agreed according to the former consent of the universities, it was thought convenient, by the king and his learned council, that I should repair unto Dunstable, and there call her before me to hear *the final* sentence made.' Ellis, 2. p. 35. A previous divorce is also intimated, by Lee archbishop of York, and Cuthbert bishop of Durham, to Henry, 21st May 1534. They report, that they had said to Catherine, 'That *after* your highness *was discharged* of the marriage made with her, you contracted new marriage with queen Ann.' The answer of Catherine to this, did not dispute the fact of the discharge, but urged,

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but if not, he rested his new nuptials on the principle, that his first marriage was void from the beginning, and therefore had never been a marriage at all; and this principle was fortified by what the pope had expressed and done, as well as by the theological and legal opinions already alluded to.

Cranmer had reached England from his embassy, in November 1532, and was then appointed to the see; but from the time occupied in obtaining the papal bull, not consecrated till 30th March[89]. On

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as if admitting it, that the new marriage being made *after her appeal*, was of no value. Herb. 374. Henry, in his letter to Paget, on his northern embassy, instructs him to tell the king of Poland and the Prussian dukes, that the pope by his decretal had 'pronounced and given sentence, that the king's matrimony was nought and unlawful.' Burn. 6. p. 88. In the same document he also states, that he had divorced himself from it, before he mentions that he had married Anne. ib. p. 85.

The parliamentary statement of the king's conduct on his marriage, is made in the preamble of the Act on Elizabeth Barton, and may be considered as an authentic representation of the general impression of the heads of the country concerning it. After justly calling Catherine a right excellent princess, it states that the king, 'for the only discharge of his conscience, consulted as well with sundry universities of christendom, as with a great number of excellent clerks, learned in divinity, of the validity of his marriage. That after their determinate and plain judgment, it was declared to be prohibited and detested by the divine law. That he therefore pursued for a divorce, that under a lawful marriage he might have issue for the tranquillity of his realm. That this divorce 'is now lawfully had, and our said sovereign lord justly and lawfully married to his most dear and intirely beloved wife, queen Anne, and by her hath had issue.' Stat. Realm. 3. p 446.

The question is of some importance, because the Roman Catholics to this day called Elizabeth illegitimate, and to have taken the crown as a mere usurper, without any natural right. A queen de facto and force, and not de jure or by inheritance. But independant of any private divorce in 1533, the pope's previous declaration that Catherine's marriage was invalid, which besides this decretal, he and his agent had several times expressed, settles this question and makes Mary the illegitimate child, and queen without natural right. For after the pope had once given such opinion, no future expression of a contrary one could obliterate its effect; as a papacy that can say and unsay as it pleases, nullifies itself and its judicial authority.

[89] The tales which have been annexed to this appointment deserve no regard, because their narrators have destroyed their own credit by the many fictitious slanders which they have put on their pages. No man

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Easter eve, which in this year was April 12th, the king openly solemnized again his marriage with Anne Boleyn[90], and she went in state as his queen[91]. On 8th May, Cranmer presided in the public tribunal at Dunstable, which it was thought expedient to hold on the former marriage[92]. The formal proceedings were reported to Cromwell, by his agent Bedyll[93],

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can be a credible witness, who is not an honest one. I will not enter into the moral question on Cranmer's protesting against the oath he had taken, because Bossuet's remark sufficiently indicates that every Catholic prelate must make some mental comment or reservation which he does not express, against the words which his tongue utters, and which the ear believes him to swear, in the oath which he takes to the pope on his consecration, if he confines them to merely spiritual matters. In this he declares, 'I will be fidelis et obediens' to the pope and his successors. These terms are general, and without any limitation to spirituals. Another clause is, 'I will be their helper ad retinendum et defendendum the papatum Romanum et regalia of St. Peter, salvo meo ordine, against every man.'—No word can express sovereign right more fully than regalia—it is a political word, not a religious term; and the salvo meo ordine excepts only from the pope's royalties the ecclesiastical rights of the archbishop and his church, not those of the sovereign, government, or nation. Therefore to confine these unconfined words to spiritual things, is to give them a secret limitation in the mind when the tongue expresses none in the words it sounds.

Yet Bossuet, after calling Cranmer's protestation 'fort inutile,' immediately asks, speaking of himself and the bishops of France, perhaps of all Catholic bishops, 'which of us pretends by this oath to engage himself to any thing which is contrary to his conscience, or to the service of the king or of the state?' Hist. Var. c. 7. p. 286. I am satisfied that they do not mean it to extend to any thing contrary to the king or state. But I am equally satisfied, that the mere audible words do so extend it, and that a mental construction or reservation, distinct from the terms used, and restrictive of their application, must be made by every prelate who swears this oath, appending a variation of intellectual meaning different from the vocal sounds he pronounces. Cranmer did a similar thing, with the addition of a real formal protestation. But if any man may vary the meaning of an oath which he takes, to something different from its verbal terms, of what use is an oath?

[90] It is Sanders who asserts this, and on such a point may be trusted. De Schis. p. 109.

[91] Hall, 795.

[92] Dunstable was selected, because within four miles of Ampthill, where Catherine resided. She would not appear to the court's summons, and after fifteen days delay was declared contumacious. Cranmer's Lett. Ellis, 2. p. 36.

[93] His letter of 10th May 1533 states, that they began on that day.

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and terminated on 23d May at Dunstable; where Cranmer pronounced, not a divorce, but a sentence, that the king's marriage with Catherine had been and was a nullity—and invalid, having been contracted and consummated against the divine law[94]. This was a judicial declaration that these nuptials had been void from the beginning, and therefore no marriage. Five days after, he gave, at Lambeth, a judicial confirmation to Henry's union with Anne Boleyn[95]. But Catherine would not renounce her regal title[96].

Anne's entry and coronation.

The ceremonies to receive Anne Boleyn for her coronation, and to crown her, were as gratulating and as gorgeous as popular affection and unchastened taste could make them. On 19th May, the lord mayor and his civic court and companies, in fifty showy barges, well garnished with colored streamers, and amid "shalms, shagbushes, and other instruments, which continually made a goodly harmony," sailed down the river, preceded by a vessel full of

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The Duchess of Norfolk and Lady Guildford were the expected witnesses. On 17th he sent the detail of the third court day, the 16th, and of that; and on 23d the copy of the sentence then delivered. MS. Otho, c. 10. p. 164–5.

[94] See it in MS. Otho, c. 10.

[95] It is printed in Burnet, v. 2. p. 175. Cranmer's account of it in his letter is, 'I gave final sentence therein; how that it was undispensable for the pope to license any such marriage.' 2 Ellis, p. 36. Cranmer had a full and justifying precedent for this in the conduct of archbishop Odo to Edwin and Elgiva. This prelate, as the passage I brought to public notice from a MS. Saxon Chronicle showed, divorced the king and queen expressly because they were too near akin. See Anglo Sax. vol. 2. p. 256. It was he, not the pope, who divorced them.

[96] Burnet, v. 1. p. 209. An application had been made to Catherine to lay aside her title of queen, as the parliament had sanctioned the elevation of Anne to that dignity, and there could not be two queens in one realm. Sir T. Vaux, on 18th April 1533, reported to the duke of Norfolk her protestations against the relinquishment of her royal title. MS. Otho, c. 10. p. 177.

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ordnance, in which a great dragon was unceasingly moving, and casting wildfire, surrounded by monsters and savages, also breathing it and making hideous noises. A bachelors barge, amply hung with rich cloth of gold and silk, accompanied the mayor's with trumpets and melodious music; another followed with flying pendants, edged with little bells, "which made a goodly noise, and were a goodly sight, wavering in the wind[97];" another foist or vessel had a mount, where, upon a wheel of gold, environed with white and red roses, a white falcon stood with its crown, an emblem of the queen, around which sat virgins singing and playing sweetly. All the city companies followed with their individual instruments of melody; and in this state the fluvial procession rowed down to Greenwich, and brought back the happy Anne, and the chief prelates and nobility of the kingdom in her train; the minstrels playing; the guns from every ship firing its tribute of acclamation as she passed, till she reached the Tower. "As marvellous a discharge as was ever heard there," saluted her as she landed[98]. The king was at the postern gate, and welcomed and kissed her. She returned to the mayor to thank him and the citizens, with many goodly words, and then entered the Tower, amid fresh melodies of joyous sounds,

[97] Hall, 799. Cranmer briefly describes this procession on the river, and the 'great melodie' of the music 'which, as is reported, was as comely done as never was like, in any time nigh to our remembrance.' Ellis, 2. p. 37.

[98] Ib. Cranmer notices that the peal of guns on her landing at the Tower at five o'clock that afternoon 'was such as hath not been heard like, a great while before.' Lett. Ellis, 2. p. 37. Henry loved both music and the noise of artillery. Perhaps the sublime of sound is more felt from that than from any other source, except thunder.

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while the gazing people that stood on every shore to behold the sight, were so numerous, that "he that saw it not would not believe it[99]."

She reposed on the next day in that place, which but three years afterwards was destined to exhibit so melancholy a contrast to this day of triumph; and on Saturday moved in the most royal state to Westminster. All the streets, from the Tower to Temple Bar, were railed and gravelled, and hung with scarlet and crimson cloths, rich tapestry, velvet, and golden tissue. Every window was full of ladies, witnessing the exaltation of their sex, and its rewarded virtue, in Anne's magnificence. All the orders of the state, judges, knights, barons, earls, and marquesses, were seen in due succession richly accoutred till in her uncovered litter of white cloth of gold, led by two palfreys, the fairy of the day appeared, in a white tissue and mantle, her head circled with a coronet of rich stones, modestly hanging down, while a canopy of cloth of gold, supported by gilt staves, with silver bells, was held over her by sixteen chosen knights. Trains of ladies in superb crimson velvet, followed; and pageants, as fanciful as city poets could invent, with fountains of wine, as abundant as civic riches could supply, greeted her eyes and delighted the populace at the intervals appointed for their stations[100]. In the middle of Westminster Hall

[99] Hall, 800.

[100] Hall, 801. Cranmer says that 'the procession contained most part of the nobles of the realm, and extended half a mile in length.' Lett. Ellis, 2. p. 38. The king did not accompany her in either movement, but 'came always before her secretly in a barge, as well from Greenwich to the Tower as from the Tower to York place.' Cranmer, ib. He let her have all the state and acclamations.

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she was taken out of her litter; a rich service of spice, subtleties, ippocras, and other wines were brought her, which she sent down to her ladies; and when they had drank, she gave her courteous thanks to the lords and ladies who had accompanied her, and retiring with a few ladies to Whitehall, went privately in her barge to the king, in his manor palace[101], where she prepared for her next day's gratifying, but fatiguing pomp. At this moment she appears to have been highly popular; and with such attractions, how could she be otherwise? The smiling beauty of a lovely face, is the nearest representation we can have on earth, of a celestial countenance. It is the most expressive picture that we can behold of what is heavenly, and as yet invisible. If its magic were not daily experienced, the effect might be called supernatural. It partakes of this character. It acts at once upon the admiring reason, the taste, and the sensibility, and all that is unearthly within us feels and obeys its eloquent, its irresistible appeal. The features and deportment of Anne Boleyn had this witchery, and no voice was heard to blame her unassuming exaltation.

The next day, Whitsunday, the first of June, she was crowned queen of England[102]; and an act of parliament, in the ensuing year, declared that her

[101] Hall, 802.

[102] Hall, p. 802–5, details this ceremony with his usual minuteness, and with all the glee of a Pepys, whose Memoirs display much of a congenial soul. Cranmer also briefly describes it, and adds, 'I did set the crown on her head.' Ellis, 2. p. 39. The lord of Miherve, who was in England at the time, says, that on this occasion the great lords of the country came and did her honor and reverence by their presence. 'They could not have shewn more if she had been of royal parentage. The invention of all, great and little, then manifested itself. The spirits of the

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marriage should be taken for firm and good, and its issue lawful [101].

The conduct of Francis on this marriage was frank and friendly to Henry. He wrote very earnestly to cardinal Tournon, his ambassador at Rome, to desire the pope not to innovate any thing against the English sovereign, as he could not do less than to take such

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English had no rest in honoring her; not to please themselves, I think, but to comply with the king's wish. The lords and ladies made dances and games of various fashions; and huntings in the woods, of unequalled pastime. They engaged in many tournaments. Each placed his lance on his thigh or fought desperately with his sword. They exerted themselves in every pleasant exercise, and all their efforts were gratifying. Besides all these joyous and charming amusements, all made themselves very anxious and attentive to serve their new mistress well. Even the king, by a gracious address, often entertained her with great honor, and held much kind intercourse with her: not as king, or as a lord, or as a husband, but as one who wished to be cherished by her. If a pensive thought arose in her mind he strove to divert it; if she was offended he soothed her, and trying only to make her satisfied with him, he sought every means of pleasing her.' Crapelet's Lettres, Henry 8. App. 171. This is a valuable delineation of Henry's temper and manners at the age of 42.

[100] On Sunday the seventh of the following September 1533, the queen was delivered of the celebrated ELIZABETH. Hall, 805. This is the usual date, and tho disputed by some, is the right one, as the original letter to the king announcing the birth (now in the British Museum, MSS. Harl. No. 283,) is dated on this day from Greenwich. Cranmer's letter to Hawkins erroneously makes it a week later. The foreign nobleman quoted in the preceding note, describes her as much alarmed about her delivery, as she felt it approach. 'O how she began

Se plaindre et faire la dolente
En voix piteuse et parolle tremblante!

O what distress the king experienced to see his beloved friend in such a sad condition! I believe he would rather that the child had been dead. But she was delivered without the torment she expected. The king was in extreme anxiety and mourning for her; but when the desired period came, her courage became more assured. She disposed herself for the great effort without fear. Heaven favored her wishes, and without too much pain, she gave him a fine child of a lively color, in some features resembling its father, but much more like the queen its mother. It was beautiful in the perfection of its face and proportion; so that all thought that the influence of the stars had been most favorably shed upon her birth.' Crapelet, p. 172, 3. With this warmth of feeling was the nativity of our illustrious ELIZABETH described, within three years after it took place, by one who was not a partisan of the Reformation.

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proceedings for a great injury to himself. The pontiff received this message with displeasure, and inquired why he should forbear, when Henry was daily innovating against him [104]. Bonner supported Dr. Bennett's exertions, and apprized his court, that the pope was indeed proceeding with the process, but only to create delay. By doing something, he kept the imperialists quiet, who demanded the process; and by doing nothing effectual, he hoped to gratify Henry. His wish was to keep both parties satisfied with him [105]. In July, Dr. Hawkins obtained a conference with the emperor, hoping to sooth him to milder resolutions; But Charles maintained a Spanish inflexibility. His answers were brief, but accommodating. "The matter was none of his. She was his aunt, and an orphan. He must see for her, and her daughter was his cousin [106]." These unfavorable sentences discovered his unaltered determination; and the envoy unable to persuade him to any change, returned home to inform the king of his unavailing solicitation.

Henry had now, as the pope had wished, married in his own way, but instead of wisely letting it so pass, and of affronting him no more, Clement chose to issue his bull, annulling Cranmer's judgment; and on 11th July, to proceed unnecessarily to a mortal defiance, by a provisional excommunication of the king, unless he separated from his new wife before the following September [107]. The meanest sovereign

[104] Dr. Bennett's letter of 13th June 1533.
[105] His letter of 14th June 1533.
[106] Ib. Lett. in the State Paper Office.
[107] Pallavicini says, that this was done in a private a sitting of the con-

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in Europe could not have submitted to such a prostration of all dignity, as to obey a mandate like this. The poorest subject, from the common feelings of a man, would have resisted it, and irreconcileable hostility alone could now be expected to follow. It compelled Henry, for his nation's honor and welfare, to break all bondage to a foreign power, who thus, while in servitude to another, strove to become the master and the tyrant of his ancient friend. The catastrophe he provoked, to please his own oppressor, rapidly advanced. Henry recalled home the duke of Norfolk, whom he had sent on an embassy to Francis, to attend him to his meeting with the pope [108]; and when Clement, finding imperial ships withheld, sailed in October, in French gallies to visit the king of France, at Marseilles, the resolute Gardiner was instructed to be there, as his sovereign's representative [109], but more to watch than to act [110]. The pope at first intimated, that he would annul the ancient marriage, if Henry would send a proxy to appear for him [111]. But such a vacillating man, who would

Pope's interview with Francis at Marseilles.

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sistory, Charles and Catherine urging it, p. 285. The pope prolonged the allotted time to the end of October. See N. Raince's letter of 26th Sept. Ap. Le Grand, v. 3. p. 569-571.

[108] Herb. 358, 9.

[109] Herb. 359. Clement reached Marseilles the 11th October, entered it the 12th. Francis arrived on the 13th, and the next day kissed the papal foot. Le Grand, 1. p. 267.

[110] Francis complained, in his instructions to Bellay, that he found the English envoys without power to act, and that tho he temporised for them, none came. Le Grand, 3. p. 578-9. The probability is, that Francis was mistrusted; and the violent measures he adopted against Lutherans and heretics in France immediately after this meeting with the pope, and the persecuting bull he had previously obtained from him at Rome, dated of the kal. September 1533, and the other which he had at Marseilles, 4 id. November, justify the mistrust. See them in Le Grand, 3. p. 597-22.

[111] The archbishop of York and bishop of Durham thus state this to the

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say at Rome what he unsaid at Bologna, and vibrated back again at Marseilles, to re-oscillate when he returned to the Vatican, was not to be trusted with any previous submission to his power. Francis, who wanted a temporary accommodation for his temporary purposes, was so thwarted by the steady and determined conduct of Gardiner, that he ordered his minister to request of Henry to send any other ambassador to him thereafter, than this unmanageable bishop of Winchester[112]. The pope deliberately confessed to Francis, at Marseilles, and after to his ambassadors at Rome, "that he thought Henry's marriage with Catherine, and its dispensation, were both null and invalid in law; and so he would have declared it to be by his definitive sentence and final decree, if private affections and human respect had not prevented it[113]." But, governed by the power which he hated, he continued, by his public acts,

king, as what they had apprized Catherine: 'the pope said at Marseilles, that if your grace would send a proxy thither, he would give sentence for your highness against her, because he knew that your cause was good and just.' Lett. 21st May 1534, in Herb. 375.

[112] See his instructions, Le Grand, 3 p. 587. The pope was now settling his mind so strongly against Henry, that he offered Francis, at this meeting, the duchy of Milan, if he would allow himself and the emperor to act against the English king. Fr. instruct. Le Grand, 3. p. 565.

[113] Burnet, 6. p. 115. This important admission of the pope is stated in the letter of Francis to Henry, written just after Clement's death, and printed by Burnet and Collier, from a copy indorsed by Cromwell, v. 5. p. 149. The whole of the passage is, 'Clemens papa Septimus, ex certâ et deliberata animi sui sententia, cum nobis ipsis, Marsiliæ tunc existentibus, tum aliis sæpe oratoribus nostris tunc Romæ agentibus, palam ac vivæ vocis suæ oraculo confessus fit, et expresse declaravit se sentire dictam dispensationem et matrimonium cum dicta domina Catherina contractum fuisse et esse nulla prorsus, et de jure invalida; quodque eadem sic fuisse et esse per suam sententiam definitivam, seu finale decretum, declarasset pronunciasset et definivisset, si privati quidem affectus et respectus humani non obstitissent.' Burn. v. 6. p. 115. Collier App. p. 26–8.

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to oppose his private conviction; and in November, another envoy arrived from England — a mental counterpart to Gardiner—in the as- unfearing and fiercer Bonner. At the end of July, Henry had signed an appeal from the condemnation of the pope to a general council [114], which he had sent to Bonner about the middle of August, to intimate to Clement, if he thought fit [115]. On the 8th November, he thought the time had come to use it, and went into the pope to announce and read it [116]. The attending personages endeavored to prevent his advance, but he resolutely persevered, compelled an audience, and began his address [117], which, being interrupted by Clement's going to the consistory, he resumed in the afternoon; and when he read that part of his commission which made the appeal, the pope could not conceal his indignation [118]. A visit of the French king suspended for awhile the angry scene [119]. Two

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[114] It was dated 30th July 1533. See it in Rymer, v. 14. p. 476.

[115] Strype has printed the king's letter, dated at Windsor, 18th August 1532, in his life of Cranmer, v. 2. p. 682.

[116] He describes the curious scene at full length, in his letter to the king of 13th November, printed in Burnet. v. 6. p. 49-61.

[117] On this first part, Bonner says, 'the pope having this for a breakfast, only pulled down his head to his shoulders, after the Italian fashion;' said he was going to the consistory and promised him another audience in the afternoon. ib. 51.

[118] 'He fell in a marvellous great choler and rage, not only declaring the same by his gesture and manner, but also by words. He was continually folding up and unwinding of his handkerchief, which he never doth but when he is tickled to the very heart with great choler;' he had the words read again; 'which done, his holiness, not a little chafing with himself, asked what I had more.' ib. p. 54. So gaily could Bonner write of his spiritual chief, for whose successor he afterwards persecuted so furiously. In the same spirit he mentions, 'wherein the pope *snarling* and saying.' p. 55.

[119] The pontiff paid Francis great attention. Their conference lasted three quarters of an hour. 'In conclusion the French king, making great reverence, took his leave; but the pope went with him to the chamber door: and albeit the king would have suffered him further to

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days afterwards, the persevering Bonner returned to the pontiff's palace, and after waiting two hours, while Clement was "blessing beads, and suffering ladies and nobles to kiss his foot[120]," he asked for his answer, and received it in terms half civil and half resenting[121]. But when he was afterwards directed by Cranmer to make this prelate's appeal from the pope's censures[122] to a general council, the unwelcome objection to the papal authority, and that peremptory manner in Bonner, which seems to have been the habit of his mind, and the arrogant tendency of his character, so irritated the pope, that he threatened to throw the provoking doctor into a cauldron of melted lead, or to burn him alive. Bonner having himself no taste for the agonies of fire, to which he afterwards doomed so many without pity, was glad to make a precipitate escape[123].

The pontiff attained at this interview his favorite point of marrying his niece, the too-celebrated Catherine de Medicis, to Henry, the second son of

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have gone, yet his holiness, following him out of the door, took him by the hand, and brought him to the door of the second chamber, where, making great ceremonies the one to the other, they departed, the pope returning to his chamber.' Bonner's Lett. ib. 56. They had been as mutually respectful when Francis entered: 'Incontinently the pope made great haste to meet him, and even at the very door they met together, the French king making very low curtesy, putting off his bonnet, and keeping it off till he came to a table in the pope's chamber.' ib. p. 55.

[120] Ib. 58.

[121] 'He said, his mind towards your highness always hath been to minister justice, and do pleasure unto you, although it hath not been so taken. He never unjustly grieved your grace, that he knoweth, nor intendeth hereafter to do; but, as there was a constitution of pope Pius, his predecessor, that did condemn all such appeals, he therefore did reject your grace's appeals, as frivolous, forbidden and unlawful.' ib. 58.

[122] See it in Burnet, Hist. v. 6. p. 61. It is dated 22d November, and therefore must have been delivered by Bonner to the pope, after he left Marseilles.

[123] Burn. v. 1. p. 212.

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1533. Francis, and godson of the English king; and having made four French cardinals, on 12th November quitted an interview that seems to have decided the fate, and precluded the universal prevalence of any ecclesiastical reformation in France[124]. The English government in December met in council, to deliberate on its future conduct towards the pope and hierarchy, and settled its plan in nineteen resolutions[125]. In pursuance of these, a strong representation was made to the French cabinet, of the consequences that were about to ensue in England, to the destruction of the pope's authority there, from his persisting hostilities[126]; a communication obviously meant to be imparted to Clement as a serious

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[124] The duke of Norfolk, one of the heads of the English cabinet, in a letter from Westminster, of 27th January 1534, to the chief French minister, intimates this new papal tendency of the mind of Francis: he says, 'It seems to me, from many circumstances, that since the interview, the king your master is a great deal too much inclined to favor the pope, even to the detriment of his own interest, jurisdiction and regality. Why has he purchased a bull of the pope to do justice in his kingdom, as if he thereby said, that before he obtained that, he did not possess that prerogative? under the color of this, the pope and his successors will usurp on the royal jurisdiction.' Lett. App. Le Grand, 3. p. 592.

[125] See them in Strype, Mem. Eccl. v. 1. p. 231–5. 'One of the orders was, that letters should be delivered to advertize the French king thereof.' 235.

[126] It was by the duke of Norfolk, in the above letter, in which he says, 'I wish the pope had been otherwise counselled, for I assure you that things are in such a train here, that if he will continue in his pertinacity to favor the emperor more than our two masters, and from fear or favor of him to suppress the equity of our king's just cause, he will give irrevocable occasion to him, and all his subjects, to seek every means that can be thought to impugn his see and authority, which he usurps so unjustly. Many questions and conclusions have been recently raised by famous clerks, prelates and doctors of this kingdom, greatly to the pope's prejudice. Among others, they affirm that he has no authority beyond his own diocese of Rome; and that what pontiffs have assumed over all christendom, has no force but from the sufferance of the princes whom, by the color of sanctity, they have blinded. If the king were to allow freedom to these discussions, the pope would not only lose all obedience in this kingdom, but all which hangs on his authority would be in perpetual hatred and abomination.' Lett. 6. p. 591.

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and final premonition. But it did not prevent Clement from rushing onward to all the momentous consequences. What the English parliament would do on 30th March, he could not know on the 23d. And what was done so decisively on the 23d, must have been some time in meditation. What the parliament of England in that month did, was only to forbid all future payments to Rome; to empower the archbishop of Canterbury to grant the dispensations and faculties which had been sought from the papacy, and to settle the succession on the posterity of queen Anne [127]. It expressly paused from adopting any decisive measure to destroy the supremacy of the pontiff, before the parliament broke up, and so far left the avenue for conciliation unclosed. It was therefore Clement's own wilful—and by the most informed part of the nation—not unwelcomed act, which forcibly broke the connection between himself and Henry. On the 23d March 1533, eight months before the statute abolishing the papal supremacy was passed, the pontiff chose to yield to the imperial cardinals in his consistory [128], and to place himself in direct battle against the parliament and the king of England, by pronouncing a final sentence, that Catherine's marriage was valid and cano-

[127] Lord Herbert summarily recapitulates these. p. 371, 2.

[128] The bishops of Paris and Mascon, in their letter to Francis from Rome, 23d March, state, that the measure was proposed and carried before 22 cardinals. Le Grand, 3. p. 631. Pallavicini remarks, that on 8th January 1534, the emperor stimulated Clement 'acriter,' to issue this sentence, who yet hesitated to give the decisive signature till 23d March. A few days after, he states, that Henry's letters came, which offered to obey the sentence, and desiring that the excommunication should be delayed. p. 287. He adds, 'this event, and Catherine's death, made many accuse the pope of 'nimia festinationis.' Bellay says two days after. l. 20. p. 54.

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nical; that Henry was bound to cohabit with her as his wife; that he should be compelled to do so; that all molestations against this marriage were unlawful; and that he should be for ever silent against it[129]. The French ambassador at Rome felt that it was contrary to the promises which the pope had given them[130], and to what they had communicated to Henry[131]; and anticipated all the evils that this unwise brief or bull would occasion[132]; but not being sure of his court's secret intentions about it[133], lamented, rather than remonstrated against it, while the imperials, at Rome, celebrated their triumph with bonfires and artillery[134]. Clement had been hurried into the measure, and sat up all night to consider how to remedy it[135]. He did not survive his rash act, which irrecoverably committed the papacy to its

[129] Some of the cardinals wished the sentence to be immediately sent off, but Clement deferred that till after Easter. Bell. l. 20. p. 54.

[130] So they say, 'What moved us—not to remind him of the promises and assurances which he had given us to the contrary.' Le Grand, 3, p. 632.

[131] 'If I stay longer,' says the prelate of Paris, 'the king of England may be suspicious. Indeed I do not doubt that he will be terribly discontented with me for the assurances which I sent him by my last letters, and on which perhaps he will have broken up his parliament.' ib. 633.

[132] He says he had endeavored to prevent 'un des plus grands troubles qui de long-tems fut en l'Eglise.' ib. 634.

[133] The strong intimation of the insincerity and connivance of Francis on this subject, is thus conveyed by his ambassadors in their dispatch to him: 'Sire! for the reasons which I of Paris will personally mention to you, we were in doubt if what has been done may have proceeded *from your secret intention*, to us unknown.' ib. 632.

[134] Ib. 634. 'Crying out, Imperio et Espagne.'

[135] B. Bellay mentions this: 'Indeed we are told, that his holiness has been surprised as in the first sentence. All this night he has been with doctors to think of remedies; and is so annoyed and tormented, according to all appearances, that it is not possible he could be more so.' Lett. ib. 635. Burnet says, that two days after, a courier arriving with Henry's submission, the subject was again brought before the consistory by the advice of the wiser cardinals; but the imperial interest prevailed, and confirmed the sentence. v. 1. p. 136.

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doom in England, more than six months[136]. In England, the effect was most irritating. Books immediately came out, to prove that the papal supremacy was an usurped authority[137]; and the king himself employed his pen on that subject[138]. Of these publications, the most effectual and most celebrated, was that of Dr. Sampson[139], which cardinal Pole selected for the theme of his acrimonious retaliation.

Paul III. succeeded Clement, and followed in his steps. When the English parliament met in November, the decisive act was introduced, annulling for ever the pope's supremacy in this country[140];

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[136] Clement died 25th September 1534. Onof Panuinio, Vit. Pont. p. 561. Paul 3 was chosen 13th October. ib. p. 562. As many of our facts press unfavorably on Clement's memory, it will be but just to add Guicciardini's sketches of his character, which the historian has not inserted in his history, and which he drew from the living model before him, and which display much of the whole man.

'Naturally grave, diligent, and assiduous in business; averse from pleasures; orderly and regulated in all things: very repugnant to the execution of what he designed, and therefore always tardy and hesitating. He disliked to grant what was asked, and yet could not resolutely refuse; so that what he conceded seemed always to be from fear, not favor. He was a man of great worth and authority; full of ambition, and of a large and unquiet mind, very desirous of new things. Raised from the lowest degree, by an admirable felicity, to the highest, he had a varying fortune to endure, in which the unfavorable predominated. He died with the odium of his court; mistrusted by sovereigns, and rather respected and hated than liked, because he was thought to be avaricious, of little faith, and not disposed to do kindnesses to others. In his conduct he was very serious, circumspect, and self-conquering. His capacity would have been of the greatest size, if timidity had not so often corrupted his judgment.' Guicc. Ritratti, v. 8. p. 33, 4.

[137] Strype Eccl. Mem. v. 1. p. 229.

[138] Strype, ib. It was printed on occasion of the Act of Supremacy, and was entitled, 'De vera differentia regiæ et ecclesiasticæ potestatis.' Herb. 380.

[139] Strype has inserted part of its translated contents in his Eccl. Mem. v. 1. p. 237–44, and the Latin original in his App. p. 162–174. Its conclusion shows, that it was written after the Supremacy Act had passed.

[140] Hall. 816. Herb. 380. It met the 3d of November. The convocation of the province of York had declared their rejection of the papal

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and enacting, that the king "shall be taken, accepted and reputed the only and supreme head in earth of the church of England;" and another statute, that if after the 1st February 1535, any person should publish and pronounce, by expressions, writing or words, that the king was an heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or usurper, he should be deemed a traitor[141]. From this time Henry proceeded with fearless progression, to emancipate himself and his

supremacy on 1st June 1534; the university of Oxford on 27th June; and the chapter of Worcester on 17th August. See these Acts in Burnet, v. 6. p. 69–74. The king's proclamation against it is dated 25th June. ib. 98–102.

[141] See these Acts in the Statutes of the Realm, vol. 3. p. 492; 508. We may read in those of Hall, the feelings of many on this statute; 'By the which the pope, with all his college of cardinals, with all their pardons and indulgencies, was utterly abolished out of this realm. God be everlastingly praised therefore.' p. 816. On the supremacy we may remark, that Warham, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Canterbury, who had held the see 28 years, said, as Cranmer declared before the commissioners at Oxford, 'That the king ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that the scriptures would bear out this assertion.' Fox, 1702. When we consider the terms of an archbishop's oath to the pope, see before, p. 334, 5, we cannot but infer its incompatibility, in its verbal language, with a prelate's allegiance to his sovereign and to the state, whenever they and the papacy come into collision. It seems to have been an oath framed by those who upheld the primary sovereignty of the papal throne above every civil domination. Pole has the hardihood to deny the consent of the parliament and hierarchy to the supremacy, in the very passage where he shows, that he was absent, and *knew* nothing about it: 'I, who was not there when these things were enacted, most constantly affirm, that no order consented to this thy title of honor. I myself free the nobility and people from so great an infamy, of this most grievous and attempted wickedness. I say, if you had any suffrages at all, they were all forced and extorted from the unwilling; and therefore, that this new honor was not conferred on thee by the will of any one, nor by the consent of all the orders. But how should I know this who was not there? I not only was not there, but I also have not received it from any other person who was present, by what will or consent this was bestowed upon thee; and *yet*, I dare affirm that I know it, because I have more certain indications than the testimony of eyes and ears, which have declared to me the whole thing, and which indications cannot be false.' He then proceeds to talk of the 'regula naturæ, &c.' De Unit. p. 283, 4. Does not a man stultify himself as a witness to facts, who thus pretends to affirm them without either seeing, or hearing about them?

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kingdom from an ecclesiastical domination, which could not have continued without detriment to its intellect, prosperity, and improvements.

Religion was verbally connected with the discussions and purposes of the pope and Henry, but had really no influence with either, in the objects, conduct, or termination of the contest. Both were strict catholics at its beginning and at its end. Both hated, and at that time equally persecuted the reformers. Human passions and worldly interests commenced, continued, and decided it. If Francis had driven Charles out of Italy, Henry would have had his divorce, and the pope have remained the supreme head and the honored sovereign of the English church, till some other convulsion overthrew his dominion. But the imperial sword prevailing, Clement was intimidated, and the British nation became emancipated from religious slavery; from a mercenary ritual; from dogmas without reason, and from much debilitating superstition.

The separation from the papacy was not at first in the contemplation, nor until driven to it by the failure of every other conceivable succedaneum, was it even at the last, in the desire of the English king. However he may have been abused for it by the Romish clergy from that day to the present, no sovereign has deserved more largely their admiration, for his long deference to the papal see; for his persevering endeavors to keep in friendship with it, and for his unequalled patience in waiting to obtain it by solicitation, reasoning, and the course of events. What king can be adduced in history, of his power, spirit and character, who, after becoming so passionately

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in love in the year 1527, yet arrested the impulses of his natural impetuosity, and restrained his own wishes in the dearest object of human sympathy, for nearly six years, until the end of January 1533, before he broke thro every confining bond, and gratified his affection, by the marriage he had so long sighed for. Instead of censuring his imputed vices for the measure, let steady impartiality admire the self-command which he had so long exerted; even the pope had counselled him to take the same step at the commencement of the difficulties. But the king, with a self government scarcely explicable in his imputed character, paused for six years, that he might, if possible, fulfil his own wishes, in a way that would give universal satisfaction to the critical mind and moral feeling of Europe.

The compelled refusal of the pope to gratify the wishes of Henry, was evidence to his own times as to ours, that the battle between the ecclesiastical and civil powers of Europe was then determined. The gigantic scheme projected by many pontiffs, but first boldly attempted by Gregory VII. to be realised, about four hundred and fifty years before, of raising the popedom above the thrones of christendom, and of making all social dignities subordinate to the sacerdotal, was at that time totally defeated, and was perceived to be so, and has never recovered from the disaster. Its three mortal wounds it received at the battle of Pavia, at the sack of Rome, and at the destruction of the French army before Naples; expiring finally with the capture of St. Pol at Landriana.

If the humiliation of the aspiring popedom has

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been a blessing to mankind, it is to Charles V. and to the duke of Bourbon as his general, far more than either to Luther, to Henry, or to Anne Boleyn, that the world are indebted, and to whom we should be grateful for that benefit. They broke down its military strength, at the critical moment when reason was attacking it; and never recovering its temporal independence, it has never been able to re-organise its mental domination, tho it may be now attempting it[142].

[142] That what Henry the 8th did in religion, he performed not as a Protestant but as a Catholic, is justly remarked by Heylin in the preface to his Ecclesia Restaurata, 1661. After calling him 'a prince of an undaunted spirit; the master of as great a courage as the world had,' he adds, 'and the work required it. He durst not else have grappled with that mighty adversary in the see of Rome. Finding the pope the greatest obstacle to his desires, he first divested him by degrees of his supremacy; and finally extinguished his authority in the realm of England, without noise or trouble, to the great admiration and astonishment of the rest of the Christian world. But for his own part, he adhered *to his old religion*; severely persecuted those who dissented from it, and died in that faith and doctrine which he had sucked in with his mother's milk.' Even Cromwell, who was the chief minister that advised and effected the king's most striking changes, declared himself at his execution to be a Catholic. But all Henry's court, and parliament, and nation, were born and educated in the Romish faith, and all that they did was therefore the acts of Catholics. A different state of things began in Edward VI. and Elizabeth. They were trained up to Protestant principles, and so were the children of most of the subjects of Henry VIII. The acts of these were therefore those of Protestants. If any of the preceding Catholics threw off opinions and habits which they thought wrong, they were still Catholics who so acted, and their decisions were the decisions of Catholics discerning what was erroneous, and preferring what their reason and conscience perceived to be preferable. Their children, being educated as Protestants, acted on different principles; they judged as Protestants as their fathers had judged as Catholics. This distinction is important. The change of Catholics into the new opinions, was the verdict of Catholics in their favor; who met them with a Catholic mind, and examined them with Catholic prepossessions. The English reformation was thus the wise and good work of the Catholics themselves; correcting the abuses of their own church, and establishing a purer system of Catholic christianity. Protestantism is Catholic christianity reformed from its papal corruptions. Romanism is sectarianism, compared with apostolical christianity.

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CHAP. XXVII.

STATE OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN HENRY AND THE POPE —GREAT OBJECTS CONNECTED WITH IT—PERSECUTIONS OF THE NEW OPINIONS IN ENGLAND—IMPOSTURE OF THE NUN OE KENT—TREASONABLE PRACTICES AGAINST HENRY—EXECUTION OF SEVERAL MONKS AND FRIARS—ARREST AND DECAPITATION OF BISHOP FISHER AND SIR THOMAS MORE.

BOOK I.

If the implacable war which now burst out between Henry and the pope had been but a personal quarrel between them, or had concerned only the divorce, its effects would not have been more extensive or more permanent than those which had resulted from the differences of former pontiffs and sovereigns[1], and would have ceased when Henry married Anne Boleyn, or when Catherine died, or when the injudicious Clement, erring alike by pusillanimity and by violence; at last, in the time when manhood changes into beginning age, rather prematurely, than unexpectedly expired[2]. But instead of then subsiding, it raged with greater fury under his uncompromising successor, Paul III.; to become under the following pontiffs a mortal and perpetuated warfare, which, tho often slumbering, is even yet neither extinguished nor extinguishable, between the English crown and the papal tiara. The truth is, that at Clement's death it was no longer a mere

[1] As those of the popes with the emperors—with the French kings—and with our Henry 1st, Henry 2d, Edward 1st, and Edward 3d.

[2] See before, p. 349.

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personal contest between these two mutually provoked and alternately provoking opponents, with whom it had commenced. The individual king and the individual pope became but the leaders of two great parties, into which the mind of England, as soon afterwards of Europe, rapidly divided itself, and which still divide it. On the part of Rome, the battle, from the direction which the controversy took, was a conflict for the subsistence of the very popedom itself, and of that peculiar hierarchy, sacerdotal polity, doctrines, rites, interests, and superstitions, which, mainly springing from it, had become inseparably interlaced with it. Of still greater moment was the struggle on the part of the English crown: the cause which Henry was impelled onwards to head, was the cause of human nature, human reason, human freedom, and human happiness. It was an effort to rescue England, and consequently mankind, and the mind and worship of religion itself, from sacerdotal despotism, and from the chains and perversions of very artificial, but enslaving and degrading superstitions; to restore the human understanding from imprisonment and servility to the possession and use of its natural freedom and felicity in the cultivation of moral and divine truth; to liberate society from the oppressing and debilitating dominion of dictating and inquisitorial priests, intruding both on domestic and civil concerns, and interposing themselves between the Creator and his creatures; and to re-establish the primeval connection and intercourse between the human heart and its Maker by direct communication, and without any other mediator than the greatest and kindest of all, who with

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such wonderful condescension has placed himself in that relation towards us, expressly to the extinction of every other interferer. Such were the great objects that were fought for by the continuing hostilities between Rome and the English government, and that are still at issue between the papacy and all who dispute its supreme sway. In every mighty struggle the chiefs are but representatives of the great interests they lead, and it is these interests which are the real points at stake in the conflicts that ensue; altho the public eye, looking rarely beyond the surface, sees rather the persons who act, than the causes which actuate, or the consequences that evolve, and which cannot be made the object of material sense[3].

This conflict was not the abruption of any new phenomenon. A warfare, that as it obtained maturity, could not but be most agitating and extensive,

[3] In revising this work for the third Edition, in September 1827, I am struck with the manner in which the apostolical paper, the Quotidienne, at this moment, represents the present conflicts in Portugal, between the papal party there and the existing constitutional government. It puts the subject exactly as the preceding paragraph remarks the fact to have stood under Henry VIII. It is, indeed, the same question at issue now in Portugal, as was in England under Henry, tho with some difference of form, from its being in a more incipient state on the Tagus. Don Pedro, the emperor of Brazil, is the patron of the Portuguese constitutional government, with which some religious reformation is inevitably connected as an ulterior result. To his younger brother, Don Miguel, the apostolical or papal adherents look. The observations of their Parisian journalist are, 'two princes, two brothers, Don Pedro and Don Miguel, appear at this moment to hold in suspense the policy and the destiny of the world. Objects by turns of hope and fear, their steps are reckoned; their fortunes are watched. Whatever may be the qualities of these princes, we must seek and see something else than their persons in that interest which they excite. What then are they? Whom do they represent? They represent two systems which now divide the world, and dispute the conquest of it. The struggle is in the mind; and people wish to personify it, that they may settle the dispute by the sword.' It is the same intellectual conflict, under some other modifications, which, in this year, 1827, is raging in Spain.

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between the state and the church of christian Europe; and between its lay and priestly mind, had been gradually advancing on the world from the close of the twelfth century to the fourteenth, when it assumed enough of the forms of avowed battle to alarm the possessioned ecclesiastics, as we have detailed in a preceding work[4]. The progress of the attack was suspended by the causes there alluded to; but the assailing principles and feelings only gathered strength and diffusion by the compulsory quiet and endured delay, and were working out many of the desired changes by peaceful and progressive conquest, when the attack on Luther, still more than his first attacks on Rome, brought on an explosion which made violence and war the future accompaniments of the intellectual combat on the Germanic continent. The same opposing principles and interests came as much into actual and resolute battle in England, when Henry's persistence in his divorce, his determining second marriage, the emperor's resenting demands, and Clement's fearing obedience to the imperial dictates, brought on the impassioned engagement.

It is manifest that for six years after the divorce question began, Henry had no intention or desire of any religious reformation. And if Clement had not allowed the emperor to have driven him, for political purposes, even more than from family pride, into a resistance, and into procedures against the king of England, which irritated and forced this prince, for his own safety, into a fracture of the Roman influence and power in his dominions, the papal supremacy

[4] See Hist. England, Middle Ages, v. 5.

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would not in his reign have been abolished, nor that religious revolution have been favored and effected, which at last was, by slow degrees, so far advanced in England by his deciding measures, as to be completed afterwards with less difficulty and better means. But as the hostilities of the popedom against him roused him to new measures of defensive aggression, to avert or subdue what was endangering him, the conflict assumed the shape, not merely of vindictive, but of deadly battle. The deposition of the king, or the downfal of the papal power in Britain, became the visible alternative. No medial event seemed likely to take place, or was in the end contemplated by either.

As the conflict advanced, it became necessary for the component parts of the English hierarchy to choose which side they would adhere to in its progress. Its secular classes were the least endangered. The bishops and their subordinate dignities, and the parochial incumbents, who form the national clergy of every country, generally, and with exceptions that were no where numerous but in the northern districts, united themselves with their sovereign, tho opposing his pecuniary exactions. But the regular and anomalous divisions, who were no part of the most ancient ecclesiastical fabric—the monks and the fryars—of whom the latter were intruded novelties, not three hundred years old[5], being those whom the reason and piety of the reading public, and the

[5] Hist. Eng. Middle Ages. v. 5. We may remark that the Catholic German bishops desired to be as liberal as our own, for on 21st June 1539, cardinal Farnezi wrote to Paul 3, 'Le prelati *catholici* di Alemagna sono, in vero, piu desiderosi de liberta, cha zelosi della religione.' Ep. Poli. p. 290.

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pride, the displeasure, and the rapacity of its superior classes, desired to see curtailed or divested of their luxurious state, competing ambition, domineering arrogance, and misused wealth, felt themselves to be in peril from every diminution of the papal power; and therefore stoutly upheld it in all its pretensions, and fiercely and indignantly resisted every contrary innovation[6].

Thus the English ecclesiastics divided themselves into two opposing tho unequal bodies, as soon as the king and parliament took their resolute stand. But it was not a case of two social divisions, ranging themselves in opposing ranks, to dispute with the harmless missiles of our verbal armories. It soon involved them in bodily and treasonable battle. The bulk of one of these adverse bodies resolved to link themselves with the Roman hierarchy against the official dignities of the land; and as they roused to their support all the population whom they could influence, this association placed the king in a civil war with a numerous portion of his people; and put the whole of these insurrectionary multitudes under the secret governance of a vindictive foreign potentate against him.

[6] In our remarks on the monks and fryars, it is our wish to be always understood to speak of their most conspicuous and active members at this period, and of the habits and temper of their greater bulk, and therefore always to assume and to admit that they contained many worthy, pious, informed and excellent individuals, who would have done honor to any institutions, to any age, and to any country. But it was because these were the exceptions and not the general rule, that their orders had become discredited and unpopular. If the rest had been like them, no monasteries or fryars would have been any where expunged. Mankind love and protect the truly good; but the more cordially hate and attack those who put on the venerated appearance: and when the maskers exceed the realities, these suffer, tho unjustly, because the discrimination becomes an impracticability.

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That the one party struggled as conscientiously as the other, it would be unjust to both to doubt. The most barefaced interestedness rarely, if ever, perceives itself to be so. The subtle and ductile mind supplies pretexts to every one, in favor of all that his inclinations patronise; and no man, not even the worst, is a scoundrel in his own belief, however obviously he is so to every other human judgment. Hence, altho the contest between the old system and the emerging new one was really that of accumulated corruptions against reasonable reformations[7]; of antiquated bigotries against wiser religion; of injurious superstition against enlightened feeling; of moral evils against moral improvements; of tradition against history; of human imaginations against scriptural truth; and of pompous ceremony against apostolic simplicity: yet the friends of Romish despotism would not perceive the contrast, nor its assailants allow any thing for the sincerity of their opposition, nor for the justness of any retaliated imputation on themselves, as they strove to achieve the mutations they pursued. On contemplating the conduct of both, the impartial truth seems to be, that vices were so abundantly mixed by many of the respective partisans, with all that was laudable in the dispute, as to justify their mutual criticisms on each other, altho

[7] The letter of Fox, bishop of Winchester, to Wolsey, is sufficiently strong on this subject: 'All that belonged to the ancient integrity of the clergy, and especially of the monks, was so depraved by licences and corruptions, or so abolished and spoilt by the ill effects and length of time, that in my advanced age, they had taken away all hope of ever seeing a perfect reformation in my diocese. The reformation of the clergy and all sacred matters, will please *the people who have been long barking at them.*' See it in Strype, Ecc. App. 25–7.

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not the virulence, which disgraced every one who used it.

The rapacity, pride, turbulence, impiety, and vice, which repeatedly emerged among some of the lay patrons of the better course, induced many a good mind to remain with what they disapproved, from the dread of something worse succeeding. While the same vices and detected profligacy, and visible corruptions among the upholders of the existing system kindled an indignant zeal, which multiplied the numbers, and fortified the resolution, of the assailing reformers. All these things connected so much passion with the struggle, that a Marian and Sylla contest under the regal standard on one side, and the papal banner on the other, impended on the English nation, and in some degree occurred, tho not to the extent expected, and by some desired. Yet enough contest, conspiracy, and revolt, took place, to anger and disease the minds of both the king and his adversaries, till crime and bloodshed lost their repelling character, and were meditated and reciprocated with unfeeling retaliation.

From this state of things, as we contemplate the last twelve years of Henry's reign, we cannot but feel that we are approaching a period when a new spirit and character emerged in the king, in his cabinet, and in his people; presenting no longer a proud and glorious exception to the temper of his age, and to the practice of other potentates, but exhibiting a mutation from clemency, to the violence and cruelties by which most nations in that fierce and angry day were afflicted and disgraced. It is

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lamentable that a nature so lovely in its kind sensibilities as the human has repeatedly displayed itself in every age and country to be, should yet be convertible to that stony hardness; that malevolent ferocity; that unpitying sternness, and that strange enjoyment of a fellow-creature's suffering, or indifference to it, which common life, ill-reasoning philosophy, and public history, so often present to our moral contemplation. Both the angel and the demon are competitors within us; and we too often give the latter the sovereignty to our own wretchedness, when the nobler spirit would have guided us to honor, wisdom, and felicity.

The evil actions were of two descriptions; persecutions for new opinions on religion, and punishment for new offences against the state. The liberality of Henry to those who wished the errors and vices of the papal church to be reformed, has already been noticed[8]. Sir Thomas More, who had a contrary taste, is his witness, that he was "never willing to put any man into ruffle or trouble of conscience[9]." And even in the angry period of 1537, after the sanguinary contest had begun, his virulent opponent, already noticed, still in a private letter acknowleges that he was naturally benign and merciful[10]. Nor till his contest with the pope had exasperated his feelings and alarmed his judgment out of its true balance, is any theological cruelty fairly imputable

[8] See vol. i. ch. 2. p. 39, 44–7.

[9] Ib. p. 49.

[10] Cardinal Pole, writing to Cardinal Carpensis, says of Henry, 'They depraved him, who was by nature most propense to religion, peculiarly observant of the institutions of his ancestors, modest, *benign*, and spontaneously liberal and *clement*.' Ep. Poli, Quirinis, Edit. v. 3. p. 39.

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to him [11]. His favorite cardinal, who never exhibited any cordiality for religion, either as a sentiment, a principle, a truth, or a moral guide, was the first religious persecutor in his reign. He led the king to write against Luther [12]. He formed treaties to oppress those who favored his doctrines [13]. He caused inquisitorial visitations to be made in England to suppress them [14], and had all the books on Luther's opinions called in [15], and the diocese of London strictly visited, and the heretics cited and made to abjure [16]. So he prohibited the English translations of the Scriptures, and the religious publications of the reformers [17]. He inveighed against them in the papal court [18]; and in his dying breath, expressed the bitterness of his enmity to those [19] from whom England has derived so much light and blessing.

His spirit descended to his successor in the highest legal dignity of England, sir Thomas More, who presents to us in his character the revolting compound of being as coarse in his controversial writings [20], and

[11] Burnet remarks justly of Henry: 'It does not appear that cruelty was natural to him: for, in twenty-five years none had suffered for any crime against the state, but Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Stafford, duke of Buckingham. The former he prosecuted in obedience to his father's last command at his death. His severity to the other was imputed to the cardinal's malice. The proceedings were also legal.' Hist. Ref. 1. p. 180.

[12] Strype. Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 51.

[13] See an instance of this in vol. i. ch. 10. p. 278 and 286.

[14] Strype details these, and the names of the numerous persons, and the examinations of some, detected by them of heresy, from original papers. They are not mentioned by Fox, in his Martyrology. Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 114–134.

[15] On 14th May 1521, he issued a commission to all the bishops, abbots, deans and rectors, to have every book of Luther's errors brought in to them, and sent to him. See it in Strype, App. v. 1. p. 20–25. He added a list of forty-two of such errors. See them in Strype, Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 57–61.

[16] Strype, Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 113–134.

[17] Ib. 254.

[18] See before.

[19] See before, p. 305.

[20] The judgment of bishop Atterbury, whose connections with the

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as sanguinary in his bigotry, as he was jocular in his humor, and moral in his life. The first theological cruelties which preceded the rupture with the pope, are therefore not personally imputable to Henry. They were the works of his merry and unfeeling chancellor, and of the old hierarchy, and of those who afterwards acted on its elder plans and principles before the new statute had been enacted to disarm their unsparing animosity. More's conduct to Bilney, burnt at Norwich; to Bayfield, whom the flames, under his co-operation, consumed in Smithfield; to Petit, whom he imprisoned till the worthy citizen died of his dungeon-sufferings; to Tewkesbury, the honest leather-seller, who was taken from More's own house, without the king's writ, to the stake; to Bainham, the Gloucestershire gentleman and Temple student, whom he whipped in his own garden, and had racked in the town to extort accusations of others, and whom he had finally brought to his house at Chelsea, and chained there to a post for two nights, and at last burnt; to the learned Oxford youth, John Frith, whom, not contented with opposing by his pen, he persecuted him till he became another victim of the flames[21]; and even to

Pretender led him to look with favor on all that befriended Rome, may be taken as no unfriendly estimation of More. 'His Latin answer to Luther has thrown out the greatest heap of nasty language that perhaps was ever put together. This book is nothing throughout but downright ribaldry, without a grain of reason to support it!'

[21] These instances are enumerated by Strype, in his Eccl. Mem. v. 1. p. 310–6. from contemporary authorities; and are also noticed by Burnet, Ref. v. 1. p. 163–70; and see Mr. Southey's Book of the Church, v. 2. p. 18. His narrative of Bilney and Fisher's persecutions, p. 12–35, are very impressive. More, in his own works, denies that while chancellor he used torments, or caused Protestants 'to be bound on to a tree in his garden, and there piteously beaten; except a boy, another person who was mad, and disturbed people at divine service, and

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the man Silver, whom he liberated, not from humanity or reason, but for his witty repartee[22]: these lamentable, and in the eye of reason and of true and enlightened religion, inexcusable barbarities, were achievements of this too-largely extolled man, which gave to such atrocities the impressive sanction of his high character and popularity, and therefore must have operated like an education of his sovereign's mind to similar cruelties, when his passions became strongly excited, and his worldly interests endangered[23].

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others for robbery, murder or sacrilege.' He adds, 'of all that ever came into his hand for heresy, saving the sure keeping of them, else had never any of them any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a filip on the forehead.' Engl. Works, 901. But More, in a letter to his daughter, admits that Cromwell reminded him, that when chancellor, he had examined heretics, whether they believed the pope to be the head of the church, and *used to compel* them to make a precise answer thereunto: he also intimated to More, that he caused them to be *burned* for denying it, for he argues if they were *well burnt* for that, so would he be rightly beheaded, for denying the king to be so.' Lett. in Singer's App. to Roper, p. 156, 7.

[22] More, in conveying him to be burnt, punned on his name, as if he had no heart, at a moment so distressing to every natural sensibility. 'Silver must be tried in the fire.' It was the lucky thought of the man to answer, 'Ay! but quick-silver will not abide it.' This paronomasia had the effect which reason and pity had failed to produce. More was delighted with it, and dismissed him. Strype, p. 316. So little has principle to do with persecution.

[23] It is peculiarly painful to observe More's persecuting bigotry, because, when he was younger, Erasmus had remarked his piety, but had characterized him with a superlative as peculiarly remote from all superstition, 'ab omni superstitione alienissimus.' Ep. p. 437. He showed this feature in the first edition of his Utopia, in which he taxed the preachers of that age for corrupting the christian doctrine, and practising on their perversions. p. 56. He even made it one of the maxims of the Utopians, that no one ought to be punished for his religion. p. 173. The censorial paragraphs were omitted in subsequent editions, but Burnet printed the castration. v. 6. p. 16. How deplorably a man may change his moral principles as he becomes entangled or contaminated by the world, we may see from the epitaph which More made on himself. In this he says, 'I profess that I have been 'molestum' to the heretics. 'Hoc *ambitiose* feci.' Ep. Erasmi. p. 1511. Knight's Colet. p. 144, 5. How unconnected is jocularity with humanity! and, we add, how dis-

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In these executions, the prelates who had been made such under the papal system, were the leading coadjutors; and of these, Stokesly the bishop of London was an active chief. But Cranmer, whose first feelings were from the ancient stock, participated in Frith's condemnation[24]. This victim, with the simple young tailor, Hewitt, were consigned to the flames by the consistory of bishops in London, in July 1534[25], and such was the ecclesiastical feeling towards them, that the master of the Temple, and Dr. Cooke, a London rector, desired the people not to pray for the sufferers any more than for dogs[26]; the precise expression which Turkish bigotry has habitually applied to all the christians that surround it. These instances show, that however justifiably we may censure the future cruelties of Henry's go-

tinct from sound understanding—most commonly disadvantageous to it. The habit of looking for the ludicrous, gives the mind an obliquity of vision, which neither perceives nor values the true, the beautiful or the just. Kennett notices the following passage from More's Apologia, in 1533, which expresses his feelings towards those who then thought, as all Great Britain except the Catholics, now think: 'About ten years ago, in the diocese of Lincoln, there were about twelve or fourteen abjured in one town; and at that time, every man that I heard speak thereof, either in the country or elsewhere, appeared very glad that *such a bed of snakes* was so found out and broken. MS. Lansd. No. 979. p. 36.

[24] Hall, 816. Ganganelli, one of the few popes that have done honor to the tiara, says finely, 'Religion is like the firmament; the more it is examined, the greater number of stars will be discovered in it. Like the sea, the more it is observed, the more immense it appears. It never was religion, it was false zeal that pretended her semblance, which has seized fire and sword to compel heretics to abjure their errors, and Jews to become Christians.' v. 4. p. 18.

[25] Hall, 816, 7. If the Roman Catholic church had really been governed by the fathers, whom it sometimes makes its pillars, St. Austin's exhortation would have prevented it from being so sanguinary. 'Let us bewail those who go astray. Let us endeavor to bring them back to their duty; but never give them room for complaint. For we were not sent to strike, but to instruct, and to reprove with mildness, tho with firmness.' Quoted by pope Ganganelli. v. 4. p. 45.

[26] Hall 817.

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vernment, he was not more severe or merciless than the most respected part of the highest orders of the society over which he reigned, and among which he was daily mingling, at the same time chose to be. There was not a sovereign in Europe that, circumstanced as he was, would have acted otherwise than he did, except as to his queens. We have already seen that one of the greatest nobles in France, Montmorency, even counselled Francis to subject his beloved sister Margaret to the deadly punishment of heresy[27]. The king of France spared her, but consigned as many to the flames or to the dungeon, for their opinions, as Henry persecuted, and without his personal provocations and danger[28]. These ecclesiastical severities in England at length excited the interference of the house of commons, that instrument of national good, and that guardian of public happiness, which no other nation was then possessing; and produced, thro them, that repeal of the heresy act which had so long invested the persecuting clergy with their unnatural and deleterious power[29].

[27] See before, p. 189.

[28] Of the persecutions by the catholics in France, Beza's Reveille matin, written 1573, gives us the following specimens: In 1540, the parliament of Provence condemned the inhabitants of Merindol to be burnt as Lutherans, their houses to be rased, and the place to be made uninhabitable. Five years afterwards, the people of Cabrieres, and of twenty-two villages around, were attacked with fire and sword, by the king's lieutenant, and 800 persons were put to death against his plighted faith. p. 5, 6. This was under Francis 1st. The cruelties under his successors are better known. This work contains the fullest detail of the shocking massacre of St. Bartholemew's day, and of the preceding incidents that I have seen. But for a contemporary account of the persons burnt or destroyed for their new opinions on religion, in France, Flanders, Spain and Italy, between 1520 and 1546, I would refer the reader to the 'Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum,' by Jo. Crispinus. Printed in 1560.

[29] See the Act in Statutes of Realm, 3. p. 454. and see Burnet, 1.

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Elizabeth Barton's imposture. 1534.

The machinations of the discontented with foreign powers began a new state of evil in the land[30]; and the first deaths inflicted by the state, were enacted by the parliament, in a clear case of treasonal conspiracy and sacerdotal imposture[31]. A young woman of Aldyngton, in Kent, Elizabeth Barton, being observed to be subject to epileptical affections[32], and to utter in them incoherent phrases[33], was fixed upon by one Masters, the rector of her parish, to be the subject of his tuition and practices. This man made such a report of her to archbishop Warham, that the credulous or coinciding prelate ordered him to observe her vocal effusions, and to communicate them to him[34]. Thus encouraged, the plotting priest assured her that the marvellous words proceeded from

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p. 170, 1, and 146, 7. He calls the execution of Frith, 'the last act of the clergy's cruelty against men's lives.' p. 170. From that time, tho for some interval, a very vicious imitation of its predecessor; it was the state which persecuted as such, not churchmen as the church.

[30] See note 78 of this chapter.

[31] The statute 25th Hen. c. 12. thus characterizes this plot, in its preamble: 'That divers wilful and inobedient subjects, fixed in a contrary opposition to the marriage, perceiving that being but few in numbers, they could not interrupt or hinder the said divorce and separation by any lawful means, did therefore put in the heads of a great number, as well nobles as other spiritual persons, that they had knowlege by revelation, that heaven and the saints were displeased at it, and had revealed, that if the king proceeded to it, and married another, he should not be king a month after, nor, in the divine estimation, be a king one day, nor one hour.' Stat. Realm. v. 3. p. 446.

[32] Moryson, a contemporary, describes it. Her cheeks became pallid. Her body shivered. Her limbs failed her, and she fell down with violent yawnings. Apom. p. 72. I have seen a middle-aged man subject to such fits, who told me he always retained his senses, tho he was convulsed and lost all bodily power and apparent vitality. His feeling in the attack sometimes was, that he thought every part of his body swelled out till he was as big as an elephant; and, for the time, was sure he was so, altho his size never altered.

[33] The Statute mentions, that her 'sickness brought such debility of brain, that she could neither eat nor drink for a long space, and seemed to be in trances, and spake and uttered many foolish words.' p. 447.

[34] Stat. ib.

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inspiration, and that she would be culpable if she hid the marvellous work[35]; thus converting the diseased country girl into a vain imposter. Dr. Bocking, a monk of Canterbury, soon joined in the fraud; and their first object was to make an obscure chapel at Street a lucrative object of popular pilgrimage[36]. She was trained to contortions of body, changes of face, and counterfeited trances; and in them, like the ancient Pythia, to express what her employers could represent to be divine oracles, which, from her were at first against sin, to attract favorable notice, and then against the new opinions and heresies[37], to answer the ends of her Romish masters. These persuaded two thousand persons to meet her, and to wonder at her, at Street. They made her a nun[38], and completely mechanized their puppet. She was then, like the modern sister Nativité of France[39], declared to be "enrapt from the world, and to be told from above many things that should follow for punishment of the sins of princes and the people." Like the late Joanna Southcott, she was "much provoked by her ghostly enemy, the devil[40], and had several visits from him, which her priests described in the books they wrote of her inspirations[41]." Her teachers

[35] Stat. Realm, v. 3. p. 447.

[36] She was therefore led to frame a vision, that she was to recover her health in that place, to which she went, and where, as the Act says, 'by diet, physic and the course of nature, which expelled the matter being cause of her sickness,' she was cured. p. 447.

[37] Stat. ib. 447. [38] Stat. ib. 448.

[39] This lady and her confessor, the abbé Genet, who has published what he says she uttered to him, are complete parallels in our own days to Elizabeth Barton, and Dr. Bocking and Masters.

[40] Stat. 448.

[41] 'There it is expressed, that the devil should appear to the said Elizabeth in divers fashions; sometimes like a man wantonly apparelled; sometimes like a bird deformed, and sometimes otherwise.' Stat. 448.

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made for her, like the Koran, " a letter written in heaven," which the Mary Magdalen came down to deliver to her [42]. Abel, the ecclesiastical agent of queen Catherine joined in the confederacy [43]. The archbishop Warham [44], and Fisher, the prelate of Rochester [45], became her avowed supporters. She was eight or nine years acting her allotted part, and was even taken to Wolsey and to the king; obviously sent to deter both, and especially the cardinal, from pursuing the divorce [46]. Sir Thomas More, altho at first he inclined to discredit her visions, sometime afterwards had an interview with her, and from that time favored her extraordinary pretensions; but wrote to advise her to avoid those predictions, which he felt to be treasonable [47]. The delusion, like a growing

[42] ' Part whereof was limned with golden letters; indeed, written with the hand of a monk of St. Augustins, Canterbury, named Hawkhurst.' Stat. 448. Another of her books stated, that she was invisible at Calais, when an angel took the sacrament in displeasure from the king, and gave it to her. ib.

[43] Hall, 814.

[44] Hall, 810. He praised her to Fisher, and said, ' she had many great visions.' Cromwell's letter. Burnet, App. 124. His regular compiled a book of her ' feigned miracles and revelations,' at Bocking's desire. 811. It was probably this which he sent to Henry.

[45] Hall, 812. Cromwell, in his letter to Fisher, reminds this prelate that he had written that he had a great opinion of her holiness; had frequently sent his chaplains to her; gave credence to her without examination, and concealed her pretended revelations concerning the king. Burn. App. 1. p. 124–7.

[46] She told Wolsey her ' revelation,' that heaven had put three swords into his hands. The first, to order the spirituality, as legate under the pope. The second, to rule the temporality, as chancellor. And the third, *the meddling on the marriage*; and that if he ordered them not well, heaven would lay it sore to his charge. Roper, App. 103.

[47] In his letter to Cromwell, he gives the following account of his feelings and conduct towards her: He says, that about eight or nine years before, the king drew his notice to her. Archbishop Warham had sent his sovereign a paper roll of what she had seen in her trances. Henry gave it More to examine, and to report his opinion upon it. More read it, and answered, that he found nothing in it he could esteem. Some part fell in rime, but full rude, and only what a right simple woman might speak well enough of her own wit; but as it was reported

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tree, under such assisting husbandry, spread and lasted. As she became popular and promised to be useful, Darius and Pollioni, the pope's agents in Eng- CHAP. XXVII.

that a miracle was wrought in her, he durst not and would not be bold in judging the matter.

From that time during the following seven or eight years, More states, that he was continually hearing much talking of her, altho no miracle or revelation, and was informed that she had been with both cardinal Wolsey and the king; but about the last twelve months, father Risby, a friar observant, came to More, and tried to persuade him of her holiness, and mentioned what she had said to Wolsey, and that she had saved the cardinal's soul by her mediation. Father Rich, another Observantine, came afterwards for the same purpose of recommending her. More declared he was glad to hear of her holiness and virtue, but would not listen to any thing that she said concerning the king. He thought her tale about Mary Magdalen, too marvellous to be true, and that it was a dream turned by rumor into a revelation.

Thus far he acted with good sense and prudence. But the Sion friars persuaded him to see her; he did so, alone, in their chapel. He praised her discouraging the pretensions of a girl at Tottenham, who set up her trances as visions. But when she told him of herself, 'That of late, the devil, in the likeness of a bird, was flying and fluttering about her in a chamber, and suffered himself to be taken, and being in hands, suddenly changed in their sight that were present, into such a strange ugly-fashioned bird, that they were all afraid, and threw him out of a window:' He does not say that he disbelieved her; but instead of discrediting such a palpable absurdity, or her for its invention, he gave her a double ducat, asked her to pray for him, and says, 'he had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation.' He told Rich that he thought heaven was working 'some good and great things by her.'

He wrote afterwards a letter to her, to caution her not to talk of such things as 'pertain to princes affairs, or the state of the realm,' but only of what 'may to the soul be profitable.' He mentions in an accrediting manner, 'her good inspirations and great revelations,' and that for the comfort of her soul, he needed to ask her advice; and he resembles her to the 'high prophet Moses,' and lowers himself to a Jethro, in counselling her.

After this detail, he then confesses that he had been deceived, but without specifying his reasons. He commends Cromwell, as having done a very meritorious deed in bringing to light such detestable hypocrisy, and he sent word to the prior of the Charter-house, that she was undoubtedly proved a false deceiving hypocrite.

Such is the representation of his own conduct in this affair, which is of course a self-favorable statement: but even on this, what must our inferences be as to his moral discrimination and the soundness of his judgment, when we find, that after eight or nine years consideration, he changed his first right opinion into an erroneous approbation and credulity: even after he saw that she was disseminating treason so manifestly, that he wrote to advise her to avoid that as a dangerous topic? He did not reason that if she were deceived in this, she must be as de-

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land, concurred to uphold her reputation[48]. Clement himself was apprised of the new puppet[49], but neither discountenanced nor condemned her. The main battery of the fraud was directed to produce the deposition of Henry. She pronounced him to be king no longer[50]. She was prompted to affirm that an angel commanded her to warn him not to invade the pope's patrimony; to destroy the reformers and their books; and to burn the English new Testament[51]. She announced to him, from her alleged inspirations, that if he prosecuted his divorce, and married another wife, he should not be king a month, but should die a villain's death[52]. They even fixed the day when he was to lose his crown[53]. She was so highly and so extensively patronized by the papal part of the

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ceived in other points, nor that she was obviously a tool in the employment of others; and when he found her to be a hypocrite, he never extended that opinion to the friars, who had so strenuously supported her, and had labored to mislead him. There is not a word of blame on those who were not only more guilty than she was, but who had caused her to be so. His conduct was not consistent, with either sound judgment or strict integrity, on an affair so circumstanced, and with such a palpable reference to political purposes. He seems not to have disliked the object of the imposture, tho he shrunk from its legal treason, which, if heaven had been 'working some good and great things by her,' it was in contradiction to his sturdy principle to do. Here, at least, he preferred prudence to danger.

[48] Morys. 74. Herb. 376.

[49] Darius sent her 'oracula,' written by Bocking to Clement 7. Morys. 74.

[50] Sanders, who befriends her, says she 'asserebat Henricum *non amplius* jam esse regem, eo quod ex Deo non regnaret.' De Schism. p. 117.

[51] Strype, Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 272, 3. He has published the confession of one of her accomplices, Rich, an Observantine friar.

[52] Stat. p. 449. 'And that a root with three branches were to be plucked up, meaning Wolsey, the king, and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.' ib.

[53] Morys. 74. Hall, 812. She also pronounced the divine vengeance on those who dissuaded pilgrimages, denied purgatory, or who tried to break the pope's authority as the vicar of the Deity. Morys. 72.

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clergy, that her influence was great and dangerous [54], before the fraud could be detected to the satisfaction of the populace. The king, after hearing More's report on the roll sent him by archbishop Warham, had treated the affair with contempt [55].

While this delusion was acting, a friar Peto, preaching before the king at Greenwich, publicly told him that the dogs should lick his blood as they had done Ahab's. Another Observantine friar afterwards justified Peto, and charged the king with adultery [56]. The conspiracy spreading, and the friars who had engaged in it, publishing the nun's factitious revelations in their sermons, in various parts of the kingdom [57], the government arrested her and her most conspicuous accomplices, who were, on 15th January 1534, attainted of high treason, and kept in prison, till the pope issued his sentence of the 23d March. As this violent measure, by counteracting the parliamentary settlement of the succession, laid the foundation for future rebellion and traiterous machinations: the chief individuals, who had so wilfully combined in imposture and treason, were, on 21st April 1534 executed, at Tyburn [58], on the sentences they had received.

[54] Her treasonable effusions were related to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and to More, who concealed them. Morys. 74. Both these distinguished men conferred with her. Several priests gave her credit, and excited other persons to do the same. They practised with the friars and nuns at Sion and the Charter-house, and with the Observantines of Richmond, Greenwich and Canterbury, with a great many other persons both temporal and spiritual, to ferment a great rebellion against the king. Hall, 812.

[55] More's Lett. App. Burn. 2. p. 286.

[56] Stow. Chron. 562. Burnet, 151.

[57] Hall, 812. Burnet, 157. Sanders calls her seven chief supporters, 'septem martyres.' p. 117.

[58] Hall inserts her confession as she was about to suffer, in which she says of her confederates, 'Puffed up with their praises, I fell into a cer-

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As these persons suffered according to the established principles of public policy and English jurisprudence, there is nothing to condemn in their execution; altho it is so often more beneficial, and always so much more humane, to make contempt rather than death the punishment of such foolish wickedness, that we may regret that whipping, derision, and degradation had not been substituted for the gibbet. That they were not dismissed with these minor inflictions, may have proceeded from the papal defenders connecting so much religion with rebellious crime and its legal chastisements, that the offenders were sanctified into martyrs, and public disgrace lost its deterring effects, from being converted into a distinguishing honor. But as the conspirators in the nun's imposture were not executed till the pope's new act of warfare produced increased danger to the existing government, this circumstance indicates that Henry was disposed to be lenient, if his foreign adversaries' conduct had not made the clemency seem to be unsafe[59].

No more executions saddened the year 1534; but as the next spring advanced, other legal violences occurred, which excited the most vehement declamations of the Romish partisans against Henry, and much doubt and dissatisfaction among his more impartial friends. We will attempt to consider these

tain pride, and thought I might fain what I would.' p. 814. She mentioned the names of those who had instigated her to the imposture, and of those to whom she had communicated her pretended revelations: and among the latter, Fisher and More. Herb. 376. Burnet, 152.

[59] The Act passed in 1534, declaring those who maliciously should will, or by words, writing or craft, imagine or attempt any *bodily harm* to the king or queen, or pronounce the king to be heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, should be deemed traitors; Stat. Realm. v. 3. p. 508., shows what practices were abroad.

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occurrences with the discrimination, which they have not yet received.

At the end of April 1535, three Carthusian priors, of the Charter-house, a Bridget monk of Sion, and a priest, were committed to the Tower, on a charge of rebellion[60]. A week after their arrest, the cabinet council visited them in their confinement, and required their oath to the king's supremacy[61]. Refusing this offered compromise of pardon, they were put on their trials, found guilty, on whatever was the indictment, after some hesitation by the jury[62], and on 4th May were executed at Tyburn. The public report of their offences was, that they had combined together to kill the king[63]. A charge quite different from that of denying his supremacy.

Three other Carthusian priests, after an imprisonment of fourteen days in chains, on 19th June suffered on the gibbet. They were all hung in their habits. That these men were found guilty of high treason, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy,

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[60] Strype, Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 302. He seems to take his facts from the Hist. Martyr. Angl. the work of a friend to the sufferers, Vitus a Dulken, a German prior, printed in 1550. ib. 307.

[61] Strype, ib.

[62] The representation of this foreign historian, is, that not giving in their verdict; that is, not agreeing upon it, Cromwell the next day sent to them to know the cause of the delay and their intentions. Their answer was, that they could not pronounce such holy men to be malefactors. Strype, p. 302. The same friendly authority, and Sanders, p. 126, chuse to assert, that Cromwell threatened them with death if they did not, and that on this they brought in their condemning verdict. As we have not the record of their trials, we cannot judge for ourselves how the real truth stood.

[63] 'The ordinary report went among the common people, that these had combined together to kill the king, and therefore justly underwent this punishment.' Strype, p. 304. Hall says, that the indictment stated, that they 'had traiterously spoken against the king his crown and majesty; and foolishly knowleged their treason, which maliciously they avouched.' p. 817.

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which is the allegation of their friends[64], cannot be true, because the statute enjoining it, did not make it high treason. The confusion about this fact seems to be, that their recognition of the king's supremacy would have been taken as a title to clemency that would have saved them. The arraignments and convictions seem to have been for treasonable practices; and their denial of the supremacy to have been the subsequent fact, that caused the crown to inflict the legal sentence, without interposing its power of mercy, that would have otherwise been extended. So far from Henry's willingly allowing the last catastrophe to take place, he earnestly endeavored to rescue them from it, by sending several persons to them in prison, to persuade them to take his alternative of pardon[65]. He made a public in-

[64] So Strype mentions from his authority, p. 305. Sanders also mentions two more at York, p. 129, and that ten others were thrown by Cromwell into prison, of whom one was executed on 4th August. 130. The Acts in the statute book on these points are the following: The 26th Henry 8, c. 1, recites, that the king rightfully is the supreme head of the church, and so was recognised by the clergy in convocation, but for corroboration thereof, enacts that he is so; but adds no penalties, and mentions no high treason. p. 492. The 25th Henry 8, c. 22, declares the marriage with Catherine void, and that with Anne, 'true sincere and perfect.' It then enacts, that if any shall, by writing, printing, or any exterior deed, maliciously do or procure any thing to the peril of the king's person, or whereby he may be disturbed or interrupted of the crown, or to the derogation of the marriage with Anne, these offences shall be high treason. But if by words only, and misprision of treason, then to be punished by imprisonment and forfeiture. Stat. Realm. 3. p. 473, 4. By 26th Hen. 8, c. 13, it was also made treason to maliciously wish or desire, by words or writing, or by craft, imagine, invent or attempt any bodily harm to the king or queen, or to deprive them of the dignity, title or name of their royal estates, or to publish slanderously or maliciously, by writing or words, that the king was heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or usurper, or should rebelliously detain his fortresses or ships. p. 508. These were the high treasons enacted; and for some acts done of this description, the executed persons must have suffered, and not for refusing to take oaths, or to admit the king's supremacy.

[65] Strype, 306. Cromwell in particular commissioned Dr. Starky to

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dication of mourning for the fatal necessity of these severities[66].

Three days after this occurrence, bishop Fisher was led out also to execution. He had been arrested and detained in prison on Barton's imposture, and was declared guilty of misprision of treason in 1534, for refusing to take the oath of succession[67]. On 21st May, the pope marked him as one of his favored instruments, by appointing him to be a cardinal[68]. To present him in this station of dignity to the disaffected English, was an experiment of evil which alarmed the government to put him on his trial, "on divers points[69]." We have no detail what these were, as the legal documents have disappeared; but Cromwell has left an assertion in a diplomatic document, that Fisher, the preceding persons, and More, all suffered for "treasons, conspiracies, and prac-

confer with Reynolds on the subject, but whose efforts were unavailing; and who wrote afterwards to Pole, that these persons 'sought their own death, and that none could be justly accused of it but themselves.' ib. p. 306.

[66] Lord Herbert says, that 'this piece of justice troubled the king; he would have been glad not to be compelled to such violent courses. Therefore he not only mourned inwardly, but caused his head to be polled, and his beard, formerly shaven, to be cut round.' Hist. p. 391. Yet so determinedly were all Henry's actions misrepresented by his enemies, that Sanders ascribes this change of beard to a desire to look young again. p. 122. As if a chin without a beard was not a better imitation of juvenality, than an elderly man's face with one.

[67] See his Act of Attainder in Stat. of Realm, v. 3. p. 527. This statute, 26th Hen. 8, c. 22, declares that he, and five other clergy named in it, were intending to sow and make sedition, murmur and grudge, in the realm; that he and two of them had refused the oath of succession, and that the other three had committed many detestable offences of misprision of treason; and it appointed all to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture as the punishment. ib.

[68] Herb. 392. Wharton, Angl. Sax. vol. 1. p. 383.

[69] Herb. 392. 'The particulars whereof yet I have not seen.' ib. He only mentions that in the preceding month he had asserted before several persons, that the king was not the supreme head, (ib.) altho at the convocation in 1530, he had concurred in giving him the title, with the limitation 'quantum per Christi legem habet.' ib.

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tices—as well within the realm as without;" and that these were "so manifestly proved afore them, that they could not avoid or deny it[70]." It is therefore a mistake to say that they were executed merely for not acknowleging the king's supremacy. The same want of discriminating facts in this case as in the other seems to have occasioned the error. As the admission of the supremacy would have instantly separated Fisher from all treasonable partisans, and made him no longer dangerous, this acquiescence was required of him, as the condition of extended mercy. Rejecting the compromise, he underwent the sentence that had been passed on his judicial arraignment. But Henry regretted his persevering refusal, and the result which it involved[71].

[70] Cromwell, in his letter of 23d August, to the English ambassadors in France, thus mentions them: 'Touching Mr. More and the bishop of Rochester, *with such others as were executed here*, their treasons, conspiracies and practices, secretly practised as well *within the realm as without*, to move and stir dissension, and to sow sedition within the realm, intending thereby, not only the destruction of the king, but also the whole subversion of his realm, being explained and declared; and so manifestly *proved afore them*, that they could not avoid nor deny it.' He proceeds to say, 'that they having such malice rooted in their hearts against their prince, and for the total destruction of the common weal of the realm, were well worthy, if they had had a thousand lives, to have suffered ten times a more terrible death.' See the letter in Burn. v. 6. p. 110. It is not likely that a minister of state would have used such strong language as this to its foreign ambassadors without some adequate grounds.

So the king's letter of the 25th June, mentions 'the treasons traiterously committed against us and our laws, by the late bishop of Rochester and sir Thomas More, knight,' ib. p. 101. So the proclamation against his book says of him, 'who according to the laws of this realm, was justly attainted and convicted of *divers and sundry*, and manifest and detestable *High Treasons*, by him committed against the king, his crown and dignity royal.' MSS. Titus, B. 1. p. 536. These expressions go far beyond the single act of not acknowleging the king's supremacy, which was not high treason, and this single fact could not be *sundry* high treasons.

[71] Against whom 'the king did but unwillingly proceed, as having held him ever in singular esteem for his learning and good parts.' Herb. 392. Fisher had much merit. He had been the religious confidant of Margaret, the countess of Richmond, who had given the crown to her

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Within a fortnight afterwards, the legal severities were extended to sir Thomas More. He had been convicted of misprision of treason for refusing the oath, for which the statute which declares this, enacted him to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture[72]; and he was lying in prison in fulfilment of this sentence. But the same serious charges, which had fallen so heavily on Fisher and the Carthusians, also implicated him. The historian has again to lament the loss of the judicial papers, which compels him to draw his scanty facts from Henry's implacable enemies. What we know of More's trial, we learn chiefly from cardinal Pole. He thus describes his indictment,—which no writer who mentions it has seen: "a long and perplexed accusation, in which whatever things could be said against a man the most wicked, a traitor to his country, and a subverter of all laws, was brought together against him. He was arraigned for high treason[73]." These charges

son Henry 7, and had advised her foundations at Cambridge. This prince made him bishop of Rochester, and he held his see thirty-three years. He was one of the worthiest men on the side he espoused.

[72] Stat. 26 Hen. 8. c. 23. p. 528. The oath is given in another statute, 26 Hen. 8. c. 2. Its substance is this: 'You shall swear to bear faith and obedience *only* to the king, and to his heirs by queen Anne, and to her heirs, according to the limitations of the statute made for the security of the succession, and shall observe and defend the said act, and not do any thing to its derogation.' p. 493. This, in fact, put aside the princess Mary.

[73] Pole de Unit. L. 3. p. 303. We have no account of More's accusation, or the trial, its evidence, or the judicial proceedings, but what we derive from his letters and his friends, except Cromwell's brief intimations, which are at variance with the imperfect and partial statement on the other side. I call them partial, and think they must not be implicitly relied upon, because Cromwell assured the English ambassadors as to the French king's account 'how Mr. More died; what he said to his daughter, and his exhortations to be obedient to the king—that there was no such thing.' Burnet, v. 6. p. 110. A specimen of these, which the secretary of state thus pronounced to be untrue, we may see in one of Pole's most pathetic and labored passages in his de Unitate. The official assertion, that fabulous statements were abroad concerning him, to

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resemble and corroborate the description in Cromwell's letter. Pole adds, that they were so long and prolix, that More, tho he listened most attentively,

exalt his name and deprecate the king, and the same official assertion of his treasons, make us pause to reflect, that all which fills our histories about his trial and conviction, is the exparte statement of himself and his friends, and that we do not possess the impartial and correct account of the whole affair. After this remark, we will add a summary of what his letters state.

His name had been inserted in the bill which attainted Elizabeth Barton, but after his explanatory letter to Cromwell, showing that he had cautioned her not to talk of the king, it was omitted in that attainder. Singer's Roper, App. 111. But he declined to approve of the king's proceedings as to the marriage, and the primacy of the pope. In March 1534, he wrote to Cromwell, expressing his regret that Henry 'should think him of obstinate heart,' on these points. He states, that Henry having, after he was made chancellor, wished him to act upon his marriage, he intimated that he differed with the king about it, who then ceased to consult him on it. More says, he kept himself from doing any thing against it, and as the king had married again, would now pray for that matrimony. 116–9. On the primacy, he asserted, 'I nothing meddle;' yet in the same letter argues for the pope at some length.

He thought he should be 'in right great peril, if he should deny the primacy (of the pope) to be provided by God.' That he had been instituted by the body of all Christendom, and that as Christendom was all one body, no member, without the common assent of the body, could depart from the common head; but that he never intended to meddle in it against the king's pleasure. 120, 1.

On 17th April 1534, he was summoned before the lords of the council at Lambeth, and the oath of succession was proposed to him, in obedience to the act. He asked to see the oath, and then the statute, and after reading them, declared that he could not take it. They told him, that he 'was the *very first* who had refused it,' and that this would cause the king to have great *suspicion* of him, as well as indignation. They showed him the names of all who had taken it, and that all the priests of London had sworn to it. He was ordered to go into the garden, and when again called in, would neither take the oath, nor declare his reasons for declining it. The council's remark that he was wrong to set his opinion against all others, made no impression upon him. He was as unmoved, when Cromwell exclaimed that he would rather lose his own son, than see More persist in his refusal, as it would make the king think that he was concerned in contriving the nun's plot. Sir Thomas refused the oath, unless he was allowed to alter it as he pleased. ib. 122–6. Immediately after this conference, the act having passed, attainting him of misprision of treason for his refusal, and directing imprisonment and forfeiture, as the penalty, he was sent to the Tower, with the bishop of Rochester.

The chancellor, in August, lamented to More's daughter-in-law, lady Alyngton, that he should be so obstinate. p. 128. Sir Thomas answered her letter in his own daughter's name, in which, at great length, he urges his conscience as his reason. 130–148.

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could not remember above one-third[74]. Of the evidence he gives us no account, but states that the jury of twelve men unhesitatingly pronounced their verdict to be "Guilty[75]," which he thinks it not

He continued in prison from that time. His letter, in the beginning of May 1535, informs us, that on 30th April, the secretary had come to the Tower, with the attorney and solicitor-general, to ask him if he had seen the new statute, which made the king head of the church, and to ask him what his mind was. More warily answered, 'I will neither dispute the king's titles, nor the pope's, but am the king's faithful subject, and otherwise than this never intended to meddle.' They reminded him that the king was a prince not of rigor, but of mercy and pity, and would show this, if he would take comfortable ways; but would follow the course of the law to such as were obstinate, and that More's demeanor made others so stiff. Sir Thomas replied, 'I do nobody no harm; I say none harm; I think none harm, but wish every body good. If this be not enough to keep a man alive, I desire not to live. I am dying already, and have divers times thought I should die in an hour. I was never sorry for it. My body is at the king's pleasure.' He was afterwards visited by Cranmer and the council. The secretary said, the king was not content, but had declared More to have been occasion of much grudge and harm in the realm, and had an obstinate mind, and an evil one to him. They called upon him to confess the sovereign to be the head of the church, or to deny it. More refused either. 152–8. But from some answer which he gave, on a case put hypothetically, the solicitor swore that he did express a verbal denial. Roper, p. 78–81. It is clear that these refusals did not constitute the High Treasons of which he was accused, of which he was convicted, and for which he suffered, whatever they may have been.

[74] Pole de Unit. L. 3. p. 309.

[75] '*Statim* pronunciarunt, vocabulo Anglico, Gylte" p. 311. Herbert says, 'he was declared guilty of imagining to deprive the king of his title and dignity,' and that this had been made high treason by 26 Hen. 8. p. 391. But the high treasons made by this statute, were those mentioned in note 64. Roper says, he was indicted on this statute, which he mistakingly calls denying the supremacy. p. 81. It must have been for some deeds that came within the offences marked in this Act, and not for declining to acknowlege the supremacy, which is not noticed at all in it. On the term '*denial*' of the supremacy, we must observe, that it had a meaning in those times, that has not been since properly discriminated. It was not the refusal to acknowlege, which was not high treason. It is an abbreviated phrase to express that active opposition, by arguments or deeds, which as the case then stood, could not be done without treasonable intent or treasonable results. When the parliament had abrogated the supremacy of the pope, and substituted that of the crown, none would depart from unoffending silence, and actively argue against or deny the king's supremacy, unless he aimed to excite and to assist in a rebellious resistance or insurrection. Public denial then became intentionally an overt act of treasonable battle.

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indecorous to compare with the Jewish outcry at an awful crisis; Crucify him! crucify him[76]!

But altho we have not the details of the arraignment, or of the proofs, the preceding facts are sufficient to show that it was not for merely declining to acknowlege Henry's supremacy that he was convicted. The gate of mercy was left open to him as to the others, if he would accede to the supremacy; the great test, which separated the treasonable adversary from the quiet subject. More was inflexible on this disputed point, and on the 6th of July 1535, perished on the scaffold, pitied, loved and passionately lamented by his numerous literary, social, and ecclesiastical friends; and from their ardent encomiums, as well as from his high reputation and moral virtues, regretted by every one[77].

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[76] Pole de Unit. p. 311.

[77] Erasmus greatly regretted him. The epistle dated from Antwerp, very pathetically describes his condemnation and death. See it reprinted in Singer's edition of Roper's life of More. This expressly states, that after the arraignment, and before the trial was proceeded on, the duke of Norfolk offered him the king's clemency, if he would abandon his 'obstinatam opinionem.' p. 174. From this we learn, that one of the charges was for having written to Fisher eight letters to *animate* him against the statute. p. 176. The jury were out of court considering their verdict a quarter of an hour. p. 177. More, after the verdict, declared he had 100 holy men, and all the councils, and France, and all the kingdoms of Christendom on his side. This made Norfolk exclaim, 'Now, More! your malevolence is manifest.' More then said, 'They had no powers to make such laws against the consent of all Christendom, and compared himself to Stephen persecuted by St. Paul.' p. 177, 8. These facts show how determined a partisan of the papal power against the king, More really was. And Pole has devoted several pages of his warmest panegyric to his memory. De Unit. 307-26. That he was an inflexible adherent to the pope against the king, his own letter of March 1534, p. 120, shows. That he wished the king to believe that he meant not to act upon his opinions, his letter of the 3d May 1535, p. 153, proves; but that he and Fisher were considered and lamented as two of the foremost partisans of the papal cause against the king, Pole's book abundantly exhibits. The government seem to have decided, that it was unsafe to trust his promised neutrality, if he persisted in refusing the oath of succession; that this refusal made him one of the popular champions

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From these indisputable facts the mind is led to inquire, why severities so new in Henry's reign, and so contrary to his mild and friendly temper, should have been enforced against persons whom he himself wished to have spared. The true answer to such a question is that which we derive from the state minister's letter; the foreign and domestic conspiracies that were afloat against the king and his government, and in which these respectable persons were more or less implicated.

We have convincing testimony, that the disaffected English who adhered to the papal interest were communicating their disloyal feelings to the imperial court[78], so early as November 1528. From that

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of the rebellious conspiracies, and encouraged their spreading; and that he had done some acts which implied connivance, and occasioned the fear of future sanction and assistance to them. We have thus endeavored to give the reader as large a view of the whole case as can now be collected from the imperfect materials which remain.

[78] By the following letter these treasonable connections seem to have begun when Campegio left England; and the danger to Henry from his domestic and foreign enemies from that time, may be estimated from the chancellor of Spain's menacing intimations to Sylvester Darius, which the latter thus reported in cypher, in his letter from Bayonne, on 5th Nov. 1528. The chancellor answered, 'What do you say of the king of England? speak not of him, because if we chuse we can expel him from his kingdom in three months.' I replied, 'How say ye? I do not believe that Cæsar with all Flanders, would have power enough to drive him out.' He replied, 'I speak not of Flanders, but I know what I say. Suppose Scotland should unite with Flanders, Cæsar then would be more able. What people has the English king?' 'I stated that he had men quite fit to resist both the Scotch and Flemings, and all that should injure him. He is a king indeed; great in mind, and well skilled in warlike affairs. His subjects are brave men, and have often proved themselves so, both against Scotland and others.' The chancellor then said, 'I am not talking of Scotland. But I say that he will be driven out *by his own people* in less than three months.' I told him that I knew for certain that he was deceived. Because the king of England's subjects were very obedient to him, very faithful, and very much attached to him (amantissimos). He replied, '*We know well* how his affairs are.' 'I assured him that if he thought otherwise than I did, he erred.' He answered, 'that if they credited others, it was myself that was the erring person.' MS. Vesp. C. 4. p. 269. This indicates that links of the intestine conspiracies against Henry extended to the Spanish cabinet.

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time they never intermitted their hostile exertions; and in 1536, their long-preparing conspiracy burst out, as we shall find, into open and formidable rebellion. That its progress was watched by the administration as carefully as such secret plots can be traced or pursued, common sense and common experience forbid us to doubt[79]. Some of the domestic procedures of the revolting were sufficiently palpable. Even learned doctors itinerated to rouse the people to support the pope against the king[80]. Thus it is manifest that treasonable machinations were pervading the country, and the question as it affects the executed individuals will be, whether they were engaging in them.

[79] We see the vigilance of the government in several instances. There is a letter, dated 29th Sept. 1534, from the earl of Northumberland to Henry 8, on some letters he had taken, concerning James 5 of Scotland having made peace and alliance with the emperor; MS. Calig. B. 2. p. 157; and another from sir Ralph Sadler to Cromwell, reporting the state of the northern counties, and that the people of Darlington were inclined to rise; MS. ib. p. 344. On Henry's complaint, James 5 issued the proclamation to repress the songs and libels against the English king, which is in the same MS. p. 238.

[80] We may see this in the circumstances mentioned by Strype: 'From this time the bishops generally, and most of the clergy, now privately procured several doctors of the universities, in the nature of the itinerants, to ride about the countries, and to preach up from place to place the pope's power over kings. One of these, Dr. Wilson, travelled in the countries about Beverley, in Holderness, and from thence went a progress by some private appointment, through Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire, to Bristol. Another, an old divine of Oxford, Hubbarden, was employed in the west country, wholly at the devotion of the bishops, doing whatsoever they bade him. He magnified the pope above measure to the derogation of the temporal princes. He railed in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Frith, Tyndal, and Latimer. His sermons consisted of tales and fables; dialogues and dreams. He would dance, hop and leap, and use histrionical gestures in the pulpit. Another of these emissaries was Dr. Powell.' Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 245, 6. He quotes Latimer's letter to Morice, in Fox, p. 1581. Strype has inserted Latimer's epistle to Hubbarden, rebuking him for preaching that the new learning was lies from the devil. App. v. 1. p. 175–9. Pole expressly states, that 'duo maxima mala' hung over Henry from his 'meretricio amore,' foreign war from the emperor, and civil war from his own people. ib. p. 335–7. And see the Earl of Derby's letter on the priest, sir James Harrison's public and persisting declarations, 'that Nan Bullen should

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It was in May and June 1535, that these harsh proceedings of the government took place. The reasonable inference why a severity then suddenly began, which had been unknown before, must be, that private information of increased activity and impending peril had reached the cabinet. From an official document which has descended to us, we learn that priests and clergy had become, in April, so seditiously active, that a proclamation was issued to repress the evil[81], and directing the arrest of such preachers[82]. It was discussed in the cabinet, what measures should be taken against those who, by openly attacking the king's supremacy[83], placed themselves in the front of public battle against him. Some of the ministers judicially thought, that imprisonment, banishment, or such like inflictions would be most availing. Others considered the offenders to be too many to be thus treated, and that capital prosecutions would alone avert the danger.

The friars who led the attack most fiercely against Henry, were of that description of minor friars, who were called the Observantines. These harangued more freely than others, as well in their public disputations as in their sacred addresses to the people[84].

not be queen, nor the king be king, but on his bearing.' Ellis's Orig. Lett. v. 2. p. 43.

[81] On 12th April, the government expressed in their proclamation, that 'religious and secular priests and curates, in their parishes and divers places, do daily set forth and extol the jurisdiction and authority of the pope; sowing their seditions; praying for him in the pulpit, and making him a God.' See it in Burnet, v. 6. p. 102.

[82] Ib. 103. This stated that the king desired his subjects, 'to be brought to a profession and knowlege of the mere verity and truth; and no longer to be seduced nor blinded with any such superstitions and false doctrine of any earthly usurper of God's laws.' ib.

[83] Herbert, 391.

[84] Fratres autem minores *qui de observantia* vulgo dicuntur, &c.— 'acerrime.' Sanders, p. 118.

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It was this division of the orders of the Carthusians, St. Bridget, and Franciscans, which had the Observantine rule, which then most flourished, and the persons selected by the government for the prosecutions we have noticed, were of this description[85]. But this fact of the Observantine friars being the persons singled out to be charged with treasonable practices, leads us to recollect, that the general of this same description of religious persons was the emperor's private agent in opposing Henry and the divorce in the court of Rome[86]; and from the known connection of all the subdivisions of such classes with their chief, and of the chiefs of the different orders with Rome and with each other, the mind is irresistibly led to the deduction, that if a traiterous intercourse existed between any part of the English clergy and the imperial court, it was more likely that the Observantines in England should be maintaining it, than any other part of its multifarious hierarchy. Peto, who charged the king to his face, at Greenwich, as an Ahab, was an Observantine friar, and so was the other who replied to Dr. Curwen's

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[85] Tres esse ordines religiosorum hominum qui præcipua laude *regularis Observantia*,—Carthusianorum nimirum, santæ Brigittæ et divi Francisci *de Observantia*, &c. Hos ergo primo aggrediendos statuit. Sanders, p. 125.

[86] See before, p. 177, and in 63, another instance of their diplomatic use, and Knight's letter, ap. Burnet, v. 2. Pallavicini mentions, that when the emperor heard of Henry's intention, he ordered the 'Ministro generali minorum' to demand of the pope not to proceed with the divorce. Hist. Conc. Trent. p. 207. And on 19th Feb. 1528, Sanga, in a letter to Gambora, says, 'the general of San Francisco makes new instances,' &c. Lett. Princip. p. 84.

These Observantines seem to have been the busy political friars of the day, for it was one of these that came secretly from France to Spain, that our ambassador watched and visited to find out his diplomatic mission. See before, p. 120.

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opposing sermon[87]. It is at least a coincidence not to be forgotten, that the Observantine friars in England were the persons arrested and punished for high treason; and that the general of the Observantines at Rome, had been for some years the commissioned agent of Charles, against Henry, in the Roman court. The fair inferences from these unquestionable facts seems to be, that as secret plots connected with the pope and emperor were forming in England, during the year 1535; as all those persons who were executed were charged with being concerned in such conspiracies, and as treasonable insurrections, led by highly respectable men, actually exploded in the following year[88], More, Fisher, and the friars did not suffer for a mere theoretical refusal to acknowlege the king's ecclesiastical chieftainship; but upon accusations and convictions for being abettors or participators of such criminal practices. That they were really guilty of the allegations on which they were condemned, we can neither affirm or deny. The verdicts of the jury are against them; but the evidence from which we could have judged of the justice of the condemnations is not now in existence. We may add, that the maintenance of the pope's supremacy against the king's, was no longer a speculative point of controversial theology. It had now become the rallying point of conspiracy, and the banner of treasonable battle. Those who in 1535 preached and argued for the papal superiority, meant to diffuse an insurrectionary spirit, and to

[87] Stowe's Chron. p. 562. The two friars, Rich and Risby, who came successively to persuade More to support the imposture of El. Barton, he states to have been both Observantines of Sion. See note 47. So Forest, who suffered, was an Observantine friar. Stowe, 575.

[88] See our next chapter.

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rouse the people to arms against the king. It was so understood by both parties: and this question, at that time, divided the nation into two opposing bodies, as the Covenant separated the future Cavaliers and Roundheads; or republicanism the Royalists and Jacobins of our modern days [89].

[89] As the state of the country and of the government at that time, has not been properly considered by preceding writers, the reader may excuse a few additional observations, in order that he may have the full view of the subject before him, and not suppose that the duke of Norfolk and the other distinguished men who formed Henry's cabinet, killed men tyrannically, for differences of opinion, or mere theoretical speculations, and for harmlessly arguing for the pope's right against the king's. We have two analogous cases this year 1826 in Europe; in Portugal and Turkey; which shew that what would be harmless debate in England, is dangerous and intended treason in those countries, under their present agitations. The emperor of Brazil, and the queen regent, having just given to Portugal a representative constitution, a certain portion of the clergy and people, and a small part of the army, have risen in rebellion against it. From this moment, those who by argument oppose the constitution, are harmless reasoners no longer. They put themselves, and excite others, to be in a state of treason against the government. It is not now a speculative question there, about the propriety of any constitution at all, or of the good or evil of the present one. While conspiracy or rebellion is raging, verbal opposition to the governmental measure is a treasonable excitement to extend or continue the revolt, and operatively abets it. So in Turkey: the government there has just identified itself with the suppression of the janizaries, and its existence depends on the people not joining the dissolved force. Whoever now, in Constantinople, denies the sultan's right to do what he has done, or argues for the janizaries, places himself, and excites others to be in a treasonable position against the ruling authorities, and means to do so. This is quite independent of the questions, whether it was right or wrong for the sultan to abolish this dreaded force, or for Portugal to have a constitution. The existing governments have identified themselves with these measures, and however moral or rational any resistance may or may not be, it is treasonable, and must be perilous, tho only by words, as long as conspiracy or rebellion is connected with the opposition. The legal change enacted by parliament in Henry's reign, of annulling the pope's supremacy, and of substituting the king as the head of the church, left no alternative to the nation between acquiescence and rebellion; and when the minor clergy and friars began to form foreign and domestic conspiracies, and to prepare for insurrections against the government, on the subject, and preached up oppos tion, and could succeed in their revolutionary revolt only by increasing the number of their partisans, there became then, to every subject, no alternative between silence and treason. To argue for the pope, or to deny in public dispute the king's right, was to recruit for rebellion. Argument was

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Notwithstanding the high moral character of both Fisher and sir Thomas More, there is no biographical improbability that they were concerned in such practices. Some of Henry's most upright and zealous friends, who had fought and bled in his behalf, were found, twelve months afterwards, connecting themselves even with insurrectionary armies against him, from the instigations of their religious directors; and as the party which More and Fisher espoused, made it a duty paramount to all others, to assist what they called the church, against the new reformations and their authors, such criminations as these alleged against More, were incredible in no one, who made the papal ecclesiastics his sacred guides. This observation applies with increased force to what ensued after the pope's excommunication against Henry was issued, for that made it a species of imputed

used for that effect; tended to produce it, and was meant to do so. It would be harmless reason and fair discussion no longer, until the treasonable machinations had ceased, and until it had become a subject which could be reasoned upon without fomenting the insurrectionary peril. It happened also to More and Fisher, that whether they perceived or intended it, or not, they became, from the pressure of circumstances, and were looked up to by both sides, as the chiefs of the rebellious part of the community. They were the only persons who publicly resisted the oaths required, and made themselves martyrs for the papal cause, and had perseveringly endured without change a year's imprisonment. Fisher had been, till his confinement, queen Catherine's confidential counsellor, and was the only bishop who withstood the throne, and was now selected by the pope to be his champion, and was made his consistorial counsellor, by being appointed cardinal, and thus was at the head of the hierarchy in England. More had been chancellor, which was its chief temporal dignity, and when so, had as sturdily maintained Catherine's cause, even personally to the king, as he now upheld the pope's. Hence their dignities, characters, virtues, connections, influence, and political position, were used by their own party, if not by themselves, to uphold its disaffected and insurrectionary plans and purposes, and to strengthen it for more fervid battle against the king, whom More seems as the individual to have loved and revered, but to whom he deliberately and tenaciously preferred the popedom and its cause.

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crime, even in his subjects, to befriend him, and converted their treason against him into a laudable duty.

But in discussions and conflicts like these, morality, conscience, and religion ally themselves with equal energy and sincerity on both sides of the combated questions. Abstractedly, of themselves only, these sacred influences would persuade and command every bosom to peace and neutrality. In worldly contests they can have nothing to do with what violence and crime must uphold: and as far as it may respect heaven, they will leave its course and issue to that Providence which can never be surprised; whose final objects we do not know, but whose exerted powers will never be inefficient. Forgetting this truth, and plunging into human interests and passions, moral and religious men have in all ages unhesitatingly committed treason as conscientiously as others have repressed and punished it. More, on his examination, professed earnestly his resolution not to meddle, and yet at the same time argued strenuously for the pope against the king, as he did again after his conviction. The knowlege of these two facts, and of his letters to Fisher, is inconsistent with the belief of his asserted neutrality. Expressed opinion from a man like him was as dangerous as an active sword in the hands of others, as it would operate to induce and encourage the more fervent to use the hostile weapon and join the battle-field. It was this experienced effect which made the government rigorous to More[90].

[90] There are many papers still remaining, which indicate the practices which the monkish and papal partisans set on foot against Henry. The

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But whatever may have been the testimony against these two lamented persons, an ambiguity accompanied it, which abated its impression on the public. Some facts, tho known to the constituted authorities from authentic sources, cannot be exposed in judicial evidence; and some consist of circumstances, com-

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abbot of Glastonbury, and two monks, were executed there for treason. But from the letter to Cromwell, dated 16th November, of R. Pollard, who attended their execution, we cannot but infer their real guilt. He says, the abbot, when examined before he suffered, 'would accuse no man *but himself* of any offence against the king; nor would he confess any other thing *than he did* afore your lordships in the Tower.' 'He asked God's mercy and the king's for *his great offences* towards his highness; and desired my servants, then being present to see the execution done, that they would be means to my lord president and to me, that we would desire the king, of his merciful goodness, and in the way of charity, to *forgive him his great offences by him committed* and done against his grace; and thereupon took his death very patiently. And likewise the other two monks *desired like forgiveness.*" MS. Cleop. E. 4. p. 133. If he had suffered for no offence, would he have solicited for this forgiveness?

In the same MS. is an autograph certificate, dated 11th June 1537, at York, of seven persons, that Robert Dalyvell, of Royston, had declared, 'the king shall not live; nor be alive a month after Midsummer 1538, *except* he do amend his conditions; and that after the said time, one horse of tenpence price shall be able to bear all the noble blood of England.' ib. MS. p. 128. There are also the prophecies of Mrs. Amadas, that the king was 'the mold warpe, and is cursed with God's own mouth.' That he 'shall be banished his realm as Cadwallader was; and on Midsummer day the realm shall be conquered by the Scots, and her countrymen.'—'That there is a religious man alive in an island, and is called the dead man; and he shall come and keep a parliament at the Tower. That the dragon shall be killed by Midsummer, and the queen (Anne) be burnt within half a year; and there shall be a battle of priests, and the king shall be destroyed, and there shall be no more king in England.' MS. Cleop. E. 4. p. 84.

But one of the most curious documents, which shews what actual frauds were used by the friars of the Charter-house to excite the public mind against the king, was the apparition that was sent to one of their body, to produce a superstitious belief, that the Deity had bentified Fisher, and those of their house who had suffered, as if his real martyrs. It is related by the friar that was practised upon, in his own words, in MS. Cleop. E. 4, and the paper seems to be his original writing. It has marked upon it the word 'Crimina,' in the hand-writing of one of the statesmen of that day. It begins, 'I, John Darlay, monk of the Charter-house,' and ends, 'written by me. J. D. 27th June.' He describes the death there of father Raby, an old man. On his death bed, Darlay

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binations and accumulations of acts, which require to be connected by deductions, that will not strike the common judgment like marked and palpable transactions. Constructive treasons never satisfy the thinking mind, and are too dangerous to all, not to make the conviction unpopular, whenever it is pressed to a fatal termination. The alleged guilt of Fisher and More, whatever was its real amount, was not felt to be proportionate to the exacted penalty; and on the continent was so little understood, that no incident more shook Henry's foreign reputation, than

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said to him, 'Good father Raby! if the dead may come to the quick, come to me.' He agreed, and died that night. He proceeds:—

'Since that time I never did think upon him till St. John the Baptist last past. The same day, at five o'clock in the afternoon, I being in contemplation near the entry in our cell, suddenly he appeared unto me in a monk's habit, and said. 'Why do ye not follow our father?' I said, 'Wherefore?' He said, 'For he is martyr in heaven, next unto the angels.' I said, 'Where be all the other fathers, which died as well as he?' He answered and said, 'They be well, but not so well as he.' And then I said to him, 'Father! how do ye?' And he answered and said, 'Well enough.' And I said, 'Shall I pray for you?' And he said, 'I am well enough; but prayer both for you and others doeth good.' And so suddenly vanished away. Saturday next, at five o'clock in the morning in the same place, *in our entry*, he appeared to me again, with a long white beard, and a long staff in his hand. Lifting it up, I was afraid. Then, leaning upon his staff, he said to me, 'I am sorry I lived not till I had been a martyr.' I said, 'I think ye be as well as ye were.' He said, 'Nay, for my lord of Rochester, and our father, was next unto angels in heaven.' And then I said, 'Father! what else?' And then he answered and said, 'The angel of peace did lament and mourn without measure,'—and so vanished away.'

As no one will suppose this to have been a real apparition, either the monk Darlay invented this to promote the political schemes of the Charter-house; or what is far more likely, the other friars dressed up some one in old father Raby's cloaths, and putting on a mask like his face, acted the scene to impose on Darlay, and thro him to act on the populace. By appearing at the entry of the cell, the vanishing was easy. The purposes obviously were, to represent Fisher, and the other friars, as rewarded by the highest degree of exaltation in heaven, and to stimulate all who heard, to imitate them in resisting Henry. 'Why do you not follow our father?' is a question that needs no comment. That the angel of peace so mourned, was to imply that heaven expected a civil war. The whole was to urge men to be such martyrs. It is singular, that these three last all mark out *Midsummer day*.

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these severe, if not unjust, executions[91]. But we need not scrupulously balance their exact legality. Whether merited or not, the reason unites with the heart to condemn the extinction of two such men; one sinking from age and infirmity into his tomb, and the other also weak in health[92], highly estimated and much beloved; and with whom Henry had been in such friendly intimacy. They were in prison, and had become harmless: their sentence was sufficiently admonitory to all erring imitators, and their deaths only excited pity and resentment. No government gains strength by what is deemed a Draconian severity. Both religion and philosophy revolt from consigning a responsible fellow creature to a premature grave, unless a dire necessity make him an indispensable sacrifice to the public good. It was a beautiful conception of the Mosaic legislation, to place the glory of the Divine Majesty between its cherubims, on the MERCY SEAT. Terror and power were thus represented as reposing upon goodness: and such a noble emblem of Himself exhibited this divine attribute as the sovereign character of the Divinity, in his transactions with mankind. The most interesting contemplation of nature is that, which surveys it as a mirror of the divine perfections, where unparalleled might and forbearing magnanimity are in constant union with undiminishing

[91] Pole describes the people on the continent to have wept on hearing of it. De Un. p. 325. Mr. Ellis has printed an earnest letter from sir Thomas More to the king, in March, against 'a grievous bill put in parliament against him.' v. 2. p. 51. This was the Act in 1534, by which he was attainted of misprision of treason. His indictment, in June 1535, was a subsequent accusation.

[92] 'His diseases both in the breast of old, and his reins now, by reason of gravel and stone, and of the cramp, that divers nights gripeth him in his legs.' Lett. Rop. p. 129.

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kindness, universal wisdom, and all presiding love. It is indeed a sublime picture for human legislation and human governors to copy. The thunder rolls not as offences emerge, nor does its bolt of fate rush to annihilate every transgressor that deserves it. What is potent may terrify; but without wisdom it cannot be respected, nor without beneficence be loved. What we experience to be true of the most tremendous, is equally so of all inferior power. The dreaded and the hated are never safe; and cruel severity only makes insecurity less secure, and its author more unhappy. Man has been nobly called "an animated sun;" and kings become such when to an external greatness, which has no visible equal, they add that intellectual lustre which cultivation and virtue always give, and that benevolent clemency, which allows no intervening accident or humor to eclipse or displace it[93].

In beheading More and Fisher, whatever were their faults, Henry only exalted to immortality, and to his own depreciation, two men, who, without this termination of their lives, might never have enjoyed it. There was little in either that without their harsh fate would have survived their contemporaries. Fisher was a worthy, but not a strong-minded man, and his literary works are of small value, and are

[93] That these executions, however they may have been brought on the sufferers by their own acts, were not popular, we learn from the lord of Miherve. He says, 'The people moved by the novelty of this great and severe cruelty, murmured against it, and most commonly accused the queen Ann for having been the cause of such proceedings.' p. 174. That she should bear the blame of all the consequences which followed from the king's attachment to her, was unreasonable and unjust; but we cannot open a Catholic book of any country without seeing the same vindictive feeling and vituperation even to the present moment. No Catholic favors or willingly tolerates the Reformation.

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now never, by any accident, consulted[94]. More, who counteracted, if he did not curtail his own Utopia, and whose other writings degrade him for their feebleness, their bigotry, their scurrility, and their persecuting tendency[95], below the educated men of his day, would have sunk into oblivion, except as a punster, as a worthy pattern of the domestic virtues, and as one who had been fond of literature, and had been famed for it, but who, in its most important department, was also its unsparing persecutor; if the oppressive violence of his death had not imparted that sympathy and sanctity to his memory, which the human heart liberally bestows on the victims of power, who unite firmness of principle with moral rectitude and intellectual cultivation[96]. It would be extravagent, like cardinal Pole,

[94] His persecution of the Lutherans, was in direct variance with the spirit and language of his youthful Utopia. Burnet has preserved one passage of it, that was suppressed in the later editions, in his vol. 6. p. 16.

[95] His English works comprize one folio, his Latin ones another, both controversial; attacking Luther, Tindal, Barnes, and others. Mr. Cayley has published only his Utopia, Richard 3d, and his Latin and English verses. These display him to most advantage, but not as of any great intellectual size. There is nothing particularly valuable, either in style or thought, except some passages in his Utopia, which he did not personally exemplify in his prosperous life.

[96] More is a remarkable instance how totally a man may change both his tastes and his opinions. About the year 1510, he wrote to Colet this effusion of his feelings against a city life. 'What is there in a city, that can excite any one to live well, and that does not rather by a thousand devices call him back, by a thousand allurements absorb him, when he is striving, from his own disposition, to ascend up the steep hill of virtue. From what place soever you may come, what but feigned affection, and the honied tones of poisonous flatterers; sound above you? Here cruel animosities, quarrels and lawsuits, murmur around you. Wherever you cast your eyes, what do you see but victualling houses, fishmongers, butchers, cooks, pudding makers, fishermen and fowlers, who minister materials to the belly, and for the world, and for its prince, the devil? I commend you, therefore, that you are not yet tired of the country. There you see simple people, without the city frauds. Wherever you gaze, the smiling face of the earth delights you; the grateful temperature

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to class More with Socrates, as it would also be to say, with that rhetorical writer, that Henry killed many Socrates', because he allowed monks and friars to be executed, who, in Pole's estimation, were superior in value to the Athenian sage[97]. But the improving character of society justifies the hope, that governments and nations will yet discern that mercy and magnanimity are the most substantial pillars of assaulted power; and that by their aid, wisdom and probity will surmount whatever arises to endanger it. So Henry VII. repeatedly found; and his son ought not to have forgotten both his example and his experience: for besides the naturally-disarming agencies of forgiving clemency, it links us with that potentiality whose alliance can impart irresistible security[98].

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of the air refreshes, and the real aspect of the heavens is charming. You see only the benign prospects of nature, and the sacred footsteps of innocence. 21st October.' Stapleton, de Trib. Thom. v. 4. p. 992. Knight Colet, p. 140. Yet after this preference of retirement, of rural life and scenery, he devoted himself to the deepest business of the metropolis, till he rose to be chancellor. He had the means of independence, from Henry's liberality, some years before this elevation. The Act of 26th Hen. 8th. c. 23, recites grants of land to him from the king, in May 1523, and in January 1525. But More was fond of distinction, tho he sought it in a peculiar way.

[97] Pole, de Unit. p. 328.

[98] Hall's estimate of More is not unfair. 'I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man; for undoubtedly he, beside his learning, had a great wit; but it was so mingled with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them who best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken of, except he had ministered some mock in the communication.' p. 817. He adds, the jests he made as going to his execution, and on the scaffold, which are not the marks of a sound mind; for as no one knows what scenes will follow the death of this world, and as it is a mysterious and awful change of being, it was as absurd for More to go to his grave an idle jester, as for a hardened ruffian to force out a horse-laugh, or to kick about his shoes.'

Colet, speaking of his youth, told Erasmus, that he was the greatest genius in England. This was a promise which he never fulfilled. He has written much, by which we can all judge, that whatever the young man seemed likely to be, the mature man never became. His long letter

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to Mrs. Roper, takes 19 pages to express, with a confusing tediousness, what any well-educated youth would now express more clearly and forcibly in three. As we inspect all his works, can we avoid feeling that his intelligence did not equal his amiability?

Erasmus describes his aspect as somewhat ludicrous, and tending to a smile, but more apposite to pleasantry and jesting, than to gravity or dignity. This however never became scurrility: he did not like an ill-natured jest, that put another to pain,—an admirable distinction. But there was something even about his religion, which induced the same intelligent friend to remark, that if it were inclined to its opposite, it seemed to be nearer to superstition than to impiety,—an odd distinction, which implies more than it expresses, and would suit a strange combination of a monk and a Voltaire. He affected the habit of walking with his right shoulder higher than his left, from no known motive but a desire to be singular. Cranmer thought him somewhat too conceited, and desirous of esteem; and that he would never vary from what he had once expressed, whether wrong or right, because he thought a change of opinion would lessen his reputation. The epitaph he composed for himself, states his father, sir John More, to have been one of the judges of the King's Bench, and to have lived to see him the chancellor. It is pleasing to read a son's describing a parent with epithets so laudatory and yet so simple as these,—'Civilis; suavis; innocens; mitis; misericors; æquus et integer.' Knight's Eras. App. p. 108.

One of the best qualities of More was his warm friendship to those whom he selected for his intimacy. Erasmus speaks strongly on this, and upon his easy urbanity in the midst of his elevation. He was formed for social attachments. But as we have remarked on the singular expression of Erasmus as to his piety, it will be justice to his memory to add, that the specimens which have been casually preserved of his prayers, show, that whatever a mind too fond of buffoonery may have sometimes made doubtful, yet its deliberate feelings were creditable to his good sense.

Private effusions of this sort, show the real and interior man, better than any friendly phrase or severer criticism, and therefore we will close our note with the following brief specimen of his secret self. No encomium is needed here.

'Illumine, Good Lord! my heart. Glorious God! give me from henceforth Thy grace, so to set and fix firmly mine heart upon Thee, that I may say with St. Paul, the world is crucified to me, and I unto the world. Take from me all vain-glorious minds, and all appetites of mine own praise. Give me, good Lord! an humble, lowly, quiet, peaceable, patient, charitable, kind, tender and pityful mind; and in all my works, and words, and thoughts, to have a taste of Thy Holy Spirit. Give me a full faith, a firm hope, and a fervent charity, and a love to Thee incomparably above the love to myself. May I love nothing to thy displeasure, but every thing in order to thee. O! give me a longing to be with Thee; not for avoiding the calamities of this wretched world, nor so much the pains of purgatory, nor of hell; nor so much for the attaining of the joys of heaven, in respect of mine own commodity, AS EVEN FOR A VERY LOVE TO THEE!' Knight's Eras. App. p. 102, 4.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

THE EDUCATION OF CARDINAL POLE BY HENRY — HIS FOREIGN TRAVELS—HIS ATTACKS ON THE KING — HIS AMBITIOUS MOTIVES—AND PROJECTS.

BOOK I.

AMONG those who were most active in attacking Henry with the pen, by negotiation, and by conspiracy, CARDINAL POLE voluntarily took a distinguished and pertinacious lead: his maternal cousin; an accomplished, elegant, cultivated, religious, mild, social, and yet bitter-minded man. In none have sterling moral virtues been combined with greater defects. Few persons, imagining that they intended well, have been more self-deluded. Few have more sullied their engaging amiabilities by the secret operation of selfish feelings, lurking ambition, and bilious irritabilities. In few has the grossest ingratitude been combined with more ardent pretensions to the most conscientious rectitude. The diversities of his character and his dangerous hostility produced such disturbing effects, both on Henry and in his dominions, and have so greatly injured this king's character, especially in Europe, that he becomes an important object in the historical picture of the latter years of Henry's reign. It is not often that we meet with a person of such high birth and gentlemanly education and manners descending to such coarse and acrimonious invective,

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as Pole delighted to pour out against his royal relative, his earliest friend, his constant patron, and his intellectual foster-father. His combination of talent, sensitivity and venom, remind us of the Hindu tradition, that there is a dangerous serpent amid their jungles, who bears, sparkling in his forehead, a beautiful ruby.

When Edward IV. had permitted or consigned his brother Clarence to perish under the charge of treason, in the butt of Malmsey[1], this prince left two children[2], Margaret, the mother of Pole, and one son, whom Richard III. imprisoned from the fear of his rivalry[3]; and whom Henry VII. after continuing, from the same motive, his captivity, till his unexerted intellects sank into debility, at last put, without any just cause, to death, to secure the crown to his own family, as Pole declares[4]; and to fulfil, as Pole's biographer, apparently from his information[5], with more detail asserts, the iniquitous bargain with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, when they agreed that their daughter Catherine should be married to the royal subject of this volume[6]. Such a contract

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[1] See Hist. Eng. Middle Ages, v. 3. p. 346–9. octavo.

[2] We have Beccatelli's life of Pole, in two forms, his own Italian, and a Latin version of it, by his friend And. Dudithius; both were Pole's contemporaries. They are printed with his 'Epistolæ.' The Latin, in the first quarto volume; the Italian, in the fifth.

[3] Beccat. p. 358. Dudith. p. 4.

[4] Pole thus mentions it to Henry 8th. 'Me, the son of his sister, whom tho he was the most innocent of all men, as every one knows, yet because he seemed too near the royal name, from which impediments might arise as to the succession, your father himself took care that his life should be taken away.' De Eccl. Unit. p. 81.

[5] 'A me ha detto,' Bacc. p. 362. 'As Pole told me,' Dudith. p. 10.

[6] Beccatelli thus narrates: 'For the catholic kings of Spain (Ferdinand and Isabella), and Henry 7th, treating of Catherine's marriage with Henry, and fearing a nephew of Edward 4th, earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence, it was settled that he should die before (prima che)

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of assassination, would rather suit a Louis XI. or a Cæsar Borgia, than either Henry or Ferdinand, both moral and religious princes; but it is so expressly declared to have been made by two friends and contemporaries of Pole and of Catherine, that no historian would be justified in omitting the circumstances.

Imprisoned from his cradle to that brief escape which preceded and produced his grave, the unfortunate Warwick found birth and fame to be his greatest enemies[7]. Death was to him a removal to happier chances; but his fate fixed a sting in the consciences of those who caused it, which excited a remorse that was the more lasting, for being wholly unavailing. Robbery may be repaid, but the dead cannot be recalled. Henry VII. could neither forget nor compensate the crime of his interested policy; but he took a paternal care of Margaret, the only survivor of the race of Clarence, and selected out of the Welsh nobility one who had a genealogical affinity to himself, sir Richard Pole, to be her husband[8]. The marriage was fruitful. Besides Reginald Pole, the cardinal, she had two elder and one younger son, and two daughters. Their father died in early manhood; but their excellent mother withdrew from the pomp of greatness, and devoted herself to their welfare. She carefully nurtured the

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the marriage of Catherine took place. Henry 7th had this deed performed in 1499.' p. 358. Dudithius mentions the same in his Latin, p. 4.

[7] Pole says, 'Nothing impelled him (Henry 7th) to the murder of my uncle, who, by the admission of all, was all his life a most innocent man, as much so as a babe of a year old, but that he was the son of the brother of Edward 4th. Being the only male left of the York line, he foresaw how easy it would be to raise new seditions for this prince's sake, on the right of succession, to the prejudice of his own house.' Eccles. Unit. p. 81.

[8] Beccat. 358. Dudith. 5.

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future cardinal, placed him at a school connected with a Carthusian cloister, about seven miles from London, where he laid the foundation of his grammatical education. At a proper age he was removed to Oxford, and there enjoyed the advantage of having Linacre and Latimer for his instructors[9]. It was about this time that his peculiar obligations to Henry VIII. began; and nothing expresses more strongly this king's magnanimity of soul, than his kind conduct to young Pole.

If the imprisoned Warwick had been so dangerous to his father, from representing the line of York, the princely sons of Warwick's sister, who multiplied it anew, could not be less so to himself. Yet Pole says of our Henry VIII. "Out of all the English nobility, you selected me to have a careful education. You had me instructed in virtues and letters from a child. If I had profited but little, it has been my own fault, but your kindness was certainly very great. It was such, that no kingly father could have given more to a prince, his son. No man could have conferred upon another an ampler benefit, nor one more pleasing to the Deity himself[10]."

It was in the year 1520, when Pole had completed his nineteenth year, that he wished to visit Italy, to pursue the studies which at that time were so highly honored there[11]. But he wanted the means of living abroad with the distinction he liked, and made an application both to the king and Wolsey for an assisting pension[12].

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[9] Beccat. 359. Dud. 6.
[10] De Eccl. Unit. p. 120.
[11] Beccat. 359. Dud. 6.
[12] His autograph Latin letter to the prime minister, on the occasion,

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His petition was earnest; but his habits or notions of comfort must have been rather those of a prince, than of a necessitous subject; for his biographer assures us, that he then had ecclesiastical benefices, which he seems to have derived from the royal bounty, and from those and other sources, an income apparently amounting to six hundred pounds a year, which at that period was more than equivalent to three thousand pounds now [13].

Henry listened to the request with such a liberal kindness, that he granted him immediately a pension of three hundred pounds more [14]. With this munifi-

written from Oxford, yet remains in the British Museum. After the most flattering compliments to the cardinal, he tells him, 'You are perhaps not ignorant that some months ago his majesty expressed his intentions of sending me to Italy, that I might imbibe more fully that literature which I have been tasting here from my childhood. Among your unbounded favors I owe you this supreme kindness, that you have led the prince into this opinion. But if I go there, I must live at a greater expense than in this country. If you command me to go in no better condition, I will be ready immediately. But reflect, whether it will be honorable to him, that the person whom out of his immense benignity he does not disdain to call his relation, should be reduced to that scantiness of money, that he should be unable to pay a preceptor, unless he lives himself most wretchedly, nor if he could get a gratuitous teacher, would not yet have enough to buy books for his improvement.' MS. Vesp. p. 13. dated Oxford, Oct. Prid. Nonus. p. 205, 6.

[13] An original letter of Winter, from Padua, 7th April, to the secretary of state, informs us of a few characteristic circumstances of his journey. He had himself consumed in it 156 scutata, having had to buy two horses, at a great expense, and must have bought a third, unless Pole had given him one. At Padua, they had expected soon to have accommodated themselves with every convenience. But it was too full; neither for intreaties nor money, could they find lodgings with any respectable person. For two weeks they tried in vain, and were forced to remain at their inn, at a very heavy expense. At last, thro the influence of the English ambassador, they hired a house for what he considers a dear price of 36 scutata. But it was unfurnished; and 'while (he exclaims) I was buying furniture, beds, linen, rugs, tables, tripods, benches, pots, dishes, stools, spoons, and other articles, besides books for my studies, I found 150 pieces fly out of my purse; and still want 200 more, before I can sit down quietly to my studies.' MSS. Nero. B. 6. p. 122.

[14] What the Italian life calls 1,000 scudi, the Latin calls 1,000 aurei,

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cent addition, which raised his income to almost five thousand pounds a year of our present value, Pole set off for Padua, to which Winter, a natural son of cardinal Wolsey, was also travelling[15].

Pole's letter to Henry, dated about a month after Winter's, not only expressed his gratitude to the king but ventured to make a further solicitation for his bounty[16]. This was written in 1520, and no phrases

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gold pieces, which, estimated at the value put by Beccatelli, in the next note, would be six hundred English pounds. He says, 'that the greater part of this income arose from the deanery of Oxford, and other benefices, resigned to him by his friend, Richard Pace.' p. 359. Dud. 6.

[15] Beccatelli, p. 359. Dudithius mentions the money only as 500 aurei, or gold coin; but Beccatelli mentions, that 500 scudi were about 300*l.* They seem to have been what are called scutata, in Winter's letter.

[16] It is a letter dated from Padua, 5 Cal. May. 'After I had with immense fatigue reached Padua, to which your majesty had sent me, nothing seemed more suitable to my duty to your sublimity, on which all my life and studies hang, than to send letters, in which, as far as my immaturity should be able, I might return thanks for such an immortal benefit. But, in order that I may more conveniently persevere in this learning, I would solicit your majesty's assistance, altho to thank you for what you have done, exceeds the oratory of the most eloquent speaker. I hope to express my mind hereafter far better than I can now do it by words.

'But if ever your help should be necessary, it is now particularly important to me to implore your majesty; for unless you immediately assist me, I shall not only be entirely indigent of all that will do you honor, but also of what are essential to my studies: for I have consumed in my journey a great portion of the pension which your benignity conferred upon me, tho I have endeavored, by concealing my quality, to be able to live at a diminished expense. But before I reached this city, the magistracy heard of my coming, and prepared a most magnificent house against my arrival. The noble intentions of so great a prince had flown from mouth to mouth, and they more especially extolled you for this, that with such a divine mind towards letters and literary men, you had not only patronised all who were under your dominion, and given them great rewards, but that you also had not been afraid to send your cousin to a distant country, for the single reason that he might acquire literature and science. I told them that you had sent me to learn, and not to receive honors; but they answered, that what they did, was not done to me, but to my prince.'

After noticing the kindnesses of others to him, he adds; 'But I cannot honorably remain any longer in these parts, unless I am supplied by your benignity with those means by which I may feed my studies. I hope

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could be a greater panegyric on Henry, than that a person who stood to the public eye as a representative of that popular family, which had been the most dangerous competitors for the throne he occupied, should feel that he could not only unoffendingly appeal to the king for more pecuniary bounty; but also, at the same time, confess the public honors that were paid him on account of his birth. But so far was Henry from having any of the political jealousy of a Tiberius on this ground, that he received the letter with unabating kindness, and gave him the means of remaining in Italy with undiminished consideration for five ensuing years.

Pole lived during this time in a handsome palace with a correspondent household. His first care was to become acquainted with the most eminent men of literature at every academy near. His rank as an Englishman of princely birth, was sufficient to distinguish him in that day of heraldry and pride: but the peculiar sweetness of his manners, the vivacity of his genius, and his playful affability, endeared him to all whom he chose to know. He cultivated an intimate friendship with the polite and intelligent cardinal Bembo. He attached himself to Leonicus, a philosopher well versed in Greek, and who interpreted to him from their originals in that language, both Plato and Aristotle[17]; and kept in his family, Christopher Longueil, a Fleming, emi-

your majesty will take this into consideration, and not suffer me, who have just entered Padua with the hope of imbibing valuable learning, from the want of a little money, to lose the advantage.' MSS. Nero, B.6 p. 118.

[17] Erasmus, in a letter from Friburg, of 25th August 1531, mentions Leonicus as then dying.

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nent for his oratory[18], and with him, Lupset, an Englishman, who was highly commended for his literature and piety [19]. Five years rapidly glided away in what he felt to be his intellectual elysium; but his friends in England then becoming impatient to see him, he prepared to return home. The jubilee at Rome, and the ancient fame and remains of that city attracted him to it. He was received with great honors at Florence, and with still greater at Rome: but he stayed only to inspect its venerated places, and in 1525 revisited his native island. Both Henry and his queen received him with unaffected pleasure; and the attainments and amiable manners which he had acquired in Italy attracted universal admiration [20].

Resuming his Carthusian retreat, he applied again to Henry's liberality, to give him the house which the learned Colet had built. The royal kindness granted the request, and he passed two pleasant years [21] in an elegant and studious retirement.

But the disturbing question was now arising in Henry's mind, which produced consequences so momentous and so unforeseen—that excited doubt of the

[18] The death of Longueil, or as it is latinized, Longolius, is regretted by Erasmus, in a letter to Pole, dated Basle, 8th March 1526. His Orations and Epistles have been often published. Pole wrote a life of him, which is prefixed to his works.

[19] The commendations of Erasmus are a gift of long-continuing reputation. He thus mentions this worthy man, in an epistle to Pole, Basle, 4th Oct. 1525: 'Thomas Lupset has so painted you in his letters, that you could not be more known to me if I had been for some months domesticated with you. I rejoice, that in these most deplorable times, some arise who can defend and adorn the cause of piety and good letters. Lupset breathes an incredible benevolent care towards you.' 1 Pole, Ep. p. 394. In another, Erasmus mentions him as just dead, in August 1531. ib. 396.

[20] Beccatelli, p. 360. Dudith. 7.

[21] Dud. 7. Beccat. 360.

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validity of his long marriage; which soon became a belief that it was an union which nothing could legitimate, and a desire that all other persons, whose opinions he respected, should so consider it.

When the cabinet of Henry, being divided on this subject, sought to obtain the sentiments of men of celebrity upon it, Pole had acquired too much reputation to be passed unnoticed; and one day while he was visiting cardinal Wolsey, Cromwell, the prime minister's secretary, mentioned the disagreement of the royal counsellors, and sounded the admired traveller on the subject. But Pole, from reasons which we shall afterwards investigate, gave no encouragement to the scruples of his king and patron. Cromwell intimated the duty, and the benefit of coinciding with his master's wishes; and Pole in reply supported the juster sentiment, that the king's honor and his advantage, not his humor, were to be consulted by confidential advisers. Cromwell enlarged on the necessity of pleasing princes, and of supporting their power; and asked the other, as he had just come from Italy, whether he had read there the newly published book of a most acute and ingenious modern, who did not frame dreams like those of Plato in his Republic, but who had written those facts which daily experience had convinced him to be true. Pole declared himself to be unacquainted with such a work, and Cromwell promised to send it to him. He did so. The young student read it, and says he found it to be a composition of the great enemy of the human race. As Satan has every where, he remarks, his progeny scattered about, who will mingle themselves with the children of heaven; so this

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author, an actual son of his pandemonian majesty, had by this book spread his poison thro the courts of princes, for it had got every where into them. It was Machiavel's Prince, which he thus characterises; to the doctrines of which Cromwell was desirous that Pole should become a convert [22].

Henry having decided to repudiate his queen Catherine, and to marry again, Pole wished to be absent from discussions on which he had fixed his mind in sentiments contrary to those of his benefactor; and wisely requested leave to visit Paris, for his further improvement. Permission was granted, and he went immediately to the French metropolis. But Henry was at this time sending over Europe for the opinions of its most celebrated schools of theology and learning, on the moral and religious propriety of his marriage. And Pole being at Paris, it was a natural conception that he was a proper person to be requested to consult the literary seminaries of France. Enraged at the cause from his personal disappointment, he excused himself with the pretence of unfitness for so great a task [23]. He

[22] Pole gives this curious anecdote in his Apologia to Charles 5th, 133–7. He characterises the work as that in which all the counsels of Satan are explained, and the modes by which religion, piety, and all disposition to virtue, may most easily be destroyed. p. 136. But he admits that the Florentines then viewed their countryman's work in a different light. He states a conversation which he had with them the preceding winter, on this subject. They contended that he addressed it to one whom he knew to be of a tyrannical nature, that if he attempted to do such things, he might expose himself to derision; and that his object in recommending to a tyrant the actions that would please one, was, that he might rush headlong to his own downfal. ib. 152.

[23] He says, in his book, that his vexation at the unexpected request, took away, not only his voice, but almost all his thought; and that he solicited the king to forgive his inexperience, and to send one more practised in such business. De Eccl. Unit. p. 79.

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stayed at Paris only twelve months, and then returned again to England, for two years more, to his rural retreat. But as Henry became indignant with the pope for his purposed protractions of the divorce, and was about to dismiss the nuncio to the queen, he was told that to make the English nobility approve of his measure, he must get Pole to coincide with them. For this purpose the kinsmen of this gentleman intreated his acquiescence; and the great sees of York and Winchester, worth, says Beccatelli, thirty thousand scudi or aurei, were offered to him, and were successively kept four months open, with the hope of his acceptance [24]. His brothers were earnest that he should take the proffered dignity. He refused. They urged him with vehemence to gratify the king, by whom he was so greatly loved, and not to excite a displeasure that might be ruinous to his family. His answer was firmly persisted in, that he could not act against his own conscience by complying with their wishes [25]. A noble fortitude, if it really sprang from moral principle, and was not the offspring of less disinterested feelings.

But he now took a resolution, which was at least extraordinary. It was to go to the king himself, and to state his objections personally to his conduct. He made the enthusiastic visit. Henry received him with good humor, and, with the familiarity of a friend, took him into his apartment. At this kind treatment Pole's tongue, as he expresses it, stuck in his mouth. His sovereign's affectionate courtesy

[24] These had been held together by Wolsey, and became vacant by his death, on 29th November 1530.

[25] Beccatelli, 361. Dudith. 8, 9.

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paralysed his intended opposition. It is to be regretted, from the sorrowful consequences which followed, that he had not contented himself, when thus disarmed, with paying his usual homage, and withdrawing without offending. But he recovered his self-possession, from Henry's gracious affability, and poured all his reasons to deter or dissuade him from his divorce and second marriage.

This censure painfully bruised the tenderest nerves of Henry's heart. Pole told Beccatelli that the king was exceedingly moved; that his countenance changed; that he placed his hand upon his dagger, which was hanging from his girdle, and seemed meditating an hasty act of wrath and violence, but at last recovering himself, he mildly said, "I will consider your opinion, and then give it an answer[26]." He dismissed Pole immediately from his presence, but mentioned to one of his household, that Pole had so enraged him, that he thought he should have stabbed him; but he saw so much simplicity and integrity of mind about him, that he could not do it. We may admire Pole's courage in expressing his sentiments so freely, and his skill in calming the indignation he had raised. But we must also applaud Henry's resumed self-command, and more especially that rarely paralleled magnanimity of mind, which needs no other encomium than an extract from the unvarnished narrative of Pole's friend and biographer: "The king had still such an affection of mind towards him, that tho he had been

[26] 'Io considerara questa vostra opinione et poi respondera.' Beccat. 362. As Pole mentioned on a future occasion, that he had *delivered* to the king a book concerning his matrimony. MSS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 335. It was perhaps given at this interview.

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most grievously offended by him, he could not be brought to hate him. But when he heard that Pole wanted to withdraw again to a foreign academy, he so kindly assented to it, that he let him have the entire pension which he had before appointed for him[27]." This was in the year 1531 or 1532, when Henry was about forty years old. How few princes, how few men, have exhibited such a generous friendship! Up to this time at least, Henry had a heart of human kindness.

Pole went to Avignon in France, but could not remain there a year, on account of the unusual tempests, which made the residence disagreeable. He travelled on to Padua in 1532, where Beccatelli was then studying[28], and here began in himself a spirit as new, and a change of character as striking, as the mutations for which he arraigned his cousin, the English monarch.

At Padua he extended his literary acquaintance, and devoted himself to the studies he loved[29]. His correspondents were numerous; among these we find Erasmus[30], and Sadoletus[31]. But his principal

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[27] Dudith. p. 10. Beccat. 362.

[28] Ib. The highly cultivated card. Bembo thus wrote of him from Padua, in July 1526. 'He came to me in company with *Monseignor of England*; who besides the nobility of his blood, being the nearest relation the king has, is also the most virtuous, learned and steady youth that now exists in all Italy.' Lett. p. 88. Thirty years afterwards, his epithets of Pole to his friend Boldre are similar: 'E signor molto singolare, e bueno, e dotto e savio.' ib. v. 2. p. 101.

[29] Beccatelli, besides Bembo, mentions his intercourse with Triphon, Gabriele, Marc Antonio Genova, Lampridio da Cremona, Lazaro da Bassano, Geno the bishop of Fano, and Monseignor de Chieta. p. 363.

[30] Erasmus wrote to him from Friburg, 25th Aug. 1531. Pole, Ep. 1. p. 396.

[31] On 27th November 1532, Pole acknowleges to Sadoletus, the receipt of his book on education, 'de liberis instituendis,' and regrets that it contained nothing on theology. p. 397–402. Sadoletus answers

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friends were Alvisi Priuli, a venetian gentleman, to whom he became much attached, and the cardinal Contareni, whom he greatly revered. Pole's abilities and celebrity attracted friends wherever he appeared. It was a rare thing to see such high birth united with so much talent, affability, intellectual cultivation and love of those who pursued it. He was at that time honored, beloved and applauded, wherever his name was known, and his fame was travelling to all parts of Europe. Nor do any seem to have been attached to him with a warmer or more disinterested affection than his own sovereign, whom he now, without any personal provocation, and with the most wilful and unnecessary bitterness, proceeded to attack and revile, and thus to convert a long continued benefactor and affectionate friend, into an implacable and pursuing enemy.

Pole moved occasionally from Padua to Venice, varying in his health[32]. The interest which Henry took in his concerns, tho abroad, appeared from one Theobald being allowed or requested to write to the king about him. This person's letter indicates, that both the king of France and the emperor, as well as the Venetian states, were also directing their attentions to him[33].

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him from Carpentras, 3d December, 'That his theology was in his work 'de Philosophia,' and would appear more fully in his Hortensius.' p. 405.

[32] There is a prescription of Baptista's, at Venice, dated 29th July, for alleviating his 'dolores articolares,' and on 30th Sept. Cole writes to Moryson, 'When your book is printed, I would be glad to see it. I hear my master hath a catarrh that vexes him sore. I pray you visit him.' MSS. Nero, B. 6. 140, 145.

[33] Theobald's letter to the king is dated Chaldere, 16th August, 'Pleaseth your grace to understand Mr. Pole's steward, Mr. Throgmorton, was at Padua, to provide himself for sheets and other necessaries for his master's household, who shewed to a Lombard that his master should be at Venice the most part of this winter, attending the time of

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In 1534, the act of parliament passed, which directed that the king should be taken and reputed to be the only supreme head on earth of the church of England[14]. A measure like this was such an abrogation of the papal authority in every country which adopted it, that it roused both the resentment and the hostility of the pope, and of every ecclesiastic that aspired to be a pope, or to profit from his power. It also displeased those who thought the supremacy of the pope to be essential or advantageous to the interests of religion: and it alarmed many who believed that wherever this was overthrown, a great abridgment would be made of ecclesiastical wealth and privileges. It was followed by another statute, for the personal protection of the king[15].

This overthrow of the predominant authority of the pope in England was defended here by many, and among others, by two dignitaries of the English church, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, and Sampson bishop of Chichester, in two separate publications[16]. These books were sent to Pole at Venice[17],

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the council, for the Venetians, he said, were very desirous of him; and how greatly and lovingly the emperor and the king did entertain his master, which both should commune more and shew greater friendship unto him than to the pope and the rest of the cardinals.' MSS. Nero, B. 6. p. 148.

[14] Statutes of the Realm, v. 3. p. 492.

[15] Stat. Realm, p. 508.

[16] Gardiner's book was printed 1534. He mentions the king's supremacy as being 'the whole consent of Englishmen, which all men are bound to wish, and to their utmost power see kept safe, restored and defended from wrongs.' It was reprinted in 1506, with a violent preface by Bonner, calling the pope a very ravening wolf drest in sheep's clothing. Yet both these men became afterwards his violent and sanguinary defenders. See Strype Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 264–5. Sampson's treatise appeared in 1533. See it in Strype, p. 237. and in App. 162.

[17] In a letter to his friend Contarenus, dated Venice, 1st January 1535, Pole mentions that he had received from England Gardiner's book,

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with the hope of influencing his mind to adopt the opinions they maintained [38]. But he read them with an averted spirit [39]. He communicated them to his confidential friends [40], and became eager to answer them [41], but alludes to his want of sufficient time and leisure [42].

Henry's regard for Pole, his high estimation of his talents, and his perception of his influence, made him anxious to have his cousin's approbation, if not exertions, on his side, in this controversy with the pope: and Dr. Starkey, an English gentleman well known to Pole and his family, was the instrument who conveyed the king's wishes on this subject [43]. Some time having passed without receiving any

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de Obedientia, 'in which the same argumeot is treated as in the book of Sampson, that the king is the supreme head of the English church, and that there is no superior authority of the Roman pontiff.' Epist. v. 1. p. 429. By his words, quoted in note 69, it would seem that he considered them as sent to him by the king.

[38] 'These books have been sent to me to instruct me in that opinion, which the king desires me to follow.' Epist. v. 1.

[39] 'What will happen to the wretched people who have such pastors.' ib. 428. 'There is nothing in their books that can deter one of moderate understanding from answering them.' ib. 430.

[40] He says to Contareni in his letter from Venice, 8th Feb. 'I see you have read Stephen's book which I sent to you.' p. 432.

[41] 'However I may feel, it does not permit me to be silent, and I willingly bear the necessity of writing which they have imposed upon me, because if they had commanded me to be silent, as things now are, I could not have obeyed them.' p. 429, 430.

[42] Ib. p. 432.

[43] Starkey thus wrote them to Pole, 'his pleasure was, that you should, like a learned man, ponder and weigh the nature of the things as they be in themselves, and setting apart all dangerous effects which of them may ensue; and leaving all such things to his high wisdom and policy, declare your sentence truly and plainly without color or cloke of dissimulation, which his grace most peculiarly abhors, *not willing you of this thing to make any great volume*, or book; but truly to gather the most effectual reasons which in your stomach be of most weight, setting them forth after your plain fashion of writing. This was his grace's pleasure that I should to you write.' MS. Cleop. E. 6. 354. Strype has given copious extracts from these letters, v. 1. p. 361–7.

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answer, Starkey again urged him, and Pole at last intimated that he would compose a work on the subject, but did not describe its intended contents[44].

From Starkey's letters, it is obvious that Henry's mind continued in great kindness and respect to Pole, to the end of April 1535. Nothing had then occurred on the king's side, to cause any personal irritation between them; and up to that period Pole had not intimated to his generous sovereign, any intention of an abusive attack.

But how can we acquit him of a dissimulation as dishonorable as his ingratitude, when we find from Pole's letters to his confidential continental friends, that at this time he had been for four months preparing to sting his royal benefactor!

In January 1535, without giving Henry or Dr. Starkey any notice of his intention, instead of a friendly letter with a friendly statement of his sentiments on the marriage and primacy, as the king had desired, he began to compose a volume in defence of the pope's pre-eminence. On the 8th February he wrote to Contareni, that he should soon send him "that part of my writings in which I dispute against them, for the primacy of the Roman pontiff, and answer their reasons[45]."

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[44] We learn this answer from Starkey's reply to him, which begins thus: 'I am glad that at the last, by your letter of the 12th of April to John Walker, we have heard of the receipt of such letters as were written to you concerning the king's pleasure; for much I marvelled that of this long time I heard nothing of the deliverance of the same. But however it was that they were kept from you, glad I am that at the last they are arrived to your hands, and much more glad that by those few words you wrote in haste, I perceive you will with all diligence apply yourself to satisfy the king's most noble request and pleasure.' MSS. Cleop. E. 6. 358.

[45] Pole's Epist. 1. p. 433.

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On 28th February, he informs his friend, "That portion which is the greatest, in which the authority of the supreme pontiff is discussed, I have now completed, and will send it immediately to you, by the most expeditious carrier. You may receive it before this reaches you. I will not cease to labor at the rest, that the whole work may be ended[46]."

By the 4th March 1535, his volume was completed, for he then informed the cardinal, that as he had dispatched to him the former part, by Prioli, in which he had answered the arguments of Sampson, against the primacy of the pope, so "I would now have sent the rest, which has grown into the size of a great volume, but that I began to doubt if I were not transgressing the bounds of modesty, in presuming to call you from your illustrious studies, to read my writings[47]." Four days afterwards we find him adding the last part, on the penance to which he exhorts the king[48]; and on the 24th March he repeats that he had finished the whole work, and assents to its being shown to the pope, tho he is afraid lest it should get known in England, that the pontiff had seen it before the king, to whom it was addressed[49]. He had on a former occasion expressed his delight that his letters should have pleased his papal chief[50].

But Pole was not only acting with jesuitical duplicity in preparing the deadliest weapon with which he could strike his unsuspecting sovereign, and in

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[46] Pole's Epist. 1. p. 431.
[47] Ib. p. 434.
[48] Ib. p. 440.
[49] Ib. 443. On 30th March he had sent his friend the entire book, for he writes. 'now you have the whole work perfect.' 448.
[50] 'Valde gaudeo.' ib. 428.

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allowing it to be perused by his angriest enemies, while he was subsisting by Henry's bounty, receiving kind communications from him, and leading him to suppose that he cherished and retained all his friendly sensibilities; but he was deliberately persisting to insert in his work the most vituperative charges and invectives against his king, contrary to the opinion even of his papistical friends. It appears from his own letters, that both Prioli and cardinal Contareni disapproved of the violent passages against Henry; and advised him to cut them out, as injurious to the cause he was advocating[51]. But Pole would not omit them. In defiance of the advice of his two best friends, as well as of every moral and christian feeling, he continued them in his book. They exist in the printed copies, and they have furnished the papal adversaries of Henry with their bitterest slanders. The style in which he speaks of the king, when he is vindicating his acrimonies, is evidence that some secret rancor was festering in his own heart, while Henry had no feeling towards him but kindness and beneficence[52]. While the king had

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[51] These curtailing criticisms of his friends are noticed in two of his letters. In one to Prioli, he says, 'The cardinal's admonitions are not less acceptable to me on the other part in which I seem to deal with the king 'nimis acuter et aspere,' too sharply and rudely; but I had the health of his soul in view, which will never follow unless he acknowleges his delinquencies; and unless these are placed before his eyes, how can he know them? and who, except I do, will take up the office, and I shall do it with the loss of all my property.' Pol. Ep. 1. p. 438. On 30th March he again notices the cardinal's opinion 'de resecandis' on cutting out the things which would render him 'odiosum vel suspectum nimis.' p. 446.

[52] He adds to Prioli, 'But you say that this is not the way by which he is to be persuaded even to read the book, for immediately as he shall scent that his reputation is tainted by me with contumelies, he will throw away the book, and rage against me and m friends. What then

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no anticipation of such hidden animosity, Pole is coolly suggesting the excommunication of his condescending friend[53], wishing some misfortune to befal him[54]; and hinting that the emperor ought to move in arms against him[55]. He even lances a sarcasm at the pope, for having suspended his bull of execration against him, because the admirable Catherine objected to it[56]. What traitor could be more perfidious? what spirit more malignant? He knew that Charles V. whom he wanted to stimulate into a crusade against his benefactor, was at Rome, while his violent book was under the pope's inspection[57].

But altho he had been from January preparing so deliberately this furious attack on the unsuspecting king, yet so late as the 3d June he had the profound

must I do? You advise milder words; but who as yet has acted towards him otherwise than mildly? and you see the fruit of it. Nothing will more drive him into this fury than the lenity of mankind, and the dissembling of his crimes. But you say that if lenity will not avail, much less can bitter phrases benefit. I cannot at all think so.' Pole's Ep. 1. p. 438.

[53] 'I think completely now this of the king, unless he be expelled from the church, he will never remain in it. But if from the beginning, when this affair began to be agitated at Rome, he had been excluded from the church, he would by this time have returned it.' ib. p. 438.

[54] 'The oration of no one will benefit him unless some calamity or adversity precedes, or something happen that will shake fear into him.' ib. p. 438.

[55] He exclaims, 'O Prioli! how I wish he would teach Cæsar this one thing, how great a reward with God it would be to defend the affairs of the church. I always thus feel: if he should deliver Asia from the Turks, and yet neglect so noble a region as England, now falling from the faith, tho he may acquire a larger empire, I will never say that he deserves well of the church.' p. 445.

[56] This is in his epistle from Venice to Prioli, 24th March 1535: 'I understand to-day, from some letters written from Naples, that if the queen, the aunt of Cæsar, had not interfered, the ANATHEMA would have already gone out against the king. What then! shall the affairs of the church hang upon the little soul (animula) of one woman?' ib. 445. These epistles of Pole's are published by one of his partial admirers!!

[57] He writes from Venice, 12th April, 'I have known from your letters the coming of Cæsar to the city of Rome.' ib. p. 451.

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hypocrisy to give Dr. Starkey his assurances, that he meant to serve the king in the cause desired, and to ascribe the delay of his expected remarks to the want of further instructions from the secretary of state[58]; a pretext expressed above two months after he had completed his work and allowed it to be sent to the pope. It is striking to read how little Starkey expected, at this moment, the furious composition that had been so elaborately made for the destruction of their common friend and sovereign[59].

In the spring of 1535[60] this book was written; but was confined to the private perusal of such persons as Pole allowed to see it, until May in the following year, when he selected an Englishman of his household to carry it from his residence at Venice, to England, and to deliver it personally into the king's hands. But this interval of above a year, for better and wiser deliberation, made no change in its exasperated and exasperating contents.

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[58] We learn this fact of his treacherous dissimulation in another of Dr. Starkey's letters to him. 'Sir! you have done well that by your letter of 3d June, you have somewhat more at large opened your affection and will to serve the king in the cause of you required. Wherein, tho of your will, which I knew ever to be ready to serve the king in all points that you may, I did nothing doubt; yet by your long silence moved, I could not but fear lest the cause had little liked you. But now I perceive you have been slacker in writing because you looked for further instructions by Mr. Secretary's letters; but now you have all which has been to you written in this cause.' MS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 346.

[59] 'Hereafter I shall not cease to look for your answer, trusting that it shall be with such judgment and gravity as is convenient to your learning, and to the expectation that men have thereof. For syth it is so as by your letters you declare, that with all diligence you will weigh scripture therein, laying apart all authority of man, I doubt not also that you will with like judgment, in examining of the same, put under all such prejudice as by custom and time, in simple minds, be reputed of great weight.' MS. ib. 356.

[60] The postscript, with the full date of 30th March 1535, added to his re-opened letter of the 24th March, p. 446, fixes the time of these letters to the year 1535.

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In his written instructions, which he gave his messenger, to be showed to the king [61], he asserts that he should not have written it if Henry had not desired his opinion in writing [62], altho he had been particularly requested not to compose a volume [63]. He chooses to add further, that his great motive in proceeding with it, was to prevent his sovereign's ruin [64]: and yet shaped it so as to produce, as far as he could, that king's deposition [65]; and he affirms, what is not reconcileable with his voluntarily sending it unasked, in its very beginning, to Contareni and Prioli [66], that it had been his full purpose that no one should see it before Henry [67]. It was delivered to the king [68] four days after Anne Boleyn's execution.

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[61] These are preserved in MS. in the British Museum, Cleop. E. 6. p. 334.

[62] His words are in the most important passages, 'These shall be your instructions—to be shewed to the king's highness:

'To declare to his grace my *sole* intent and purpose in writing the book—that by master secretary's letters, I took (it) as a commission, to shew my sentence herein; and this is the very cause I did write, for otherwise I think I had never set pen to book, in so little hope of persuasion, and in such a matter as (at) the time was so likely not to be all the best accepted.' MS. ib. 334.

[63] See before, p. 413.

[64] Pole adds, 'Further to declare, that after I was once entered into the matter, having sent me the books of them that have written on the contrary part, wherein I saw the truth marvellously suppressed and cloked; all colors that could be invented set upon the untrue opinion: seeing besides what acts followed of the same so sore and grievous, that except those colors were taken away, and the truth purely set forth, with declaration of the inconvenient acts, it might soon turn to the *utter undoing* of his grace.' MS. Cleop. 394.

[65] See p. 421.

[66] See before, p. 414.

[67] 'Furthermore to declare unto his grace how my full purpose and mind was, touching the book, that never no part thereof should come abroad in any man's hand before his grace had seen it; but by what means, in one part of this book I have been frustrate of my intent: this you may declare by mouth, knowing the whole matter.' MS. ib. p 335.

[68] Lord Herbert dates its delivery the 20 May 1536. p. 390. It could not be later, for Pole, on 8th June, wrote from Venice to Contareni:

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The professed object of the book is a refutation of the opponents of the papal supremacy; but its most important parts and most zealous themes, were his slanderous abuse of Henry, and incidentally of Anne Boleyn, and his base and treasonable intreaties to the emperor to attack, invade and dethrone the king, altho, as we have seen, he had been from his birth, to the very moment of his composing this traiterous libel, his most generous and unoffending benefactor. Pole is defensible on no ground but one; that every moral and natural obligation must give way to the self-imposed duty of upholding the papal hierarchy. His own vindication was, that Henry had solicited him to write. This pretext was true. He was asked for a fish, and his gift was a serpent.

In searching for the stimulus which excited Pole to this revolting conduct against Henry, we find it in the singular fact mentioned by his friend and biographer, that queen Catherine, disturbed in her conscience that her marriage should have been a cause of the earl of Warwick, Pole's uncle, having been destroyed, had projected with his mother Margaret, that one of her sons should marry the princess Mary, as a compensation for the political murder, and therefore had committed Mary to this lady's care for her first education [69]. Pole was one of the youngest

'He whom I sent with the book, having delivered it into the hands of the king, has returned to me with the greatest speed, with letters and orders from the king, of which the sum is, that the king is not displeased with what I have written, but it would be gratifying to him to confer with me upon it, and orders me home. Cromwell urges the same, but I answer, that I will not return till the king returns home—that is, to the church.' 456.

[69] Beccatelli's life, added to Quirini's edition of Pole's Epistles, v. 5. p. 358. The same fact is in the Latin of Dudithius, his contemporary. p. 4

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of these sons, and was nearest to Mary in age, and her affections inclined towards him; hence the idea of wedding her, and thereby becoming king of England, may be supposed to have been the secret vision of his fancy, which, while the princess remained unmarried, and Catherine, from whom no more issue was likely, continued Henry's wife, was always a possibility that might be realised by Mary's early friendship. But Catherine's divorce and Anne Boleyn's nuptials presenting the prospect of new offspring that would divest Mary of the throne, all the spleen of his disappointment was roused to attack Henry for repudiating the mother of that princess, and for marrying her successor. Hence these became the topics of his bitterest invectives in this celebrated book.

We have three evidences that the notion of his becoming king of England was circulated by his friends in this reign. His friend Beccatelli states in December 1536, that it was the opinion of some, that Mary might one day marry herself to him, for the love which from a child she had for him[70]. In 1539, his relations were arraigned and executed on a charge of high treason, for conspiring to promote and advance him, and to depose Henry[71]; and there is a letter to him in the next year from his friend Damiano at Louvain, foretelling that he will "yet be king of England[72]." It is probably to this secret

[70] 'Un certa opinione ad alcuni che Maria-potesse in lui un di maricirsi per la conoscenza che ne aveva et l'amor che li portava si da fanciutto.' Beccat. 364.

[71] Herbert, p. 439.

[72] This letter from Damiano a Goes to Pole, is dated from Louvain,

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hope that we are to ascribe his own unwillingness to be made a priest and a cardinal[73]. But this promotion the emperor's ambassadors as strongly urged; and one of the motives suggested for their conduct is, that it might take away the opinion of his possible marriage with Mary[74], and thereby the chance of the English crown; neither of which Charles desired to see the prize of Reginald Pole. The pope, therefore, under the private influence of the imperialists[75], altered his mind, and sending *suddenly* his chamberlain to Pole, ordered him to dispose himself to receive the cardinalship. Pole was vexed and confounded at this message[76]. Just as in Dunstan's case, it was a compulsory alternative of giving up his temporal ambition; of relinquishing all chance of his princely wife and her regal dowry. But no

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12th October 1540. This passage is thus worded, 'Farewell! amplissime Pole! whom, if there be any truth in my auguries, we shall yet see king of England. When this shall happen, remember our prediction.' Epist. v. 3. p. 38. Pole thus answered this allusion, 'I do not know whence you have taken the augury which you wrote about in your last letters, nor have I known any thing in this art.' He then says, he sees only a certainty of suffering for his country, or rather for the church, and desires him to predict about these. ib. p. 39. Thus Pole does not repel the idea as an absurdity, or as an impossibility; and from the 'adhuc' of Damiano, we may infer that it had been in view before, as it was 'yet' to take place.

[73] Beccatelli states, that he so resisted this promotion, that the pope seemed satisfied with his reasons, and promised to defer it; with which postponement, his biographer adds, 'I saw him greatly contented.' ib.

[74] Beccatelli declares, 'The minister of Charles solicited this promotion, either because it would 'tornar bene' to the affairs of the emperor, or because 'avessero caro,' to see Pole made of the church 'per levar' the opinion mentioned in note 70.

[75] Beccatelli ascribes the pope's change either to the divine will, or to the 'pratica' of the imperialists. p. 365. We take the human cause as the most probable.

[76] Beccatelli adds, 'I was with him when the chamberlain came to him, as he little expected these tidings, 'tanto piu resto confuso,' and showed in his face 'segno di poco allegrezza.' p. 365.

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time for deliberation or discussion was allowed[77]. Instantaneous obedience was demanded, and he had so repeatedly pledged himself, to the very friends who were waiting to be elevated with him, that he was actuated by no motive but the good of the church, that he went at last with mute but submitting reluctance[78]; and on 22d December 1536, was, with eleven others, invested with that scarlet hat[79] which the aspiring minds of the papal hierarchy were every where craving. It was given to him as the helmet of rebellious battle, and altho received unwillingly, because it crushed other hopes, he used it in the spirit and to promote the ends of the power which conferred it[80]. But his own book will best display his spirit[81].

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[77] Beccatelli subjoins, 'But as the time pressed, and there was no room for reply.' p. 365.

[78] His friend's selected image is the strongest he could have chosen to signify a sacrifice, considering the sacred application from which he takes it: 'Like a lamb before the shearers, he showed his obedience.' p. 365.

[79] Ib. 365.

[80] We have his own confession of his exertions, in his letter to queen Mary, on her accession, in 1553. He tells her, that heaven had been unwilling to help her before, by any human hand, either of the emperor or of any prince, 'Altho,' he adds, 'the *pope never ceased* to exhort Cæsar, ad opem ferendam, *nor was MY diligence wanting*, both soliciting to this pious work.' See it in Burnet, v. 6. p. 282.

[81] The bishop of Durham, in a letter to him of 13th July 1536, speaks justly of his book: 'The vehemency and eagerness of it in all parts, did sorely bite, and yet the whole thing ran wide of the truth. Would that you had written to his grace, your opinion briefly composed secretly in a letter.' He then expresses his surprize that he should be the author of such a book, 'wherein all the world shall repute you to be unkind to your prince and country, who ever loved you and brought you up in learning, using his learning against him, in whose defence ye ought to have spent both life and learning. In all your book there is not one quire without bitterness.' MS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 375. Pole, in reply, calls the king's mind 'deble,' if not able to digest the acerbity thereof. ib. 341.

It is manifest that this book was used against Henry as a sword of Damocles, to take a royal metaphor; or as a robber's weapon to a man's face, to use an humbler allusion. It was put into the pope's hands, and being there, it was to be published or not, according as Henry, by sub-

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mitting again to Rome, and doing penance, should chuse to prevent it. He told Throgmorton, 'That in his absence they would have published the book, if he had not prevented it, but he had suspended it when he went about reconciliation. But yet they would in nowise be satisfied with that, unless he would put them in some hope, that on his return, in case he returned desperate of the king's mind, he would be content that they should do what they and he thought best.' Therefore, Throgmorton adds, that upon his return, meaning without Henry's submission, 'hangeth, both the divulgating of the censures, *putting forth of his book*, and sending new ambassadors to all christian princes.' MS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 372, 3.

It was not till the 15th July, that he wrote his answer to the king's order for his return. In this he mentions, that the law, making every man a traitor who did not declare Henry the head of the church, hindered his returning. MS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 331.

The cardinal Quirini, the editor of Pole's letters, attempts to lessen the odium of such acrimonious writing, by observing that they were transmitted to be read by Henry only, and not by Charles, p. 57. But Pole says himself, that he wrote to impress the public mind, 'I have purposed to myself *not only* to answer the king, who asked my opinion, but also to *refute* my adversary. But *I do not act* with these only, but *much more with the people*, whose welfare I think ought to be consulted, lest they should be led away by these pernicious edicts and books. And therefore that all these councils should be more accurately revealed, exposed and overthrown.' Ep. p. 435. Accordingly we find it was made public. It was sent to Contareni, and the pope, and with no restriction as to whom they should show it. Quirini admits, that Prioli and Beccatelli also saw it. Pole wrote an address to James of Scotland, and sent a copy, as well as that to Charles. Damiani informed Pole, that a copy in Flanders had been met with by Henry's ambassador there, and burnt. So that it was in circulation, as Pole wrote it to be; and by sending it to Henry's greatest enemy, the pope, he gave Paul III. the power of making it so. A libel against an individual which we meant to confine to his knowlege, we should hardly send to his most irritated adversary.

SYNOPSIS OF POLE'S BOOK SENT BY HIM TO THE KING.

AS the Reader may now desire to know what this book was, which had been so long composed, and had been so carefully submitted to the revisal of a cardinal, of another literary friend, and of the Roman pontiff, a year before it was sent to its great object, the unsuspecting and still kind and friendly king and patron; the following synopsis of its contents may not be unacceptable here. I have consulted and extracted from two editions; the first printed in folio, at Rome, and another in duodecimo, at Ingolstadt, in 1587. I find them agree, but for exactness of reference, shall chiefly quote the latter, as it is single paged, and the other is double. There was an intermediate edition in 1555, at Strasburg.

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It is intitled, "Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis defensione." It is unceremoniously addressed to the king, as from an equal, or a mere controversial antagonist, and with no phrase more deferent or courteous than the short and common quaker "thou," and "thee," which in that age of most formal respect, rivalling even the Chinese in every written document, was a rudeness, that Pole, who was a polished gentleman, never practised to any of his correspondents, nor to Henry on any prior occasion. In the very second page we have this insulting manner.

"Thou, with no desire of knowing the truth, proposest to me the subject of disputing on the power of the Roman pontiff; to which is added, the cause of this thy new and now first-usurped honor, by which thou hast arrogated to thyself the right and name of the supreme head of the English church." p. 2. "But I am in doubt in what manner I shall write, in what manner I shall address thee, and what I shall call thee.—Thou canst not bear to be told that thou art now in a sick mind, and so sick that thou dost not retain the common sense or use of reason; for thou puttest those to death who would labor to make thee well.—I see signs in thee of a most grievous and pernicious disease." p. 5 and 6.

He proceeds, "Shall I not dare to speak, when all others, moved by the atrocity of thy deeds, thus think and every where speak of thee. They say, thou wert not only unwell, but had even parted with th soul, and had breathed out the last breath of life when these holy men were put to death by thee. The axe which deprived them of life, raised them to immortality, penetrated the vitals of thy soul, but brought eternal death upon thyself." p. 7.

Yet he says, "I attest heaven, that I have always loved thee more than any mother loves an only son. I would revere thee as never a child did a parent. Even now, tho no king of this isle has injured our common parent the church, with such bitter injuries, yet I cannot cast off my love for thee." p. 8.

This self-deceived man thus characterizes his own book: "I shall seem to be not only a very fierce adversary, but even a most cruel enemy: thou wilt deem thyself to be most grievously wounded by me: thou wilt think thy honor and fame lacerated and pressed in every way with the greatest contumely." p. 25. And yet, knowing he was doing this, he could talk of loving the man he was so attacking.

He often mentions his obligations to the king: "If I can perform any think in literature; when thou hearest me, thou wilt hear thy nurse child. If I have profited from learning, for whose sake, as the most precious of all merchandize, I have visited many provinces, whatever fruits I may have acquired from my studies, thou mayest take and claim them all as thine, by right, as produced by thy liberality." p. 11.

After a dozen pages of rhetorical incivilities to Henry, he proceeds to attack Sampson, then bishop of Chichester, whom the reader may re-

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member in his embassy to Spain, for his book which defended the deposition of the papal supremacy, and the grant of the title to Henry of Head of the English church. This was more natural, and less discreditable. The parties were more equal in their civil stations. Pole was under no obligations to Sampson, and the latter chose to become a literary controversialist.

The great offence to him of Sampson's book, was, that it inculcated too much honor to kings, and gave them a superior power to the pope in their own dominions; that it attacked obedience to the pope whom he calls the vicar of God, p. 30; and denied him to have any universal authority as the successor of St. Peter; or any right of government beyond his own Roman see; and that it affirmed, that all ought to obey and honor kings, in their own country, and therefore not to obey any longer the pope as the supreme head of the church on earth. p. 28. All these positions, and the arguments by which they were supported, he zealously attacks.

He is extravagant in his exaltation of priests. He says, " the priest is understood, maxime eminere, above all things: without them the king nihil possit." p. 77. " Many nations have lived very comfortably without kings, but no nation has lived without a priest." p. 79. " The sacerdotal office, maxime prætare in the excellence of dignity, to all other offices, in quibus regium ipsum apparet." p. 83. " I doubt whether I ought to call them the ambassadors of the people to God, or from him to the people; or whether I ought not even to *call them gods themselves*." p. 84. After asserting that a priest is called the Angel of God, he adds, " What other thing can I say of the dignity of priests, but the words of the prophet, " I have said that ye are Gods, and all the sons of the Most High." p. 86.

After this flight, we cannot wonder that he again declares, " No one can doubt that kings are in all things inferior to them (or conquered by them) in dignity. It is the people that create the king." p. 86. " But the priest bears the person of a father as to the king, and is in all respects greater than the king ' omnibus modis majorem rege esse.'" p. 87. " Kings and priests are unequal in dignity. He that should have the jus imperandi, excels the other; but this jus remains perpetually with the priest, while the king, as king, never commands the priest in his office, but he on the other hand prescribes to the king what he should do in his regal function. So we cannot doubt of the priest's superiority." p. 88.

Such were the principles by which the English king and parliament, in annulling the papal supremacy, here delivered England, and more circuitously, all Europe, until the popedom can resume its power.

He tells Henry that his superseding the power of the pope differed only from Uzziah's fault, who was struck with leprosy, by being a crime " multo majus et gravius." p. 90. Saul's wickedness was less than

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his. "Altho many infanda facinora are related in scripture, I find nothing that equals the magnitude and the atrocity of thine." p. 91. "Thy sedition against the church, exceeds in wickedness that of Dathan and Abiram; for besides the most arrogant and the most seditious expressions, thou hast added more atrocious deeds." p. 92. He charges him with imitating the pride of Lucifer, p. 93, and adds, that he may expect the acerbissimam Dei vindictam, for taking the title of the supreme head of the church. p. 96. "Heaven is now shut to thee, not to thy fields, but to thyself. Ever since thou fell into this impiety, no celestial shower has descended on thy mind." p. 98. "Thy thirst for human blood." p. 99. "Titus wished to be Pontifex Maximus, but he was no christian. Has not a worse spirit than that which tormented Saul, and would never let him rest, vexed and agitated thy mind?" p. 99.

In his second book, he attacks Sampson, for saying that the pope has no more power in England, than the archbishop of Canterbury at Rome, and for confining the pope's authority to his own territory, p. 105; and to elude the bishop's argument from the ambitious and depraved lives of the Roman popes, p. 113, he requires us to make a distinction between the "morum pravitas" and the "instituta successio," or the dignity—between the pope and the man. p. 117. For this purpose, what sounds to the ear of reason and piety, both strange and unbecoming, if not worse, he tells us, that in the pope, we honor not the individual, but the person of our Saviour. p. 128.

"Concerning him who may hold the supreme place in this state of the church, whether he be virtuous, or whether he be wicked, all should know this, that not the man, but the person of Christ in the man, honore affici. If Peter should see a man less virtuous sitting in that place, yet by whose wickedness the church would not be shaken, why should he less acknowlege the person of Christ in him, who, if the pope had been the best of men, would venerate not the goodness of the man, but Christ himself. If I say, that he should see that the church was not shaken, either by the virtue or the wickedness of any man, by how much more or less would be *Christi personam coleret*, in him who has the supreme place in it." The margin of the book prevents all mistake of meaning on this point by marking it in these words, "Christi persona in pontifice Romano colitur." p. 130. As coleret and colitur are verbs which are used to express even religious adoration, I would rather insert than translate them, that I may not mistake their intended force. It is the word applied by Roman Catholics to their worship of their saints. I believe Pole meant to inculcate that we should regard the pope with some feelings of that sort; indeed the ordinary state epithet "holiness," has the same implication. He repeats this theme, "We venerate in the pope not the probity of the man, but the person of Christ." "The pravity of the pope makes the glory of Christ more illustrious!!" p. 348.

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He proceeds to intimate, that the popes "hold the place of Christ;" that they "sustain the person of Christ." That "kings and emperors have submitted their forces to them," and kiss their feet, whether good or bad; and by this seem always to say "non tibi sed Christo." p. 131. On the same principles, the worship was paid to the Apis of Egypt, and the idols of antiquity: not to them, but to the deity in them.

On this principle, Pole goes on to say, that if all possible vices were to be heaped together in the pope's life; that he should "maxime" thus satisfy his lust, yet nothing more contumelious could be said of him, than that he was a tyrant. Pole asks, Are we to obey such a man; and insists that we are. We are to obey tyrants, and therefore much more the pope. p. 135. The rest of his second book, above an hundred pages, is devoted to the exaltation of the popedom.

It is in his third book that he deviates into a succession of the severest and coarsest censures on the king. He attacks him repeatedly for the deaths of sir Thomas More and the bishop of Rochester. He taunts him with proclaiming himself to have been an unnatural and incestuous adulterer for 20 years, when he sent to the foreign universities for their opinion on his first marriage, p. 270, to make known his infamy. p. 271. He classes Henry with Satan: "The prophet speaks of both thee and Satan, where he says, tyrants shall be his ridicule." p. 273.

He accused the king of throwing England into greater seditions than had ever appeared. That he was a true Cadmus sowing dragon's teeth. p. 281. That he plundered the monasteries by his rapacity, and his subjects by heavy taxations. p. 285. He reproaches him for having exacted more money in his twenty-six years reign, than his predecessors had done in many ages, "multis etatibus." p. 286. A most exaggerated charge. He affirms that his ancestors had waged often illustrious wars, who did not exact from their subjects a thousandth part of what he had taken. p. 286. That he had been most bitter to his nobles for the smallest offence. That they had never been less honored by any prince. That he held them all in contempt, and never suffered them to have any honor or favor, while he placed about him "alienissimos homines," raised from the lowest of the people, to whom he subjected all things. That he made himself a tyrant to compel them to grant him new honors. p. 287. That he was instructed in the art of Satan. p. 288. That he had caused five monks to be hung like thieves, p. 290, and in the garments of their order. p. 298. That he revived the fable of the ancient Giants attacking heaven, resembling them but in a more rabid cruelty. p. 292. That he realized the tale of the Seven Sleepers awaking to find every thing overthrown. p. 294. He assimilates the king to the three-headed Cerberus, p. 292; and to the Hydra. p. 293. He degrades him below the Turks, because even they honor the monks, and if they had taken London would not have committed the cruelty he has. p. 306. He charges Henry with governing England in a Turkish manner. p. 350.

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He passionately describes the execution of sir Thomas More, and his daughter's lamentation of him, to rouse a vindictive execration against Henry, p. 303–29; and Fisher's death. p. 338. He declares the king had killed many Socrates, p. 328, and that Satan had got possession of him, and held him in a net of love. p. 335. He exhibits his queen as a jezabel, p. 365, and calls her the new jezabel. p. 398. He says no king was ever so sold to sin as Henry was; none ever vexed the church as he had done. He charges him with being more cruel than pirates were whom Cæsar subdued. p. 383. He ranks him with Ahab, p. 365, and says that a lying spirit is in him. p. 399. He compares him to Nero and Domitian, but neither of these were so "immanes et feri." p. 368. "Thou seemest to all more cruel than any pirate; more audacious than Satan himself. Thou art so great an enemy to the church, that thou canst be compared with no one but with Satan." p. 383. He even brands him with being an antichrist "Christum oppugnas." p. 373. "Thou hast asked Satan to open all the gates of hell against the sons of God." p. 382. No prince ought to cultivate any friendship with him, but should pursue him with hatred, as he was more to be feared than the Mohammedan Turks. "For twenty-seven years of thy reign, nothing but thy rapine can be known. To replenish thy treasury, thou hast robbed every order of mankind. Thou hast always made a mock of thy nobility. Thy people thou never lovedst. Thy clergy thou hast harassed in every way, and thou hast most cruelly torn to pieces the worthiest persons for no reason, and not as if thou wert a man, but as if thou wert a rabid beast." p. 407.

TREASON OF POLE'S BOOK.

BUT these invectives, debasing as they are to any man who could pour them on a royal benefactor whom, at the moment of his penning them, he so warmly professed to love, and by whom he was then so liberally cherished, are not the worst parts of his book; his declarations, that Charles V. ought to invade and put down his sovereign, and that the pope should cut him off as a rotten member, remain yet to be mentioned, and to be estimated according to the moral principles or mental theories of those who read them.

"Cæsar *cannot but be* an 'infestissimus hostis' to thee, *unless* he would obviously despise the laws of nature and desert the cause of religion. Thou hast by both means so provoked him, that if ever a spark of a generous nature resides in him, or any regard for religion, he certainly cannot but oppose himself to thy attempts." p. 379. "But now what can Cæsar do? Can he, without his great disgrace, neglect his private injury to his aunt, thy wife, or suffer the church to be unavenged? He, who for some months has exposed himself to punish its enemies who infested Italy with their depredations, will he permit thee, who thus vex

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the church, to rage with impunity, against its chief children? and when he may with less danger and more ease repress all thy efforts?" p. 382.

"Does not Cæsar see this. If he would not see it, are they wanting who will show it to him; who will place this danger hanging over the Christian republic before his eyes? If others should delay, I may doubt whether I should not do it. When the love of my country and charity to the church impel me, could any private motive or personal danger restrain me? If I should hear that Cæsar was sailing with his fleet against Constantinople, I could not rest till I went to him: and if I saw him even entering the Hellespont, I should say, 'Cæsar! what art thou thinking of? whither art thou sailing with this armament? To attack the Turkish sultan, as the enemy of the Christian name!' But a greater danger hangs over our republic. There is a new enemy much more hostile than the Turk. He makes it urgent that thou shouldst much rather turn thy course that way." p. 384. He then proceeds through several pages with a warm address to Cæsar, in his greatest eloquence, to invade Henry. p. 385–394.

He repeats the same traiterous exhortation in a formal address to the emperor, which is entitled, "Apologia Reg. Poli ad Carolum 5," in which he again inveighs against Henry and Anne Boleyn, and calls upon him to attack this king before he fought with the Turks. It is printed by Card. Quirinus, in the first volume of Pole's epistles. Want of room prevents me giving more extracts of his undisguised treason; indefensible but on that ground which the Catholics of England have declared that they have abandoned.

POLE'S CHARGE AS TO MARY BOLEYN.

BUT there is one part of this defaming rhapsody yet to be noticed. He charges Henry with an improper intimacy with Mary, the sister of Anne Boleyn, before his attachment to her. As this is the only authority for this scandalous anecdote that has yet appeared in print, and all later statements are but copied from it, a short comment will not be impertinent. It is thus very loosely stated in two detached paragraphs:—"She (Anne) had learnt from the example of her sister, 'quam cito,' how soon satiety of thy concubines would seize thee, but she strove to conquer her sister by retaining a lover in thee." p. 263. His other passage is this:—"Is she not the sister of her whom thou first violated, and a long time afterwards had with thee in the place of a concubine." p. 267.

These two sentences taken together imply, that Henry had at one time violated the sister, and a long time after that, had taken her for a concubine, but had soon become tired of her. His inferences from the first are, that Anne therefore resolved to be his wife; and from the second, that her marriage became by this as illegal as Catherine's was alleged to be.

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CHAP. XXVIII.

Such a connection, if a fact, must have been known like all other facts, and as such, either seen by Pole, or learnt by him from those who saw or knew it. But instead of stating it from personal observation or information, he says expressly, that he learnt it from neither. He refers it to the pope, who being such an interested and bitter adversary, can only be the most suspicious of all authorities. "Verum, quo pacto ego hoc scio." "But by what means do I know this? because at the same time at which thou rejectedst the papal dispensation for thy brother's wife, thou contendedst with great force from the same pope, that it might be lawful for thee to marry the sister of her who had been thy concubine." p. 267. But we have a full account of the letters to the pope, and of the discussions about it before him, in the official papers from Wolsey and the ambassadors to Rome, and no parts of them mention it. That such a thing should not be known by Pole in or from England, but nine years afterwards be learnt from Rome, are such circumstances as ought to nullify any tale of slander that is not otherwise supported.

But Pole incapacitates himself from any credibility on the subject, by his mode of stating it. The last passage is part of a paragraph that begins with charging Henry with falsely pretending that a religious scruple actuated him against Catherine's marriage. Pole seriously commences this charge with saying, it was *revealed* to him from heaven that this was a false pretence: "Mihi a Deo revelatum esse." But in his very next sentence he convicts himself of a falsehood in this assertion, and utters what we should call derangement in any existing writer: "But in what manner did God reveal this to me? not, indeed, by himself as he has often done many things to many, but by that very adulteress whom thou brought into thy wife's bed." p. 266. Thus this asserted revelation from heaven sinks down into an assertion of information from Anne Boleyn. But did Anne Boleyn really tell him so? no such a thing. For instead of affirming it to be so, he shifts it away into another contradiction: "I say that she laid open all thy mind to me. How? sayest thou. I will tell thee, if thou wilt first answer me the things I am going to ask thee." p. 266. He then makes the charge about the sister, and the application to the pope, and adds this nullification of the whole: "Did she not then herself, most plainly shew what thy mind was. Did not God by her person, *she being silent*, make it certain to all that thou talkedst of the law that thou might obey thy appetite, not thy divine command." p. 267.

Thus he first says, that heaven revealed this to him; then, that it did not reveal it, but that Anne Boleyn told him. Then that Anne never said a word to him on the subject, but that heaven had made it certain to him by the application for the papal dispensation. If this be not aberration of mind, I can only say it is an incomprehensible mystification. But that any person of common sense or equity should repeat

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such a charge on such an authority, only shows how gratified some minds allow themselves to be with another's defamation.

How far Pole had either a sound mind or can be credible in any case, may be judged by another sentence of his book. He says he wrote the attacks on the king by our Saviour's command: "But what mysteries do I now speak? By whom am I commanded? What Lord has ordered me to speak such things? The same one prince! who is the common Lord both to thee and to me. Christ, I say, commanded me to write these things." "Christus, inquam, me illa scribere jussit." p. 416. We need add no more till some better evidence occurs.

It has been said that this charge occurs in a *private* letter from Pole to Henry. This is a mistake. The passage quoted as from a supposed private letter, occurs verbatim in this book, which, being addressed to Henry, has been mistakenly called a private letter. I have seen the passage no where but in this abusive volume, and believe that it has no other origin.

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CHAP. XXIX.

QUEEN CATHERINE'S DEATH—ARREST OF ANNE BOLEYN—CHARGES AGAINST HER AND OTHERS—HER INDICTMENT—CONDEMNATION AND EXECUTION.

CHAP. XXIX.

1536.

BEFORE Pole's book was sent to the king, an incident occurred which might have led the writer to suppress it, if less animosity and if no interested motives had actuated his mind in its composition. This was the death of Catherine, who expired at Kimbolton, in the beginning of January 1536[1]. She died with all the placid virtues in which she had lived; mild, forgiving, devout, and resigned; kind to her attendants, affectionate to her separated husband, and with maternal tenderness to her princely daughter. The king received the tidings with feelings that did credit to his sensibility[2] His less pru-

Queen Catherine dies.

[1] See the details in Strype. Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 370–6.

[2] Her letter to the king, written from her dictation, on her death bed, by one of her maids, has a simple pathos, and an avowal of affection which does honor to her connubial feelings, after so much temptation to resentment. It deserves to be recorded as a monument of true virtue. 'My most dear lord, king and husband! The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuse, but out of the love I bear you, to advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever, for which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all; and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father to her, as I have heretofore desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other servants a year's pay, besides their due, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow, that MINE EYES DESIRE YOU ABOVE ALL THINGS. Farewell.' Herb. 403. She died 8th Jan. Hall, 118. Godw. 138. Strype has printed her will, App. 252, and the solicitor's letter on her goods, which he considers to be 'rather better than 5,000 marks.' p. 254.

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dent queen had the bad taste and defective judgment not to suppress her joy[3]. It must have made an unfavorable impression on her royal husband's mind, at that particular moment, when his kindest recollections of Catherine were upon him. Her premature delivery soon afterwards of a dead son[4], and her indiscreet upbraidings of Henry, which her letter from the Tower alludes to, did not diminish his beginning dissatisfaction with her. She did not duly see her critical situation, nor how many agents were continually at work, to urge her to offensive imprudences, and to produce her downfal.

Of the abuse and slanders of which she was the object, we see sufficient specimens in both Pole and Sanders. The latter even accuses her of trying to poison Fisher[5]; and the former cannot mention her

[3] Pol. Verg. says, 'she rejoiced.' And Hall, that she wore yellow for mourning. (818)—a French costume, but apparently adopted with some levity of feeling, as it was contrary to the darker habit of English mourning.

[4] In February 1536. Hall, 818. The 'Histoire de Anne Boleyn,' written in French verse, which Mons. Crapelet has printed from three MSS. in the Bibliotheque de Roi, at Paris, I found, on comparing it with the citations in Meteren's 'Histoire des Pays Bas,' to be the poem which he quotes as written by Crispin, the Lord of Miherve, as I have stated in a letter to the Royal Society of Literature. He was in London at this period. He mentions this unfortunate parturition, and thus accounts for it. The king went to hunt, and was thrown from his horse so violently, that he was thought to be killed. The news of the accident, and his state, was brought suddenly to the queen, and so shocked her, that the pains of premature labour came on.

El enfanta un beau fils avant terme
Qui unquit mort; dont versa mainte larme. p. 179.

Before this, she had been frightened and endangered by a great fire, 'flamme furieuse,' bursting suddenly out, and surprising her in her chamber. It came so rapidly upon her, that if some one had not 'promptement' assisted her, and taken her out, she would have perished in the flames. Ib. p. 178.

[5] Sanders, p. 105. This charge is quite in character with his other defamations, and sufficiently characterizes them. Few slanderers have been so wilfully credulous, and taken so much pleasure in their depreciating fictions.

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name, without those epithets which are destructive of all female reputation[6]. CHAP. XXIX.

We have praised the beauty of Anne Boleyn, and exhibited the popularity with which her attractions and maidenly conduct had raised her to the throne. But the natural effect of that throne upon her mind and heart was to produce new habits and new feelings, less favorable to her moral amiabilities than the guardian restraints of a private station. Unless the soul expands and strengthens, as the worldly allotment is aggrandized, the elevation distorts it; the unaccustomed homage intoxicates, the flattery ensnares, and the accumulations of unceasing pleasure corrupt and dissolve that judgment and virtue which produced the exaltation. It was Anne's misfortune to be surrounded not only by every thing that could tempt and injure, but also by those who desired to mislead, to misrepresent, to aggravate, and to destroy. Her own imprudences allowed their malice to triumph, and the calamity came upon her with the suddenness and destruction of a thunder-bolt. Like that, it had been for some time collecting and advancing: but too joyous and unthinking in the brilliance of her summer day, she neither expected nor perceived the fatal storm, till it rushed in all its fury to overwhelm her. 1536.

It was on the first of May 1536, that the public were surprized with the tidings, that, after being with Henry at Greenwich, surveying a tilting match at which her brother was the chief challenger, and

[6] His phrases are 'meretricula,' p. 390; 'adulterinum,' p. 266; 'meretricio amore,' p. 336; 'Scortum,' p. 280; 'pellici,' Orat. p. 88; 'new jezabel,' p. 398; 'Her feralibus nuptiis,' p. 318, &c. &c.

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Norris, groom of the stole, the opposing defendant, and from which the king had abruptly risen and departed, their lovely queen was arrested in her apartments[7]. She was subjected to an immediate examination[8]; and on the next day, having in vain requested an interview with Henry, she was conveyed by the ministers to the Tower. Lord Rochford her brother, Norris, sir Francis Weston of the king's privy chamber, and Mr. Brereton, were also imprisoned[9]. The charges were adultery and its consequential treason[10].

Cranmer had been sent for out of Surrey, but was ordered by the king to remain at Lambeth, and not to come to him until desired[11]. Forbidden thus to

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[7] Hall, 819. B. Godwin, 138. Herb. 382. Burnet, 1. p. 197. Sanders mentions that the king saw her drop a certain handkerchief, which one of her favorites picked up, and then wiped his face with it. This tale may have led Shakespear to found Othello's jealousy on a spotted handkerchief, and in his Desdemona to have meant an allusion to Anne Boleyn. But the account of Sanders has this improbability, that our next notes prove that the legal proceedings against her were prepared before the Greenwich tournament.

[8] She thus describes it: 'I was cruelly handled at Greenwich, with the king's counsel, with the lord of Norfolk. He said, 'Tut, tut, tut!' and shaking his head three or four times.' Kingston's letter, in Cav. p. 224, and more imperfectly in Ellis, v. 2. p. 60.

[9] Burnet says, from his authorities, that 'when she was carried into the Tower, she fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused.' p. 198. Wyatt expresses the same. 'O, Lord!' said she, 'help me as I am guiltless of this whereof I am accused.' p. 209.

[10] The lord of Miherve ascribes the discovery to a sister of one of the lords of the cabinet vindicating herself from his reproaches for her loose conduct, by saying, that he blamed the little pigeons and pardoned the offending ravens. She explained her allusion, by accusing the queen, and Mark as the favored person. I have detailed his account of the subsequent incidents in my letter to the Royal Society of Literature.

[11] In beginning his letter of 3d May, to the king, he mentions this. 'At your grace's commandment, by Mr. Secretary, in his letters, written in your grace's name, I came to Lambeth yesterday, and do there remain to know your grace's further pleasure. And forasmuch as without your grace's commandment, I dare not, *contrary to the contents of the said letters*, presume to come unto your grace's presence.' Burnet, 1. p. 200. This

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speak to his sovereign, he yet wrote to him on the day after the queen was lodged in the Tower. His letter, altho defensible on several of the objections which have been made to it, yet is obnoxious to some criticism. He could not rationally suppose that Henry would have committed himself to such a country as England, before whose popular irritations he already bent in submission and alarm, so irretrievably, as to arrest his queen, without some evidence that was likely to be satisfactory to the legal tribunals: yet neither could the archbishop forget his own obligations to her, nor his previous estimation of her general merit. These sentiments he fairly expressed[12]; and on the latter founded an honorable hope, that her innocence would be disclosed, which he with much delicacy, and therefore with much force, suggested to the king[13]. But on the second day after a charge so disastrous and unlooked for, as he was not called upon to write, he had only to

sending for Cranmer on 2d May, with a specification not to come to the king, but to remain ready at Lambeth, for something that was to be further ordered, is liable to the construction that it was done that he might be at hand to perform something that was in his office to do; which, if we may judge from what he was actually soon afterwards required to effect, was a divorce. But if this be a just inference, and it corresponds with the circumstances in p. 443, then Henry's abrupt departure from Greenwich, on the preceding day, was but a 'jeu du théâtre,' acted upon a previous settled plan of arresting, trying and divorcing, or destroying the unwary queen.

[12] 'I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean amazed. For I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her, which maketh me to think *that she should not be culpable.* Now I think, that your grace knoweth, that next unto your grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living.' Lett. Burn. Hist. 1. p. 200.

[13] 'Wherefore, I most humbly beseech your grace, to suffer me in that, which both God's law, nature, and also his kindness, bindeth me unto; that is, that I may, with your grace's favor, wish and pray for her, that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent.' Burn. Hist. 1. p. 200. This was a mild intimation to Henry, that he ought to have the same wish and hope.

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remain in silent desire, that the dreadful accusation might be unfounded or exaggerated, and needed not to have penned a line that could operate to her prejudice; and yet the strong reasons which he inserted for the unpitying punishment that she ought, if proved guilty, to receive[14], must, as coming from the king's great spiritual adviser, have tended to justify in his mind the fatal severity which he exerted against her. No enemy could have put a point so dangerous at that moment, with an emphasis more likely to be injurious. It took off from Henry's conscience the counteraction which might have suspended his hand, when he signed her deadly warrant. Before he dispatched his letter, the prelate was visited by the lord chancellor, the earls of Oxford and Sussex, and by the lord chamberlain, who stated the facts which could be proved against her; and he expressed in a postscript, his regret at their account[15].

Whether she was innocent or guilty, the poor deserted lady[16] does not appear to have had one friend

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[14] His words are, 'If she be found culpable, considering your grace's goodness towards her, and from what condition your grace, of your only meer goodness, took her and set the crown upon her head, I repute him not your grace's faithful servant and subject, nor true unto the realm, that would not desire the offence, *without mercy*, to be punished, to the example of all others.' ib. 201. A Wolsey, a Cromwell, or a Radamanthus, might have said this; but did it become the heart of him whom she had so much obliged, to volunteer such an instigation?

[15] His postcript was, 'I am exceedingly sorry that such faults can be proved by the queen, as I heard of their relation,' Burn. Hist. p. 201.

[16] So much had she mistaken her friends, that she told Kingston, 'I would I had my bishops, for they would all go to the king for me.' Singer's Cav. p. 224. Ellis, v. 2. Even her chaplain, Shaxton, then a bishop, was so far from befriending her, that in a letter from him to Cromwell, on 23d May, four days after her execution, now much mutilated by fire, these imperfect passages against her are still legible. 'She sore slandered the same—hath exceedingly deceived me—that vice that she was found — Lord have mercy on her soul.' MS. Otho. c. 10.

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on the alarming emergency, to have suggested to her husband any consideration that could produce compassion, lenity, reasonable doubt, calm investigation, fair criticism, a delay sufficient to ensure dispassioned justice, and that mercy which even if a criminal, yet such a criminal from such a final awarder, had a claim to receive, as well as nature's impulse to solicit, and nature's hope to expect. The current of belief ran immediately against her. The fear lest the beginning reformations should be injured by her accusation, hurried over her friends to abandon her.

One of her first steps after her imprisonment, was to send from the Tower, four days after she had entered it, that letter to the king which has been too hastily thought to be above her abilities. It has the appearance of being a genuine[17], but an artificial production of her mind; tho from its unconciliating and reproaching tone, it was not a judicious one. It asserts her innocence, but yet not with that warmth and simplicity of natural emotion, which from a female of her rank and sensibility, unjustly calumniated and convicted, might have been looked for. It has the inconsistency of iritating, while she

p. 260. Was this a justifiable conviction of her guilt? or was it merely as the poetess translates—

When smiling fortune spreads her golden ray,
All crowd around to flatter and obey;
But when she thunders from an angry sky,
Our friends, our flatterers and lovers fly.

Rambler.

[17] A copy of this letter, dated 6th May, having been preserved among lord Cromwell's papers, with Kingston's letters, is good evidence of its genuineness. This is in MS. Otho. c. 10. p. 228. It has been printed by Herbert, p. 382, and by Burnet, App. v. 1. p. 154. I agree with Mr. Ellis, that Anne was too closely guarded to allow of any one concerting such a letter with her. Orig. Lett. 2. p. 53. I do not think that there is any thing in it superior to her other letters and authentic speeches.

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dreaded and meant to supplicate; but it is more like the subdued and angry phrase of a conscious and guarded pleader, than the pathetic language of a wounded upright heart[18]. Nor can it deserve the praise it has received of being an affectionate appeal. The hint that she should have been satisfied if he had not addressed her[19], gave strength to one of the charges made against her at her trial[20], and fastened on her memory by her greatest adversary afterwards[21]. It could only excite in Henry a vexatious mortification. As little could it please him to be told that she expected his inconstancy[22]; repeating thus one of the faults for which she blamed herself in her address to the peers. After one truly

[18] Its first paragraphs are, 'Sir! your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour, by such a one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command.

'But let not your grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowlege a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded.' Burnet, p. 154.

[19] 'And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased.' Burn. p. 154.

[20] It was alleged, that she had said to her paramours, that the king never had her heart. Burn. v. 1. p. 202.

[21] Pole, in his letter of 15th July 1536, to Henry, mentions of this lady, 'which at her death declared she never bore love nor affection to you.' MSS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 828. As he was not in England at the time, he can have only repeated the information of others.

[22] 'Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I *always looked* for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject.' Burn. 154. Was this just language to a king, who had persevered in waiting above five years, amid every worldly opposition, and against every worldly interest, on purpose to marry her?

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impressive paragraph[23], she adds a demand for a public and impartial trial, with an animation that became her situation[24]; but she inserts a provoking insinuation, that she was the victim of his attachment to another[25]; of which she reminds him that she had already upbraided him[26]. The following imputation that he would destroy her to possess a new favorite[27]; and the epithets, "unprincely and cruel," which she attaches to him[28], were so imprudent, that they seem more like the language of self-convicted despair, than of endangered innocence. But to solicit, in behalf of those who were arraigned

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[23] 'You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honor, good your grace! let not any light fancy, or bad council of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favor from me; neither let that stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter.' Burn. p. 154.

[24] 'Try me, good king! but let me have a lawful trial: and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges. Yea, let me receive an open trial; for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, *or my guilt openly declared*.' ib. I do not like this alternative, as an innocent person would not suppose such a possibility.

[25] 'So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow *your affection, already settled*, on that party, *for whose sake*, I am now as I am.' Burn. p. 154.

[26] 'Whose name I could, some good while since, have pointed unto; *your grace being not ignorant* of my suspicion therein.' ib.

[27] 'But if you have already determined on me; and that, not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then, I desire of God that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise my enemies, the instruments thereof.' ib.

[28] 'And that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear; and in whose judgment I doubt not, whatsoever the world may think of me, mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.' ib. 155.

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as her dishonoring favorites[29], the person whom they were accused of most injuring, could only add irritation to suspicion, and give to resenting jealousy new fuel and some foundation. It was not at all likely to benefit them; and the king could hardly fail to remark, that this part of her letter is the most earnest paragraph that it contains[30].

On considering these tendencies of her letter, it is not probable that it did her any service, in the affronted and indignant state of mind in which Henry must have felt himself, at being forced to display to the world, that his wife was supposed to have placed him in that situation which society satirizes even more than it pities; and which most husbands who have the power, in every country—even in rude Africa, as in ancient Saxony,—seek to avenge by the blood of the offenders. There is no evidence how he received her appeals to his various recollections and sensibilities; but one of his first measures was to have an inquiry made of her earliest admirer Percy, then become earl of Northumberland, whether any contract of marriage with him had preceded her nuptials with himself. This application has been usually represented as an aggravation of Henry's severity; but the fair supposition is, that

[29] 'My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who, as I understand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake.' Burn. p. 155.

[30] 'If ever I have found favor in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request.' ib. She adds this closing paragraph: 'And I will so leave to trouble your grace any further; with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this 6th of May. Your most loyal and ever faithful wife, Anne Boleyn.' Burn. App. 155. This injudicious letter, like Cranmer's, probably did much mischief.

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the purpose of the investigation was intended mercy to the queen. A pre-contract, not annulled by mutual consent, made any other marriage invalid; and if the truth had allowed the earl to have admitted one, as that fact would have authorized an immediate cassation of her royal matrimony, without any legal trial, conviction, or her death, neither of these might have ensued. She would have sunk immediately into her original privacy, as one who had never been married, and the king would have been free to choose a new wife as he pleased. Percy was examined on this subject by the cabinet council; but his solemn denial on his oath, still more solemnly repeated, precluding this mode of invalidating her nuptials[31], the fatal course of a trial which had been prepared for, was resolutely pursued to all its consequential severity.

That the May-day perturbation was mere public scenery, and that her arrest had been determined upon at least a week before, is proved by a special commission having been made out and signed on the 25th April, to various noblemen and judges, to begin the investigation of the affair[32]. This authority

[31] Being required afterwards to confirm his denial by a written document, he wrote that certificate to the secretary of state which has been printed from Otho, c. 16, by Burnet, v. 6. p. 152, and elsewhere. It is dated from Newington Green, 13th May. He states in it, that he had been before examined, upon his oath, about the contract, before the archbishops Canterbury and York, and had afterwards taken the sacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk, and other the king's counsel 'learned in the spiritual law.' ib. So that the cabinet took much trouble on this point before the hope of using it was given up.

[32] After many searches for some legal document about this trial, I found an extract of this commission among the Birch MSS. in the British Museum, No. 4293. It is tested at Westminster, 25th April in the 28th year of the reign, which, as this began 22d April 1509, will be 1536. It is addressed to the chancellor Audeley, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the earls of Oxford, Westmoreland, Wiltshire and Sussex, and lord

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was put in execution on the 10th May. Upon that day the grand jury of Westminster was assembled before seven of these appointed judges[33]. It consisted of sixteen esquires and gentlemen[34], who, on 10th May, declared upon their oaths their verdict as to the offences of which they considered Anne to have been guilty[35].

The subsequent proceedings were as rapid as they were terrible. On the 12th May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeeton were tried in Westminster Hall. Smeeton pleaded guilty to the charge;

Sands; to Cromwell, the king's chief secretary, and to ten knights, of whom seven at least were judges. One of these was sir John Spelman. MS. p. 1.

[33] The same MS. discovers to me a copy of the chief part of an inquisition taken before seven of the judges, on Wednesday 10 May, 28th year, or 1536, on the oaths of seven esquires, and nine gentlemen, who are called jurors. I have no doubt that these were the grand jury of Westminster, and that this inquisition represents the facts they found, and on which she was afterwards tried. Bibl. Birch. No. 4293. p. 1. The commissioned judges were,

Sir John Baldwin.	Sir Walter Luke.
Sir Richard Lysle.	Sir Anthony Fitzherbert.
Sir John Porte.	Sir William Shelly.
Sir John Spelman.	MS. ib.

[34] The names of these jurors were:

Esquires:	Gentlemen:
Giles Heron.	Wm Goddard.
Roger Moore.	John Willford.
Richard Anselm.	Wm Berd.
Thomas Byllyngton.	Henry Hubbethorn.
Gregory Lovell.	Wm Hunyng.
John Wezley.	Robert Walys.
William Blackwall.	John England.
	Henry Lodesman.
	John Avery.

[35] These were, that she had affected several of the king's daily servants, and by base colloquies, kisses, touches, gifts and other incitations, procured their intimacy. The dates they found, have the suspicious appearance of being placed far back, and at distance from each other; whereas actual profligacy is more likely to have been recent and frequent. Thus, as to Norris; on 6th October 1533, the 'dulcibus verbis, osculis, tactibus,' are stated, and on the 12th the offence. As to Brereton, the allurements are dated 5th December 1533, and the crime the 8th, at Hampton Court. As to sir Francis Weston, the incitation is put

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the others resisted, but were convicted[36]. Three days afterwards, the house of lords assembled in a building made hastily in the king's hall, in the Tower, for the trial of the queen. Her maternal kinsman, the duke of Norfolk, presided under the cloth of state, with the lord chancellor on his right hand, the duke of Suffolk on his left, and the earl of Surrey, seated as earl marshal, in front before his parent. There were twenty-six other peers, and among them her respected father. The queen sat in a chair that had been made for her. The accusers gave in their evidence, and the witnesses were produced[37].

Anne was without counsel, attended only by her ladies. She assumed a cheerful and fearless air, as if still the unquestionable queen. She defended herself by few words, and more by her modest countenance, than by her observations. Her mien excused her more than what she said[38]; but what she

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the 8th May 1534, and the fact on the 20th. As to Mark Smeeton, one of the grooms of the chamber, the invitation is on the 2d April 1535, and the transgression the 26th. And as to her brother, the dates are 2d and 5th November 1536. MS. ib. That her offences should be with four of her daily attendants, and yet be only specified to have occurred twice in 1533, once in 1534, and once in 1535, four times only in three years, and therefore no repetition with Norris and Brereton, in the last three years, nor with Weston for two years, nor with Smeeton in the preceding twelve months, and none at all in the last five months of her reign:—these circumstances do not resemble those of a true case, not suit the natural conduct of a shameless woman. I have more doubt of her criminality since I met with this specifying record, than I had before. The regular distinctions between the days of allurement and the days of offence are very like the made up facts of a fabricated accusation.

[36] As some of the alleged facts were stated to have occurred in Kent, and others in Middlesex, there were separate indictments found by the grand jury of each county. Burnet, 1. p. 201. The records of all these trials have been destroyed.

[37] These facts are in Stow, and in the Harl. MS. No. 2194, which contains extracts from several of the state trials.

[38] These circumstances are preserved by Meteren, in his Histoire des

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spoke was much to the purpose, and very interesting[39]. They who saw and heard her, judged her innocent[40]; but this description only states the impression of her voice and person; not the weight and applicability of the evidence given. The lord mayor afterwards remarked to some of her friends, that he could not observe any thing in the proceedings against her, but that they were resolved to seek occasion to get rid of her. She was ordered to lay aside her crown and other dignities, which she willingly did, declaring that she had never misconducted herself to the king[41].

On evidence, of which no traces now remain, she was pronounced guilty by the peers, whose decision is not required to be unanimous, like the verdict of a jury. A majority is sufficient either to condemn or to acquit, and therefore we cannot infer the opinion of her father to have been against her, as we know not how he voted. On hearing their sentence, she raised her hands on high, and exclaimed, "O Father, and Creator! O thou who art the way, the truth and the life! thou knowest that I have not deserved this death[42]." It is difficult to connect with Anne Boleyn's character such a mockery of what she

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Pays Bas, p. 21, from the book of Crispin, lord of Miherve, who was in England in 1536, and saw what he described. Burnet having noticed this authority in the supplement to his history, I have consulted Meteren's work (Ed. Haigue, 1618,) as the earliest account now remaining of the trial.

[39] B. Godwin, 138. Wyatt mentions the out-door rumor to have been, that she had cleared herself with a most wise and noble speech: p. 214. The account in the Harl. MS. is, That 'having an excellent quick wit, and being a ready speaker, she did so answer all objections,' that her acquittal was expected.

[40] Meteren, p. 21.

[41] Met. ib.

[42] Met. ib.

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most venerated, as to reconcile this ejaculation with her consciousness of guilt. She then turned to her judges, and made a serious protestation of her innocence [43].

On the 17th May, the others who had been convicted, were taken to execution [44]. The queen hear-

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[43] Both these speeches rest upon the authority of the lord of Miherve, and as we have only Meteren's prose version of his verse, there may be somewhat of a poet's usual heightening, or at least inevitable amplification, in order to make metre and rhyme. But as he professes to give what he saw and heard, we cannot, in justice to the queen, omit her address. 'Gentlemen! I will not say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all; for I think you have sufficient *reasons, arguments, and occasions of suspicion and jealousy*, on which you have condemned me. But there must be some others than those which you have here produced in judgment; for I am entirely innocent of these accusations, and I shall not ask pardon of heaven for them, as I have always been a faithful and loyal wife to the king, my lord. But perhaps I have not always shown to him such a perfect humility and reverence as his graciousness and courtesy deserved, and which his good temper, and the honor which he has done me, required. I confess that I have often had suspicious fancies against him, in which I freely own I have been deficient in strength and wisdom; but heaven is witness, that I have not otherwise trespassed against him, and at the moment of death shall confess nothing else. Think not that I say this to prolong my life, for I have learnt from God to die, who can also again recal me, and by his grace fortify my spirit. Yet do not think that I am in such an extacy of mind as not to take my chastity to heart. I should but little regard it at this extremity, if I had not all my life kept it as much as any queen in the world has ever done. But I mean these, my last words, to serve no other purpose than to defend my honor.' Met. 21. There is a combination of feeling, natural eloquence and good sense, in this speech, which need no panegyric, and must, from her beautiful person, have made a deep impression against all evidence that was merely circumstantial. The old poem published by Crapelet, gives the queen's speech so exactly like this, as to show that it is the same, which Meteren has referred to. Camden mentions, that the spectators of the trial deemed her innocent, and merely circumvented. Annal. Introd.

[44] Her brother 'exhorted his companions to die courageously. He said to the assistants, that he came to die, as the king had ordered; and in leaving them, would exhort every one not to trust to courts, states or kings, but to rely on heaven alone. For his sins, he had deserved heavy punishment from that, but none from the king, whom he had never offended, and for whom he now prayed a long and happy life. Mark alone said, that he had well deserved death: but this might mean, that he had calumniated others.' Meteren, p. 21.

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ing the next day what Smeeton had said on the scaffold, exclaimed indignantly, "Has he not then cleared me from the public shame which he has done me? Alas! I fear his soul will suffer from his false accusation. My brother and the rest are now, I doubt not, before the face of the greater king, and I shall follow to morrow[45]."

It would be easy to compose as many volumes in argumentative defence of Anne Boleyn, as have emerged from the press for the resembling queen of Scotland: and with the same redundance of phrase and logic, more satisfying to the writer than eductive of the truth, and more illustrative of the polemical fertility or nationality of the advocate, than of the innocence or merit of the character he patronizes. Facts only can show realities, or dispel uncertainties; and where they are deficient, the ambiguity is irremovable. We may amuse ourselves with manœuvring words into new evolutions of attack or resistance; but the mind that seeks for truth, and never values its blazoned counterfeits, becomes wearied by the unconvincing debater, and prefers to leave the question as history has left it, in an obscurity, which is sometimes the most favorable legacy that time can bequeath to many actions of the illustrious dead. Instead, therefore, of a rhetorical vindication of Anne Boleyn, we will calmly collect such other authentic circumstances as bear upon the accusation against her, which can now be explored, and leave their effect to the consideration of the reader.

She was accused of unchastity with her brother

[45] Meteren. p. 21.

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and the four other persons[46]. We may without undue partiality leave the incestuous imputation to such calumniators as Sanders and cardinal Allen, to believe and to enjoy. The greater and the more improbable the crime, the greater evidence common reason for common safety requires. But as no direct testimony of the commission of such an offence was in the present case adduced, we must in justice to the memory of the sufferers, discredit this allegation; unless we chuse to class ourselves amongst those common receivers and retailers of social scandal, to whom all ages have attached an unsparing and a wise contempt[47].

On the charge of dishonorable intimacy with Mark Smeeton, who, like David Rizzio with the queen of Scotland, had been admitted as a musician to her society; there is the accusing testimony of his confession on his arraignment[48]. In her conversation with sir William Kingston, in the Tower, she asserted that he was never in her chamber, but at Winchester, where she had sent for him to play on the virginal; and that she had never spoken with him since, till the Saturday before her arrest, when she found him standing in the window of her presence chamber[49]. Her further account admitted that he ventured to

[46] Meteren's quotation of Crispin's account of the origin of the charge, is the same as that which is mentioned in the preceding note 10. p. 436.

[47] The only circumstance spoken to was, that he was once seen leaning on her bed. Burnet, 1. p. 197. But Wyatt justly observes, that this 'mere private conference with her, might be for the breaking off the king's new love.' Mem. p. 211.

[48] Burnet, p. 202. Baynton, in his letters to the treasurer, says, 'no man will confess any thing against her, but alonely Mark, of any actual thing.' MS. Otho, c. 10. printed by Singer to his Cavendish, 2. p. 225.

[49] Kingston's letter to Cromwell, from MS. Otho, c. 10. printed by Singer, p. 22, and by Ellis in his Orig. Letter, v. 2.

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make that intimation of passion[50], which it is difficult to conceive that one so inferior could presume to utter to a queen, and to the wife of a man so formidable as Henry had now began to be, without some intelligible encouragement.

The offence with Norris he resolutely denied. It was suggested to him, that the king highly valued him, and would pardon him, if he acknowleged the criminality. He asserted her innocence, and was ordered for execution[51]. It was first reported to her that he had confessed against her. Her exclamation on this account, rather implying a more than usual concern, was, "O Norris! hast thou accused me! thou art in the Tower with me, and thou and I shall die together[52]!" But she described a conversation with him, that from a queen, with her husband alive, implies an indiscretion of which she herself could as little calculate the consequences, as be always certain to command them[53]. That Norris was nourishing

[50] Kingston reports, that the queen stated, 'I asked why he was so sad?' and he answered and said, 'It was no matter.' And then she (Anne Boleyn) said, 'You may not look to have me speak to you as I should do to a nobleman, because you be an inferior person.' 'No, no, madam! *a look* sufficed me.' ib. When she was first taken to the Tower, her observation was, 'Mark! thou art here too!' ib. Singer, p. 218. Ellis, v. 2.

[51] Bishop Godwin's account is, that Norris, when solicited to confess, declared, that in his conscience, he thought her guiltless of the objected crime, but whether she were or no, he could not accuse her of any thing; and that he had rather undergo a thousand deaths than betray the innocent. Upon relation whereof, the king cried out, 'Hang him up then! Hang him up then!' Annals, p. 139. Queen Elizabeth, in approbation of his conduct, made his son a baron, whose four sons, adds Godwin, were the great captains in our days so famous throughout Christendom for their brave exploits in England, France, Ireland, and the Netherlands. ib. 140.

[52] Kingston's lett. Sing. p. 218. Ellis.

[53] Kingston's detail of Anne's statement was, that it was remarked to her, 'that Norris did say on Sunday last, unto the queen's almoner,

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an improper liking for her, was even mentioned to herself by one of those accused, who could not have duly respected her, to have made such a mischievous observation to her own ear[54]. Of sir Francis Weston, she acknowleged that he had explicitly declared his love to her[55]—a daring act of beginning treason in him to his queen, which it was dishonor in her not to have immediately punished—especially from a married man; and yet it was both forgiven and remembered, for she suffered him to continue in his courtly station. Nothing particular appears concerning Brereton.

A bad woman, lady Rochfort, the wife of the accused brother, had in her suspicious jealousy reported those tales and surmises to the king, which brought destruction upon her husband. Any assertion of a woman who was base enough to be procuring by it the ruin of the man she was united with, came so contaminated with its own wickedness, that no sound or honorable mind ought to have heard it without

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that he would swear for the queen that she was a good woman.' Then said Mrs. Cousins (one of those appointed to be in the Tower with Anne), 'Madam! why should there be any such matters spoken of?' 'Marry,' said she (Anne) '*I bad him do so*, for I asked him why he went not thro with his marriage?' And he made answer, 'he would tarry a time.' Then said she (Anne) 'you look for dead men's shoes; for if ought came to the king but good, *you would look to have me*.' He said, 'if he should have any such thought, he would his head were off.' And then she said, 'she could undo him if she would. And therewith they fell out.' Sing. 219. Ellis.

[54] She herself disclosed this in her apprehension of Weston's giving evidence against her. 'But, she said, she more feared Weston; for, on Whitsun Monday last, Weston told her, that Norris came more unto her chamber for her than for Madge.' Kingst. ib. 219. Sing. Ellis.

[55] Kingston writes, 'Since the making of this letter, the queen spake of Weston, that she had spoke to him because he did love her kinswoman, Mrs. Skelton, and that she said he loved not his wife. And he made answer to her again, that he loved one in her house, better than them both. She asked him, 'who is that?' to which he answered, '*That is yourself;*' and then she defied him.' Lett. Sing. p. 220. Sing. Ellis.

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abhorrence of the utterer, and disbelief of her veracity. The more impressive communication was that of lady Wingfield, in her last sickness to a confidential domestic. She had been in the queen's service, and was sworn to have mentioned that she had discovered her frailty[56]; and some one imparted the disclosure to Henry[57].

Such an overwhelming change could hardly occur to one whose bodily frame, from its very beauty, was and must have been delicate, without disordering effects. It brought hysterical affections upon her, which tho unthinkingly characterized by some as levity, can only increase our sympathy for one so

[56] Burnet had access to the common-place of Spelman, one of the judges at that time, who had entered in it these words; 'As for the evidence of the matter, it was discovered by the lady Wingfield, who had been a servant to the queen; and becoming on a sudden infirm, sometime before her death, did swear this matter to one of her.'---Here, Burnet says, the rest of the page is torn off. Hist. 1. p. 197. We have therefore lost, not only the name of the person he designated, but also whatever other notes of the evidence on the trial he had penned in that page, in which, from the beginning words, he seems to have meant to have inserted a summary of it.

[57] I have searched whether any letters of lady Wingfield remained, but I have not found any. The following is one to her from the above lady Rochfort, which as it implies their intimacy, I will transcribe: 'To my lady Wingfield. This to be delivered. Madam! I pray you, as you love me, to give your credence to my servant, this bearer, touching your removing, and any thing else that he shall tell you of my behalf, for I much desire you to do nothing but that shall be for your wealth. And, Madam! tho at all times I have not shown the love that I bear you as much as it was in deed, yet now I trust, that you shall well prove that I loved you a great deal more than I made saying for. And assuredly, next mine own mother, I know no woman alive that I love better; and at length, by God's grace, you shall prove that it is unfeigned. And I trust you do know, that I will write nothing to comfort you in your trouble, but I would abide by it as long as I live. And thefore I pray you, leave your trouble, both for displeasing of God, and also for displeasing of me, that doth love you so entirely: and trusting that you will thus do, I make an end, whith the ill hand of your own assured friend, during my life. Anne Rochfort.' MSS. Lett. p. 109. Her letter to Cromwell, after her husband's execution, for him to solicit Henry to give her 'such poor stuff and plate as my husband had,' is printed by Mr. Ellis, v. 2. p. 67.

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totally unbefriended, as to have no kind or soothing assistance near her, in a crisis that must have agitated like an earthquake, the least exercised sensibility[58]. The persons she most disliked were those whom too jealous power, too apt at these moments to be looking only for legal condemnation, appointed to attend her[59]; as if even guilt ended all claims to commiseration or benevolence. She repeated during her confinement her asseverations of her innocence[60], tho at times with some expressions which were not unequivocal[61]. She was taken privately to Lambeth,

[58] These nervous emotions came upon her as soon as the cabinet lords had consigned her in the Tower to the care of sir William Kingston, who thus describes it; 'after kneeling and weeping, she in the same sorrow fell into a great laughing, and she hath done so many times since.' Cav. 217. Ellis, p. 54. So after exclaiming, 'O, my mother! thou wilt die for sorrow!' and 'O, Mr. Kingston! shall I die without justice?' On his telling her that the poorest subject had justice, 'therewith she laughed.' Cav. ib. 218. Ell. 55. At another time, after a passionately expressing, 'She to be a queen! and cruelly handled as was never seen! But I think the king does it to prove me, and did laugh withal, and was very merry.' ib. Sing. 224. Ellis. They who have seen females under the involuntary effects of hysterics, or nervous disease, will not be disposed to call this convulsive laughter levity.

[59] One of her remarks was, 'The king wist what he did, when he put such two about her as my lady Boleyn and Mrs. Cousins.' ib. Sing. 221. Ellis. 'These two lay 'on the queen's pallet,' Kingston and his wife at the door without, and the two other gentlewomen beyond them, who were not to have any communication with her, unless his wife were present.' Sing. 219. Ellis. Such was the unfeeling system adopted towards her! But in that age, and until lately, an accused prisoner was looked upon very much like an outlaw with a wolf's head.

[60] Kingston reported, that she desired him to ask the king to let her have the sacrament in her closet by her chamber, that she might pray for mercy, 'for I am as clear from the company of man, as for sin I am clear from you; and am the king's true wedded wife.' Sing. 217. Ellis. In her letter, apparently the day before her execution, he says, 'This morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good Lord, (the sacrament) to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her innocency always to be clear.' ib. Sing. 229. Ellis.

[61] Kingston writes, that she said, 'I think the king does it to prove me;' and did laugh withal, and was very merry, and then she said, 'I shall have justice,' and then I said, 'I have no doubt therein.' Then she said, 'If any man accuse me, I can say but nay; and *they can bring*

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to be examined again as to the validity of her marriage[62]; and it is stated, that she confessed "some fresh and lawful impediments," which are not explained[63], but on which Cranmer pronounced the nuptials to be void. This looks again like some attempt to save her life; but if it were so, some evil counsel intervened to avert the royal mercy. The fatal warrant for executing the legal sentence was issued. The archbishop was named by the king to be her confessor, and he visited her as such on 16th May[64]. At that time the governor of the Tower had received no orders for her execution. The idea of her banishment was afloat. She then expected life, and said she was going to Antwerp[65]. Two days afterwards appearances changed. Her death was sternly resolved, for reasons not disclosed, and her spirit gathered new strength, as the certainty became fixed, and the time advanced[66]. She collected all the force of her cultivated mind, and on

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no witness.' p. 224. When she was first brought into the Tower, Kingston said, 'Upon my lord of Norfolk and the king's counsel departing from the Tower, I went before the queen into her lodging, and then she said unto me, 'Mr. Kingston, shall I go into a dungeon?' 'No, Madam! you shall go into your lodging that you lay in at your coronation.' '*It is too good for me,*' she said; 'Jesu! have mercy on me!' and kneeled down, weeping a great pace.' Sing. Cav. 217. Ellis.

[62] Burnet, v. 1. p. 315.

[63] The statute inserts these words, but with no detail of the facts to which they allude.

[64] Kingston's lett. Cav. 227. Ell. 63.

[65] Ib. The governor then desired to 'know the king's pleasure here, as shortly as may be.' ib.

[66] At first Kingston wrote, 'One hour she is determined to die, and the next hour much contrary to that.' Sing. 223. Ellis. But the day before her execution, she had become so composed, that his account was, 'I have seen many men, and also women, executed, and that they have been in great sorrow. To my knowlege, this lady hath much joy and pleasure in death. Her almoner is continually with her, and has been since two of the clock after midnight.' Sing. 229. Ellis.

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19th May ascended her scaffold in the Tower, with a pious intrepidity that suppressed every worldly wish or agitation, and made to the assembled company this unaffected speech[67]:— CHAP. XXIX.

"Good Christian people! I am come hither to die; for according to the law, and by the law I am judged to die; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die. But I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you; for a gentler nor more merciful prince was there never: and to me, he was ever a good, a gentle and sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord! have mercy upon me! To God I commend my soul."

These words she uttered with a smiling countenance; then kneeling down with a fervent spirit, said, "To Jesus Christ I commend my soul. Lord Jesu! receive my soul!" and repeating these words very often, suddenly the stroke of the sword terminated her earthly existence[67].

This dying address may rationally claim our unqualified commendation. If she was innocent, it was an heroic act of forgiveness, at the most trying moment of human passion, which stands alone in human biography, for the unpretending manner in which it was performed. They who have pardoned

[67] It is preserved in Hall, 819, and transmitted by Wyatt, p. 214, and many others.

[68] Harl. MS. No. 2194. Gratians mentions, that she died with resolution, and so sedately as herself to cover her feet with her garments. De Cas. illust. p. 270. That as she passed the people, she tossed her neck in contempt for them, and said 'she would die their queen, notwithstanding their clamor,' is an addition that does not harmonize with the other incidents of her mild and submitting demeanor, unless some unfeeling rudeness provoked a momentary irritation.

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their oppressors, have declared that they did so; and thus both reproach them by their forgiveness and claim the merit of extending it. But Anne Boleyn praised the man whose mandate was lifting the fatal axe that was to kill her, altho, before her gentle voice could reach his ear, she would be for ever beyond his power to recal. No kindness could be more magnanimous, more disinterested, or less ostentatious. If she was really guilty, she died with a modest fortitude and an unaffected meekness; with a generous absence of all revengeful feeling, and with a dignified disdain of making false pretensions to innocence, which mingle so much admiration with our pity, that we incline to become incredulous of all that can depreciate her. But her conduct before her royalty, her speeches on her trial, her various letters, and the last effusion on the scaffold, display altogether such a power of natural intellect, and interior greatness, without noise or effort, and amid all her imperfections, that we cannot but regret that the seductions of a royal court, the habits of a gross age, and the dissolving voluptuousness of a luxurious society, should have undermined that virtue in her, or have lessened its sanctity, which is every where the sweetest charm of those who, when in all their perfections, form the most lovely class of being which has yet adorned and blessed our earthly creation in visible reality.

The king's conduct, on this occasion, displayed only the vindictive resentment of the mortified husband. To consign the long-beloved wife of his bosom; the selected object of his tenderest caresses, —for whom he had braved and defeated popes,

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priests, sovereigns, slander, hatred, treason, and peril—to a violent, public, and defaming death; and by a signature, written in the very apartments where he had feasted upon her smiles; listened, delighted, to her merry conversation, and danced enraptured with her grace, in all her fearless and unforeseeing gaiety; ordering "the little neck," which he had so often admired and caressed[69] to be cut asunder by the axe of a common executioner, was an act better suited to an untutored African or a wild Iroquois, than to the most polished and cultivated prince of one of the most civilized nations on the globe. It was unnecessary, because divorce and degradation would have answered every public end. It was cruel beyond excuse. It was pride and passion obeying the dishonoring impulses of an unmanly revenge[70].

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[69] Kingston had brought this unintentionally full before Henry's recollection, in his reporting letter to him, the day before she suffered. He tells the king, that she had sent for him, 'and at my coming, she said, 'Mr. Kingston! I hear say I shall not die afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore; for I thought to be dead and past my pain.' I told her, it should be no pain, it was so subtle. And then she said, 'I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a *little neck*;' and put her hand about it, laughing heartily.' Sing. Cavend. 229. Ellis, 65. His putting on white as his mourning for her death, may have been a retort for her yellow for Catherine's, but it was a discreditable and ungenerous retaliation.

[70] As it is clear from Kingston's letter that he had then received no orders for her execution, and that after Cranmer's visit she was expecting banishment; I have searched to see if I could find any document that would discover why the king, instead of that extension of mercy, was led to resolve on her death. I have not succeeded; but I have met with one paper, which shows, that at that critical juncture, the day before she suffered, the papal party was playing superstitious tricks, to alarm and affect Henry's mind. It is a letter in June 1536, to Cromwell, from some Frenchman in England, whom he seems, by this report, to have been employing to give him intelligence of what occurred about the court. The writer says, 'In the middle of dinner a person came in, and said, that *the day before* madame Anne was behended, the wax tapers about the tomb of queen Catherine, *took fire of themselves*; and after

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Anne Boleyn has, on the whole, been severely dealt with by many, and even by some of her own sex—pardonably indeed by them; because female virtue is so beautiful in itself; every instance of it in elevated rank is so honorable to womanhood; its courtly models were then so rare; its purity at all times is so delicate; its reputation so precious; its value so inestimable, and its abandonment by any so depreciating to all, that we can easily forgive the female sensibility which will not pardon the offenders who break or weaken a talisman which makes their sex so attractive, so superior, and so subduing; but yet candor is bound to recollect, that this lady was outrageously attacked before her nuptial fidelity was suspected, merely because she was Henry's queen; that the partizans of the old system were deeply interested to depose and disgrace her; that his mutability was giving her enemies an assisting opportunity; that tho her splendid prosperity was making her careless and presuming, yet indecorous freedoms are not actual vice; that female politics have sometimes attempted to revive decaying regard by exciting jealousy; that many have been precipitately, and some in all ages most unjustly accused; and that if appearances justify suspicion, they do not prove the commission of criminality. Nothing

matins, Deo gratias, thanks to heaven were recited.' He adds, 'that the king sent thither to see if it were so. The reporter expresses his apprehensions to Cromwell, that orders would be issued to pray for queen Catherine, and that afterwards a group of the new heretics should be hung, and as he considered himself to be of that class, he asks leave to go away beforehand.' MSS. Vitell. B. 14. p. 216. After reading this letter, I feel it to be probable, that great practices were made on Henry's mind to procure Anne Boleyn's death, for the double purpose of getting rid of her, and of disgracing him. Henry's hasty marriage with Jane Seymour, may have prevented what this Frenchman dreaded.

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indeed can be allowed to excuse that offence, which blights the sweetest confidence of human society, and undermines one of its most upholding pillars. But before we throw down Anne Boleyn among the worthless of her sex, we must not forget that while we have her indictment and her conviction, we have none of the evidence by which we can ourselves appreciate the justice of either; and one authority, impressive, because coming from a foreigner, who must have been guilty of wilful and gratuitous mendacity, if his assertion be false, has transmitted to us the assurance, from many Englishmen, that Henry himself, as he approached his own death-bed, expressed regrets for his severity against her[71]. But as the destruction of the papers which detailed her trial precludes the attainment now of any greater certainty on the subject, than these pages have exhibited, the mind that wishes to be impartial, after reviewing all the circumstances that have reached us, will perhaps incline to think that a state of academical neutrality as to her guilt, is preferable to either a belief or a denial of its existence; admitting at the same time that she may have been an instance of the justness of Ganganelli's remark, that the virtues in some persons are too often but like flashes of lightning, which shine and disappear in the horizon they illuminate. If Polydore Vergil

[71] This is Thevet, who in his Cosmographie Universelle, says, '*Many* English gentlemen have assured me, that Henry 8th on his death-bed, greatly repented of the offences he had committed, and among other things, of the injury and crime committed against Anne de Boleyn, falsely overcome and accused by the charges against her.' L. 16. c. 5. p. 657. Thevet may or may not be a credulous geographer, but the simplest mind must have known whether its ears did or did not hear what many had mentioned to them.

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believed her guilty [72], Melancthon hesitated to think so [73]. That Smeeton should plead guilty; and that two grand juries of gentlemen of different counties should have seen evidence enough on one side to put the four individuals, who had no privilege of peerage, on their trials; that a common jury of another class of persons, on hearing the whole case, should have given their verdict of conviction on such an arraignment; and that the house of lords, the highest order of subjects in the nation, should attaint her also on the same charge and circumstances, present such a concurrence of judgments upon oath and honor, of both the nobility, gentry, and others of the land, as to compel us, however unwilling, to hesitate before we can discredit what they united to think was sufficiently proved. But at the same time when we recollect on the other hand, the absence of such direct proof as would have satisfied bystanders, and precluded doubt; the improbability that she would have risked the forfeiture of such exalted rank; the constancy of her previous virtue, during six years severe probation; the king's jealousy of his honor, and certain indignation; the peril of the crime; the continual probability of its detection: her searching examinations adding no discovery; her solemn denials; her exculpation by Norris; her courageous death; her general good conduct, and her public character:—the balance fluctuates as we hold it; judgment pauses,

[72] His words are few, but decisive of his opinion. 'Anna etenim, paulo post in adulterio deprehensa cum suis mœchis, capite repente plectitur.' L. 27. p. 88.

[73] In his letter of June 1536, to Cameranus, he says of her, 'Magis accusata, quam convicta adulterii.' Mel. Epist.

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and every honorable feeling seems to urge us to leave the question in that charitable uncertainty with which time, accidents, and history have combined to involve it[74]. CHAP. XXIX.

[74] Lord Herbert thinks, that if she did err, it was from a desire of having a prince to ensure the Tudor succession. Her admission of verbal freedoms leads us also to recollect that the habits of society, then only emerging from the rude ages, allowed a grossness of conversation, which tho often leading to vice, must yet be distinguished from it, because not always united with it. Persons of unquestioned honor have debased themselves with this defect, without the actual profligacy which it implies; and the novels of Anne's last French mistress, whose moral taste and feeling cannot be doubted, show what subjects were sometimes permitted to be then the topics of polite and familiar intercourse. Unfortunate must be the soul, gross the appetites, and scanty the intellectual furniture of those individuals who cannot be happy without being sensual; and who, when elegance, wit, refinement, knowlege, reason, delicacy, feeling, imagination, and sinless mirth, have so many inexhaustible resources to amuse, will turn from these, to make impurity their necessary feast. Yet the age and court of Henry had this defect, and Anne may have suffered from its evils. There is a treachery in the habit which has made many the victims of its indulgence, who never meant to make their conversation the rule of their conduct. And the unwary queen may have permitted indecorous jokes, allusions and freedoms, till she was ensnared and ruined, by what was thought to be sportive, and promised only to amuse. Conceding this possibility, and its consequences, we may safely and confidently add, that nothing like habitual profligacy was substantiated against her.

I will only add that the lord of Miberve's versified history of these events before quoted, which was written within a fortnight after her execution, for the last lines date it on 2 June 1536, tho rather composed under an impression that she was not unjustly accused, yet leaves on the mind which considers calmly all its circumstances, a stronger impression of her possible innocence, than any other document which has come down to us. And as it may not be unpleasing to the reader, I will insert here the latter part of my abridgment of his account, from my Letter to the Royal Society of Literature. The pages are quoted from Crapelet's edition of his poem:—

"The speech of Lord Rochfort to the Lords is detailed at length. p. 197. He strongly asserts the innocence of himself and his sister. He reminds them, that the charge against him rests only on the 'advis,' the opinion of one woman, and asks them if, 'on the effect of her presumption, they will determine his condemnation.' He answered every thing, point by point, so that no man was ever seen to do it better, not even More, who had such an affluence of eloquence and knowlege. He maintained that no one alive could depose that they had seen him misbehave to the queen, whom he had always revered as a sister and an honored lady. His judges differed in opinion, but at last pronounced him guilty. p. 199.

"The queen was then brought in to her trial. Crispin thus describes

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her. 'She came as one who would think only of God, and who took little heed of the matter that was involving her. She kept herself as firm as the trunk of a tree, which fears neither hail nor the impetuous wind. She rested herself on a virtuous heart more than ever, and would not dread those whom before she could have commanded. She entered with her ladies not as if she had to defend herself; but she preserved a grace and a demeanor as if she were coming to receive great honors. She saluted all the lords, and did not forget all the requisite civilities, and then softly placing herself in her chair, the proceedings began. They imputed to her many '*cas infames.*' She defends her honor soberly, without disturbing herself, but more constantly supported her cause by her countenance than by the force of her speech; for she spoke little; but whoever looked at her, could not expect criminality in her.' Her speech in Meteren, is an exact copy of that which is given in this poem.

"When the judges had heard enough of this '*piteux proces,*' they told her she must take off her crown, and put it into their hands. She immediately did so without resistance, yet without desisting from her assertion, that she had neither wished nor done any misdeed against the king. They then ordered that she should be countess, marchioness or princess no longer, nor bear the title of any dignity that she had before she was crowned. She readily renounced all these advantages, saying, that as she held them only from the king's will, it did not grieve her to obey her master, nor to return to be what she originally was: But, upon her faith, she had committed no offence against him. p. 202.

"Norfolk then pronounced the fatal sentence. The author then adds, 'You would have said, that she had foreseen the judgment which she then received; for there was no change in her countenance, nor any in her manners or demeanor, but she expressed her thanks to God with her joined hands.' He then proceeds to repeat her speech, as I inserted it in this history from Meteren, who has very exactly copied it. She concluded with saying, 'she wished she could have preserved her brother and the rest by making herself guilty of a thousand deaths; and since it so pleases the king, I will receive death in this faith, and keep them company in their fate, that I may afterwards live with them in eternal repose and in endless joy, where I will pray to God for the king and for you.'

"Here she was willing to end her sad voice, at which no one could refrain themselves, even those who most hated her, from pitying this poor queen, who, humbly thanking the lords, and with good heart entreating the people to let her share their prayers, returned to her confinement." p. 204.

"The execution of the others is then detailed, and Rochfort's last address. p. 205. I pass over this to translate all that he adds about Ann Boleyn in her last scenes.

"The queen, being in contemplation of Jesus Christ and his passion, as she awaited her last day, presented herself in a devout manner to the sacrament. The day of her death was then announced to her. She was not at all moved by it, but seemed more cheerful than before. She was curious enough to ask as to the patience and courage of the others. She was told that her brother had displayed the greatest intrepidity: The four others also, but that Mark had declared that he deserved the death he was receiving. The queen then, with her face a little changed, exclaims, 'Has he not then, before he died, discharged me from the

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public infamy which he has done me. Alas! I fear his soul will suffer for it, will suffer punishment for his false confession.' The next day she begged that no one would disturb her, but leave her to do what she ought with God. She went alone into her oratory to confirm her last remembrance in her Saviour, thinking that on this day she was to suffer; but when she saw that the hour was gone by, she appeared vexed that it had been deferred; not that she desired death, but that having prepared herself for it, she was afraid that the delay would weaken her, and make her languid.

"She exhorted her ladies to have a contempt for this low world, where all things are so vain and transitory, and to aspire after the eternal glory; and she so excited them, that they cared but little for their lives, but declared, that if God were willing, they could be content to live no longer here, but would cheerfully go with her to maintain her just quarrel. She replied, that they must await his divine will, and having his guidance, they would need no other aid. She asked them to remember her words, and her very frail imprudence, and then, with a good heart, looked forward to the ensuing day.

"When the captain, on the next morning, told her that the hour drew near, she advised him to do his duty; for that for some time past, heaven had given her courage and firmness to resist such great cruelty. She went to the place of punishment to obey the will of justice, always showing a face of constancy against the world, and regretting nothing. Her color and her countenance was such that a more beautiful appearance was never seen. From the great sorrow which her eyes expressed, the people looked at her smilingly. When she had suddenly reached the scaffold, she began with a peculiar grace, and without being terrified, but in a voice that was yet a little affected by the weakness that was prevailing in her, to address them. By degrees recovering some strength, and rousing her feeble frame, she gave utterance to these piteous sounds.

"He then subjoins her speech more expansively than the English chronicler recites it. Of Henry she said,—'Remember, that I recommend to you your good king, in whom I have seen such great humanity, and such an accumulation of good qualities; such fear of God; such love towards his friends, and such great virtues, that you will be happy if heaven preserves him for you. Pray, then, that he may be long kept with you, and that God, by his grace, may draw me to himself, and receive my soul to-day.'

"This was the last of her feeble words. The people were overwhelmed at seeing their poor queen brought into this condition; and there was none but had a firm hope that her spirit would not be in suffering, considering her great faith, her wise patience, and her more than female courage. Whoever looked at her, could not refrain from weeping. The more firm her heart became, the more her attendants were overcome, and tears burst from them, while she repressed hers. She took off herself her white neck piece and her hat, that there might be no impediment to the blow; then kneeling humbly down, she uttered several times, 'O Christ! I pray Thee, receive my spirit!'

"The author proceeds with his last description, thus: 'O great pity! One of her damsels, weeping with unceasing tears, came forward to do the last service of her sad office: She covered the queen's face with a linen veil. The executioner then, himself overwhelmed, and in great

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perturbation, compelled himself to give the last blow of his sword on her neck, which suddenly divided it. Her ladies immediately took up her head and the body. They seemed to be without souls, they were so languid, and so extremely weak; but fearing that their mistress might be handled unworthily by inhuman men, they forced themselves to do this duty; and tho almost dead at last carried off her dead body wrapt in a white covering.' p. 213.

"Such is Crispin's account of Anne Boleyn, written fourteen days after her death. He seems to have been present at the scenes he describes; and as it is written with so much knowlege of the true circumstances, and with so much feeling, it appeared to me justly to merit this particular notice.

"It is so impartial, that he intimates nothing to the disadvantage of either Henry or Anne Boleyn. He adds no decided opinion of her guilt or innocence. He describes what he saw and heard, and leaves the facts to make their own impression upon the reader's minds. That impression, if taken from her behaviour, from the moment of her arrest to her death, cannot but be favorable to her; and so much of the character of innocence is displayed in all that he describes her to have said or done, that if we could forget that two grand juries, a common jury, and two decisions of an English house of peers, had given condemnatory verdicts on the evidence they examined, we should not hesitate to believe that she fell a victim to the private and party enmity of others who wished her destruction, and who imposed on the king. Each side of the question has such weighty probabilities in its favor, that I know no case in which the judgment would be more desirous to decide that altho Anne Boleyn may have been faulty from the gaiety of her manners, she was not criminal as to her connubial fidelity."

MARY BOLEYN.

We have mentioned before, in p. 430, Pole's unsupported charge, or, as from the total want of evidence, we may rather call it, his slander, that the lady had been Henry's concubine before his acquaintance with her elder sister Anne. Any document which gives us an insight into Mary's moral or intellectual character, becomes a sort of test, by which we may, in some degree, judge for ourselves of the probability of the vituperative accusation. In this light, the letter of Mary to the state secretary Cromwell, whose first publication we owe to Dr. Howard, in his 'Collection of the Letters of Great Personages,' may be read as a criterion of her general mind and spirit. She had privately married sir William Stafford. Her family thought this a match beneath her station, and resented it by their displeasure. To obtain a reconciliation, she wrote this letter to the secretary, as her friends would receive none from her, that thro him she might apologize for marrying without their leave, and diminish their anger by her submission and earnest pleading.

'To the right worshipful and my singular good friend master secretary to the king's highness, this be S. S.

'Master secretary! After my poor recommendations, which is smally to be regarded of me that am a poor banished creature, this shall be to desire you to be good to my poor husband, and to me. I am sure it is not unknown to you, the high displeasure, that both he and I have both of the king's highness and the queen's grace, by the reason of our mar-

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riage without their knowlege; wherein we both do yield ourselves faulty, and do acknowlege that we did not well to be so hasty nor so bold without their knowlege. But one thing, good master secretary! consider, that he was young; and love overcame reason; and, for my part, I saw so much honesty in him that I loved him as well as he did me; and was in bondage, and glad I was to be at liberty; so that for my part I saw that all the world did set so little by me, and he so much, that I thought I could take no better way but to take him and so forsake all other ways, and live a poor honest life with him; and so I do put no doubts but we should, if we might be once so happy (as) to recover the king's gracious favor and the queen's. For well *I might have had a greater name of birth and a higher*, but I assure you, I could never have had one that should have loved me so well, nor a more honest man; and besides that, he is both come of an ancient stock, and again as meet, if it was his grace's pleasure, to do the king service, as any young gentleman in his court. Therefore, good master secretary, this shall be my suit to you, that for the love that well I know you do bear to all my blood, tho for my part I have not deserved it, but smally by the reason of my vile conditions, as to put my husband to the king's grace, that he may do his duty as all other gentlemen do: and good master secretary! sue for us to the king's highness and beseech his highness, which ever was wont to take pity, to have pity on us, and that it will please his grace of his goodness to speak to the queen's grace for us; for as far as I can perceive, her grace is so highly displeased with us both, that without the king be so good lord to us as to withdraw his rigor and sue for us, we are never like to recover her grace's favor; which is too heavy to bear. And seeing there is no remedy, for God's sake, help us! for we *have been now a quarter of a year* married, I thank God, and too late now to call that again; wherefore it is the more almonesse to help. But if I were at liberty and might chuse, I assure you, master secretary! for my little time, I have tried so much honesty to be in him that I had rather beg my bread with him than to be the greatest queen christened; and I believe verily he is in the same case with me, for I believe verily he would not forsake me to be a king. Therefore, good master secretary! being we are so well together and do intend to live so honest a life, tho it be but poor, show part of your goodness to us as well as you do to all the world besides; for I promise you ye have the name to help all them that hath need; and amongst all your suitors I dare be bold to say, that you have no matter more to be pitied than ours: and therefore for God's sake be good to us; for in you is all our trust, and, I beseech you good master secretary! pray my lord my father and my lady to be good to us and to let me have their blessings and my husband their good will; and I *will never desire more of them*. Also I pray you desire my lord of Norfolk and my lord my brother to be good to us. I dare not write to them, they are so cruel against us, but if with any pain that I could take with my life, I might win their good wills, I promise you there is no child living would venture more than I, and so I pray you to report by me, and you shall find my writing true. And in all points which I may please them in, I shall be ready to obey them nearest my husband, whom I am most bound to; to whom I most heartily beseech you to be good unto, which for my sake is a poor banished man for an honest and goodly cause; and being that I have read in old books that some, for all just causes have by kings and queens been pardoned by the suit of

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good folks, I trust, it shall be our chance thro your good helps, to the same, as knoweth the God, who send you health and heart's ease. Scribbled with her ill hand, who is your poor humble suitor always to command.

'MARY STAFFORD.'

There is something in this letter which shows a character of mind and feeling superior to what a debased woman would have possessed. It does not suit a person who had been in the situation with the king which the defamation implies. It contains no allusion to any previous intimacy with him; builds no reason on such a striking fact for his favor; intimates no claim of any sort to his peculiar kindness, nor any insinuation of an established acquaintance with him. It is such a letter as his own sister might have written to depreciate his anger, when she, tho a queen dowager, married sir William Brandon. As his sister Mary had lowered herself by marrying a simple knight, so Mary Boleyn had, as the sister of his new queen, if of untainted character, abased herself by wedding also a mere knight, in sir William Stafford. But if Mary had been a dishonored woman, as the slanderer implies, so far from being angry at her marriage, the queen would have rejoiced in it, as in all respects the best event that could have occurred. The king also must have been glad at such a creditable union, if the charge had been true. Nor would all the branches of her family have been so irritated as not to allow her to write to them, if she had before been a degraded woman. Their unanimous displeasure shows, that she might have had for her husband, as she says, 'a greater name of birth and a higher;' and this supposition most naturally suits a young woman of unsullied character. Hence this letter increases my belief, that the imputation was an unwarranted calumny of the exasperated cardinal, written to vilify both Henry and Anne Boleyn, as the additional libel of Sanders' also was, who outraged all decency and probability, by extending the infamy to the mother of these ladies, that he might blacken Henry with a three-fold incest.

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CHAP. XXX.

POLE'S TREASONABLE EMBASSIES — INSURRECTIONS IN LINCOLNSHIRE, YORKSHIRE, AND CARLISLE—DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES—DEATH OF QUEEN JANE—BIRTH OF EDWARD VI.—PROPOSALS TO THE EMPEROR FOR MARRIAGES IN ITALY.

CHAP. XXX.

WHILE conspiracy was assiduously preparing its multifarious materials for a formidable rebellion, the pope secretly urged the emperor and others to co-operate with the meditated movements[1]. If Francis would have concurred; if a cordial peace could have been established between him and Charles of sufficient duration to have produced such a federation of war as had prostrated Venice, England might have been speedily made the field of the most deadly and perilous battle. Cardinal Pole avowed the necessity of such an union, in order to produce such a crusade, and vehemently urged it[2]. The pope saw in it the only means of recovering the

[1] Tunstall, the bishop of Durham, and Stokesley, bishop of London, in their letters to Pole, in 1536, thus notice the pope's hostile practices against Henry: 'His malice, who hath stirred, by all means that he could, all such christian princes as would give ears unto him, to depose the king's highness from his kingdom, and to offer it as a prey to them that should execute his malice; and to stir if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his realm.' They reproach Pole, with 'going about by all means to him possible, to pull down and put under foot, your natural prince and master, to the destruction of the country that have brought you up.' It is re-printed in the App. to Knight's Erasmas, 66. More, in his Epitaph, says of Tunstall, that the world had not then any thing more learned or prudent, or better than he was. Roper's life, App. p. 163.

[2] See the passages citod from him before, p. 430.

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power he had lost, and of averting further defections: and there was sufficient apprehensions of such a joint attack from France, Spain, and Italy, to alarm Henry into a negotiation with the Protestant princes of Germany, whose cause in the point of peril became identified with his own, for the conveyance into England of troops, to assist him in repelling that threatened invasion[3], which could not destroy him without ensuring a future ruin to themselves. The main difficulty was, to harmonize the ambition, the jealousies, and the personal resentment of the two great princely competitors, who had waged so often the angry conflict against each other. If Charles would have surrendered Italy to Francis[4], the co-operation against England might have been effected immediately. But the emperor in relinquishing any part of it, must have abandoned his command of the pope himself, as well as the theatre of his most brilliant successes. The Spanish people would not have allowed such dishonoring cession, and Charles could not trust his adversaries future moderation[5]; hence the French

[3] He proposed, that in case of his being invaded, the German princes should send him 500 armed horse for four months, at their expence, and at his 2,000 cavalry and 5,000 foot. Strype, App. 2443. He also caused all his havens to be fortified, bulwarks made on the sea coasts, and the people mustered into martial array. Hall, 827. In London, all men between 16 and 60, were called out, armed, marshalled and reviewed by the king, ib. 829, 830.

[4] The bishop of Baiusa, in his letter to Clement 7th, apologizes for having failed to 'aid the most holy mind of his beatitude,' by making peace between the emperor and France, and adds, 'I say, then, from all that I have seen and heard, that my mind is fully convinced, that the affairs of France being as they are, *the king will never make the peace without having Milan*. To inflict such losses on France, as to induce or force his majesty to give up the things of Italy, and to abandon the hope of it, which the French deem a certainty, I judge to be most difficult. Frenchmen say, it is an impossibility.' Lett. Div. Eccl. Huom. p. 306, 7.

[5] Guidiccione wrote to cardinal Trivulci, whom he wished to persuade

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king had never from Charles, or from the pope, a bribe large enough to tempt him to assist in Henry's downfal, whose power was a bulwark against the emperor's overwhelming predominance, and who would always be the friend, more or less avowed, of all that were opposing his imperial and papal opponents[6]. CHAP. XXX.

On the 30th August 1535, Paul III. issued that bull of excommunication against Henry, which, when we consider the crimes that it ordered to be done, and which it could not be executed without producing and meaning to produce, we may fairly characterise, as more atrocious than the worst actions of the English king[7]. The impartial reader, who

Francis to a peace; '*I know* that IF it had appeared to his Cæsarean majesty, that he could have reposed himself upon the mind of the most christian king, he would have given him the duchy of Milan, as the emperor told me himself.' Lett. Eccell. Huom. p. 29.

[6] It was not until 1538, that a peace could be effected between these fighting powers; and on 14th August 1538, the polished cardinal Bembo thus mentioned it, from Padua to an Hungarian bishop: 'Here we have had first the truce, and then the peace between the emperor and the most christian king, so sincere, so pure, and so affectionate, that it seems clear that the deity himself must have effected it.' Letters, l. 9. p. 257.

[7] The bull is in Cherubini's Bullarium, v. 1. p. 619. Rome 1617. But it is more accessible to most readers, in Sanders, who has given the substance of its articles. 148–153. 1. It enjoins treason by wholesale. It commands and decrees, that Henry shall be deprived of all his dominions; and that he and his abettors have incurred all the pains prescribed by the laws, and shall be deprived of christian burial. The quantity of human slaughter by which all this was to be accomplished, the reader may conceive. 2. It put all places where the king or his party should come, under an interdict, and 'sub gravissimis pœnis,' prohibited all divine service or ceremonies in any church, monastery or place, subject to his dominion. 3. It declared his offspring, by Anne Boleyn, and the children of all his supporters born or to be born, infamous, and deprived them of all possessions, domains, liberties, privileges, honors, offices or property, however obtained; an extent of robbery which the greatest robbers we know of have never perpetrated. 4. It absolved his subjects from their obedience, and commanded them not to obey him. Here was perjury, as well as treason, enjoined to all who thus violated their oaths of allegiance. 5. It forbade all trading and intercourse

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compares what it orders with all that constitutes human guilt, may judge, himself, of its moral character; and ask which of the two is least entitled to his forgiveness, Paul III. or Henry VIII. Remembering also by how large a portion of the papal church, both then, and since, and now, this bull and similar bulls have been approved of, and how many have been practically obeyed, he will perhaps think that the whole of this class of mankind should have forborne all invectives against Henry's objectionable actions, however it may naturally have condemned his spoliations of the power and profits of the Roman hierarchy[s]. For may we not ask of the reason of mankind, if a Socrates or a Solomon were to judge

with him, and with all cities and places that obeyed him, and annulled all contracts with them. 6. It directed all ecclesiastical persons to leave his kingdom. Thus commanding that cruel exile for which the French convention have been so justly censured for compelling their clergy to undergo. 7. It ordered the nobility of England to take up arms against him, and to procure his expulsion. 8. It made void all treaties with him, and exhorted the kings and princes of Europe, to pursue him and his defenders, with their military forces, till he submitted to the pope. And 9thly, It doomed all his adherents, wherever they could be apprehended, to be taken for slaves, 'in servos,' and all their goods to become the property of their takers. It ordered the prelates and others to excommunicate Henry in their churches. I have quoted literally from Sanders's De Schism. 150–3, and from Cherubini. It was fixed up in the cities to meet the public eye, in Flanders, France and Scotland. Strype, 1. p. 511.

[s] I do not press this bull particularly against Paul 3, nor single him out in the least degree, as any peculiar monster of anomalous atrocity. He did but what his predecessors and successors in the same circumstances performed. He was neither better nor worse than most of those who have worn the tiara, and used its assumed power. This bull was awhile suspended. The noble Catherine opposed it. I am not convinced that the emperor at first approved of it; Francis did not. Pole says, that at Rome he interposed to 'let the sending forth of the censures.' Burn. 6. p. 173. But at last, 1538, it was given unblushingly to the world. This last order recites, that it had been suspended for three years on the persuasion of some princes. Cher. 623. One of the most expressive comments upon it, and a full display of all its moral beauties, will be found in cardinal Allen's celebrated 'Admonition to the nobility and people of England,' which leaves nothing doubtful or diminished about it.

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of the popes of Rome, by the bulls of this sort which they have issued, of whom would he suppose that these venerated personages appeared, from them, to be the vicars?

That the elevation of Pole to the cardinal dignity was not meant to be a sinecure of compliments or an asylum of indolence, appears from the commands he received to become immediately the instrument of treason, rebellion, and ingratitude, against his king and patron. The simple fact needs no epithets. The words of his biographer display the truth; and when that is clear, it is always most emphatic. "A few days afterwards he was named legate, with orders to go into France and Flanders, to *excite*[9] the Catholics, in England, to whom the emperor and the king of France had promised much favor. The French king had assured Pole of a safe journey, and he accepted the charge with much more zeal, to bring back the king to the Catholic religion, than to make war upon him." With these objects "he went with a fine company from Rome in the beginning of Lent[10];" and going for such purposes, it is no wonder that Henry should proclaim him rebel, and put fifty thousand scudi on his head[11].

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[9] Beccatelli's phrase is, 'per dar fermento.' p. 365. Bishop Tunstall, so praised by More, describes Pole's traiterous practices, in his sermon, in Strype, 1. p. 521.

[10] Ib. p. 365.

[11] Ib. 366. Altho his papal friends excited and flattered him, they did not wholly trust him. Contareni desired him to follow chiefly the advice of the bishop of Verona, who was given as a companion to him, and warned him against presumption and pride. Lett. 15th Feb. 1537, p. 19. Pole calls this cardinal's letters sharp, with asperity of words, and vehement objurgation. Ep. p. 20. On 24th March, he had reached Lyons, and tho he was allowed 500 aureos every month, by the pope, for his expences, he complained of his 'rei pecuniariæ angustiis,' and desires

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But when Pole reached Paris, tho civilly treated in the city, he was refused admission to the palace[12], and with a mortifying public denial[13]. Henry had remonstrated with Francis against receiving a man who came only to foment rebellion; and the French king felt the common interest of the throne to be put in hazard by such a mission. Pole was therefore obliged to turn off towards Flanders, and finding himself unsafe at Cambray[14], and that his messengers were stopped by the emperor's officers from carrying his missives[15], he settled himself at Liege, which he made the focus of his treasonable practices in England, and to which its bishop advised him to come in disguise[16].

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more supplies. Ep. p. 28. The cardinal's answer was, that the pontiff would not allow a greater stipend. p. 30.

[12] He complains heavily of this to the cardinal Carpensis: 'I could weep with you at these times, when I see that a king does not admit a legate of the Roman pontiff, demanding access to him.' Ep. p. 34.

[13] 'When *I came to the doors* of his hall, I was not admitted, but *before I could knock*, I was excluded.' ib. 35.

[14] Even here he wrote to the pope, on 18th May 1537, he was not allowed to go beyond its walls. Ep. p. 46. He complains that he could do nothing with Francis. ib.

[15] This was at Valenciennes, then an imperial town, and the person was sent back to him. Ep. p. 48. So that he says, 'I see the Cæsareans will not allow me 'aditum' into their province.' p. 49.

[16] So he tells the pope, 'He advised me to come 'dissimulato vestitu.' p. 49. That Pole's mother, and others, considered him at this time to be a traitor, or at least that she said she did, we learn from a letter from lord Southampton to Cromwell, in which, speaking of her as countess of Salisbury, he says, 'I went to her this afternoon, and told her the cause why I and my wife forebore to see her; it was, that we could not find in our heart any other, seeing that that errant traitor, her son, the cardinal, went about from prince to prince, to work such trouble against our sovereign lord and his realm.' Whereunto she made me answer, with a wonderful sorrowful countenance, 'That albeit he were most unhappy and in the way, to behave himself so unkindly and so traiterously unto his sovereign lord his majesty, who hath ever been so good and gracious lord to him and his friends; yet she took heaven to record, that she was both a good woman and a kind woman, wishing him to be in heaven, or else that she were of power to bring him home

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1536. Insurrections.

The commotions in England, which Pole was sent from Rome to foment, burst out in perilous explosion in the northern part of our Island; and we may ascribe this locality of their eruption to the great ignorance which there distinguished at that time both the priests and the people[17]. The appearance of the king's book on the articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people, was made the crisis of the revolt. Abbots and priests, concurring with some of the local nobility to excite them, twenty thousand deluded men, apt and fit for war, rose and formed an army, in Lincolnshire, of menacing insurrection. The king went immediately against them with a select force, received their petitions, and answered their complaints[18]. They were intimidated, divided, and dispersed[19]

unto the king's presence, wherein she trusted he would be so merciful a lord unto him, that albeit her wretched son was so ungracious, and so mighty an offender, that yet his grace would not impute his heinous offence unto her innocency.' Lett. MS. Cleop. E. 4. p. 176.

[17] The priests of Yorkshire are thus described before the Reformation, by the archbishop of that province, in a letter to Cromwell, July 1535. He said as to the books sent him, that the curates of his diocese might read it to their audience. 'Many of the curates could scant perceive it. Their benefices were so exile, of 4*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* per annum, that no learned man would take them. Therefore they were fain to take such as were presented so they were of honest conversation, and could competently understand that they read and minister sacraments. In all his diocese he did not know twelve that could preach.' Strype's Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 291, 2. The Irish papal clergy in the same year, were still lower. Their new archbishop wrote of them to the lord privy seal, 'as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass or pronounce the words; they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue.' So in 1538, 'a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country.' Transcribed from the letter lib. by sir J. Ware. Phenix, p. 122, 3.

[18] Hall, 819–822. This chronicler has inserted the king's answer, from which it appears, that they required him to chuse other counsellors; censured his suppression of the religious houses; demanded a release from the last parliamentary subsidy; the abolition of the statute of uses, and the abandonment of the first fruits. [19] Ib. 822, 3.

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But six days afterwards a more formidable assemblage, amounting to forty thousand in number, so well appointed with captains, horse, harness, and artillery, as to prove that a secret and deliberate organization of conspiracy had long been preparing, encamped themselves in Yorkshire. They called their revolt "an holy and blessed pilgrimage," and displayed banners of our Saviour on the cross, on one side, and a chalice with a cake on the other, which evinced the priestly authors and previous concert of the rebellion. The dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with a respectable army, went immediately against them, and found them so determined, that a desperate battle seemed inevitable. Both agreed to wage it, and the day of the contest was named; but the fordable river that divided the two forces, becoming so swollen by the currents of the preceding night, as to be impassable by either on the day fixed for the conflict, the rebels thought it a miracle forbidding their undertaking: and the regal generals, wisely issuing offers of pardon to those who quietly withdrew, the dangerous host dispersed[20], and the kingdom resumed its usual tranquillity. In February 1537, eight thousand insurgents attacked Carlisle, but were repulsed, and afterwards met and defeated by the duke of Norfolk; and all these perilous movements ended in the seizure, arraignment, condemnation, and execution of their principal leaders[21].

[20] Hall, 824.

[21] Ib. 824. Among these were lord Darcy, lord Hosier, Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, sir Francis Bigod, and several others. Many of them faithful and deserving subjects till misled to take arms for the pope against their king. ib. The celebrated images, the objects of so many pilgrimages to Walsingham, Ipswich, the shrine of Becket, and others, were soon afterwards taken away, and all the mendicant friars suppressed. Hall, 826. We may judge of the formidable aspect, at their

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By the time Pole reached his station at Liege, he found that these insurrections, which he had left Rome to countenance and encourage, had exploded ineffectually, and that his hopes and Henry's danger were departing[22]. His connection with these insurrections led the English government to request the king of France not to countenance him; which occasioned that repulse at Paris, and that ejection from France, of which he complained. His residence at Liege, with such traiterous purposes, was not consistent with the tranquillity of England, and Hutton

outset, of these insurrections, by the information disclosed by Gardiner, in one of his sermons under queen Mary, that during these northern rebellions, Henry was so alarmed as to have serious thoughts of reconciling and reuniting his kingdom to Rome. Yet he was not a man easily intimidated. It was this sense of their danger which made him so earnest that a few of the chiefs should be made an example of, as the letters of his council express. See Hardwicke Papers, vol. 1.

[22] Pole sufficiently implies the business he meant to pursue on this mission; and at Liege, in his letter to the pope from Cambray, 18th May 1537, after calling those who were against him in London, 'the malignants,' he says, alluding to the insurrections, 'when I departed from Rome, the people were in tumults for the cause of religion, and had active and noble men their leaders. Nothing then seemed likely to give greater spirits to the people, than to hear that one of their own countrymen was coming with authority who would help their cause; nothing would bring greater terror to their adversaries, nor more easily draw them to more equitable conditions.' Poli. Epist. p. 52. In another part, he mentions, that 'the insurrection of the people who favored that cause, had been appeased, so that many were executed, and all their leaders in the king's power. I heard of its being put down when I came to Lyons.' ib. p. 51. After giving the reasons for his being recalled, he adds as one on the other side for his staying; 'a quick departure would bring despair on these people who ought to be chiefly thought of, and the greatest security to the adversaries. If some one should watch perpetually for all opportunities in his regions, to be ready, as often as occasion should emerge, it would be the best thing for the church, and unless we would entirely lose that island, we must do so.' p. 53. 'Nothing is more fit than that some one should remain in their sight, by whose example, authority, and suasion, as occasion should present itself, one who would be ready not so much, 'tam verbo quam re,' to undergo all extremes in body, *they might be moved*.' ib. p. 54. On 21st August 1537, he wrote to Contareni, from Liege, that the government of England was so odious, that nothing could be more infirm than its condition. ib. p. 88. Either this conduct was treason, or treason ceases to be such if it be done at the command or in favor of the pope.

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was dispatched with remonstrances to the queen regent of Flanders, in May 1537, who declared that she had never showed any favor or assistance to him[23], and sent immediately an envoy to Henry, to excuse herself on the subject[24]. Persons were appointed to watch Pole's motions[25], and his servant Throgmorton became a correspondent of Cromwell's[26].

Pole now became desirous that Paul's excommunication should issue against Henry, and that Charles should invade him. Therefore in November 1538, this implacable cardinal was appointed to go as the pope's legate into Spain, to stimulate the emperor to an invasion of England[27]. In the February following, the king instructed Sir Thomas Wyatt to request the emperor not to suffer Pole to enter his dominions[28]; and in the next month to thank him for refusing Pole's solicitation that he would assent to the papal excommunication against the English sovereign[29].

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[23] See Hutton's letter to the king of 30th May, in MS. Galba, B. 10. p. 335.

[24] Cromwell's letter to Wyatt, of 6th June, in Harl. MS. No. 282. p. 203.

[25] In MS. Cleop. E. 6, is a letter of John Legh to Cromwell, detailing his conversations with Pole, who, among other things, advised him not to read 'the story of N. Machiavello, because he had already empoisoned our country of England, and it was a story also to empoison all the rest of Christendom, and that with all his might he would put it down out of remembrance in all places where he might have any power.' p. 381.

[26] A letter of Throgmorton to Cromwell, dated 20th Aug. 1537, is in the same MS. p. 372. It is mentioned by Strype.

[27] By his letters of 30th Nov. to Granvelle, the Spanish minister, and to the emperor's confessor, Pole wrote to renew in the mind of Charles, 'the cause of our faith.' ib. p. 121. His Spanish legation lasted from December 1538, to Sept. 1539, but he does not seem to have been allowed to enter Spain, or not to have remained in it, as his letters are usually dated from Carpentras.

[28] King's letter of 13th Feb. 1539, MS. ib. p. 47.

[29] King's letter of 10th March 1539, MS. ib. p. 50.

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Pole continued to urge these treasonable applications for nearly twelve months, but his embassy failed. Charles was cold and indifferent: and Pole left his court, mourning the emperor's wise disinclination, to undertake the crusade[30]; and apparently suspecting that he was more disposed to subvert than to reinstate the declining popedom[31]. The emperor would only assent to protestations being sent to Henry, not the exterminating bull; and Francis also deemed these to be preferable[32].

The imperial prime minister informed the papal cardinal, that the king of England did not, like the Lutheran princes, want to dispute an article of faith, but to usurp the ecclesiastical possessions, and to shake off the yoke of Rome; that fourteen thousand Germans were collected on the frontiers of their ocean, to pass into England for the defence of its government; that it became therefore more necessary to consider where the battle should be waged; that Henry having money and the Lutherans men, if he should be first attacked he would not only defend himself gallantly, but also with his money raise so great a fire in Italy as it would be difficult to quench;

[30] On 22d September 1539, he wrote from Carpentras, 'when I left Cæsar's court with but slender expectation, I openly said that I could not but grieve that greater hope had not been given to me of the help of Cæsar, in the afflicted affairs of our region. How is it that other princes offer themselves most ready to vindicate the cause, but Cæsar in whom was the greatest expectation, &c.' ib. p. 199.

[31] I infer this from Pole's mysterious language on 8th June 1539. 'But the king of England *is not* he who can most injure the apostolic see. *I fear him* whom Cato most feared in Rome; him *who is more soberly proceeding* to overthrow it; or rather I fear *those*, for there is more than one at this time. I cannot but fear, that in a short time *a greater rent* may arise in the church, with greater detriment to the authority of the apostolic see, than has been seen for many ages.' ib. p. 158.

[32] We learn these facts from cardinal Farnese's letter of 21st June 1539, from Toledo. Ep. Poli. p. 285.

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and therefore that the emperor had decided that he ought to pacify Germany before he broke with England[33]. It was in vain that Farnese urged that such a delay would allow the English king to strike a great blow at the apostolic see; and that the censures and bull having been actually issued against him, if they were not followed up by speedy execution, the papal authority would be depreciated. The imperial cabinet would not give way. They thought it was proper that Pole should go into France to solicit its government to co-operate; but tho it was hinted that Francis would not receive him, the papal ambassador could obtain nothing from the Spanish power but paper remonstrances against Henry[34].

Henry proceeded to the visitation, condemnation, and dissolution of the monasteries and conventual bodies, and to the seizure of their movables and territorial possessions. Wolsey had led the way in this measure[35], which, considered with regard to the rights of vested property, was direct spoliation; but which, viewed in the uses which its ecclesiastical enjoyers were making of it[36], and as to their moral,

[33] See his letter of 25th June. Ep. Poli. 288.

[34] Ib. 288, 9. The other letters are to the same result. 290–4.

[35] On 1st Sept. 1524, Clement VII. had granted a bull to Wolsey, to visit and reform religious places; to inquire into the lives and manners of their inhabitants, and to chastise and punish them. Wilk. Conc. 3. p. 704. In the same year, the pope having given the privilege, the king issued his writ, authorizing the cardinal to suppress various monasteries at Oxford, and to found endowments out of their revenues. ib. 706. In 1528, Clement sent Wolsey a power to degrade Clericos, because he had represented that some priests committed atrocia crimina. ib. 713. In 1529, the same pope issued to him another bull, allowing him to suppress other monasteries, and to erect cathedral churches instead. ib. 715. These powers show that it was Wolsey's plan to abolish or lessen the monastic body, and to increase the number and wealth of the prelacies and universities.

[36] On the general conduct of the monastic cŏnfraternities abroad,

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religious, and political consequences, demands other counterbalancing epithets. But others have so amply treated on this subject, that our assigned limits in this volume, whose object is rather to bring forward what has not been known by the general student, than what is familiar to him, compels us only to give it a brief notice here, with a reference to those who have circumstantially detailed it[37].

Erasmus gives many strong intimations. On the English monks, many remarks and authorities may be seen in Strype, Eccl. Mem. v. 1. p. 385–418, and in Wilk. Concil. v. 3. The MS. letters and papers in the British Museum, MS. Cleop. E. 4, give much original information of their immoralities. When Henry consulted with his council what he should do as to the monasteries, one told him he should not allow an excessive number, nor approve of all their rules. 'But wholly to exclude so pious a retreat for men who are unapt for secular business, or otherwise retired from the world, were to leave those unprovided for, who, of all others, were most proper in a devout life, to serve and glorify their Creator. There is a due place left for monasteries, yet when they grow to that multitude, that either the just proportion they bear in a state is exceeded, or they become a receptacle only for lazy and idle persons; it is fit to apply some convenient remedy. Therefore, be pleased, Sir! not to think so much of their overthrow, as their reformation.' Another counsellor remarked, that the clergy had one fourth part of all the revenues of the kingdom; that this was an undue proportion, and that two or three monasteries left in every shire would be sufficient. Herb. 396, 7. But the detected vices of many, and the relaxation of all, tho some honorable exceptions appeared, contributed chiefly to make the general suppression a desired and popular transaction.

[37] Camden, in his Britannia, reckons the whole number of the monasteries suppressed in England and Wales, to have been 645. The colleges demolished, were 90; the chantries and fire chapels, 2,374; and 110 hospitals. Speed reckons the yearly value of the whole, which he particularly enumerates, 161,100*l.* composing, as Herbert remarked, above a third part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the kingdom. The king allowed about 8,000*l.* a year for his new bishoprics and cathedrals, and 'had so tender a care of learning, that he not only preferred divers able persons whom he found there, but took special care to preserve the choicest books of their well-furnished libraries, wherein John Leland was employed.' Herb. 444. Leland's report of his researches into their libraries, which he called his 'New Year's Gift to King Henry,' contains an interesting account of the historical work which he projected upon them, but did not live to execute. See it in Strype's App. v. 1. p. 483–8. Cranmer, in his Homily on Good Moral Works, expressed his sense of the benefit accomplished by these dissolutions. In their favor we may notice their hospitality: That they relieved the poor; raised no rents; took no excessive fines on renewing leases; their noble structures;

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Cromwell became the leading minister in the cabinet, in all the ecclesiastical changes which were deemed expedient in reforming the most prominent abuses of the papal religion. In 1537, the book was compiled by some of the bishops and divines, intitled, "The Institution of a Christian man," in which most of the doctrines, sacraments, and ceremonies of the church were discussed[38]. In the next year seventeen injunctions for religion were promulgated by Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent, consequential to those which had been issued in 1536[39], which abolished many former errors and abuses. But three of the prelates, Sampson, Gardiner, and Tunstall, combined together, to preserve as much of the old religion as they could[40], tho they upheld the king's against the pope's supremacy[41]. The act of the six articles caused great dissatisfaction[42].

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the education they gave to the rich; and their libraries. Strype, 532. But the laity were now multiplying books, and attaining elsewhere a superior education, and pursuing more generally better morals and more useful lives. The opinion ascribed on this subject to the enlightened pope Ganganelli, justly remarks, 'The religious orders have not been gifted with infallibility, nor with indefectibility. If they were to be all abolished this day, the loss would be great, but the church would neither be less holy, less apostolical, nor less respectable.' v. 2. p. 172.

[38] Strype, Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 485. It was in 1538, that the whole Bible was first printed in English, with marginal notes, some of which were omitted on its reprint, in 1540. ib. 472, 3. Cromwell signified to the bishops, the king's command, that they should cause the Bible in English to be laid forth openly in their own houses, in every parish church, at the cost of the incumbent; and that every man should have free access to it, and be exhorted to use it. ib. 474, 5. Grafton printed immediately 1,500 copies, at the expence of 500 *l.* which were so well received by the people, that some Dutchmen began to print it in a smaller volume, at a less price. 476.

[39] See them in Strype, 1. p. 494.

[40] Sampson being arrested, confessed this. ib. 503. See his second letter, in App. 381–3.

[41] See Tunstall's sermon against the pope, in Strype, 1. p. 518, who also gives extracts from several writtings of the day, on the same subject, 512–518. Other injunctions from authority, followed, one of which was directed against Thomas à Becket. ib. 532.

[42] Strype, 1. p. 542. In 1539, the book of ceremonies, was made

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That Henry should have married lady Jane Seymour the day after Anne Boleyn's execution; and that any woman could agree so immediately to nuptials, for which such a terrible event had made the vacancy, are among those anomalies of human feeling, or those instances of human insensibility, which are inexplicable to our considering reason. But there are no limits to our capacity, both for good and for evil. No eccentricity is improbable, and no improbability is incredible of our defectible nature, when it once abandons the straight paths of rectitude or piety. Something then governs it which is not reason, and therefore it acts not by the laws of reason. Within nine days after her revolting wedlock, lady Jane was exhibited publicly as the new queen[43]. Her amiable manners and unpresuming life only make her acquiescence in such a precipitate acceptance of a throne so widowed, less comprehensible. But she did not long enjoy what she had been too hasty to secure. Seventeen months were the brief duration of her regal life. In the October of the year after her exaltation the pains of labor came upon her, and a melancholy alternative presented itself, of which she or her child would be the probable victim. The delivery, from the magnitude of its political results, was secured[44]; and it proved to be the fulfilment of the

Death of Queen Jane, 24 Oct. 1537.

Birth of Edward VI. 12 Oct. 1537.

which he has inserted in his Appendix. In 1543, 'The Institution' was reviewed, in a convocation, and re-published in the corrected and enlarged form of the 'Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of the Christian Man.' Strype, 583, 4. In many respects a new work.

[43] The marriage was on 20th May. On 29th May, being Whitsunday, she was showed openly, in her royal habiliments, as the queen. Godwin. Ann. p. 143. About two months after Anne's execution, on the 22d July, Henry lost, to his great grief, his only natural son, the duke of Richmond, (Godw. 143,) a prince much admired, who had debased himself by going to witness the unhappy lady's death.

[44] It is said to have been that deplorable choice of evils which occa-

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great desire of Henry's life—a son, and a successor. But the boon was conditioned with sorrow. A few days allowed some feeble hopes, that the mother, whom he now doubly valued, would recover her departing animation. The implored felicity seemed possible for a short time to her medical attendants[45], but a fatal crisis soon shewed the fallacy of all human plans and expectations, and Henry became this time, unwillingly, a widower. Few things wrongly done end happily. The king, in his own sufferings, found how easier it is to destroy life than to continue it; and to give calamity to others than to avert it from ourselves. He shut himself up in his palace, lamenting the heavy and unexpected blow. He warmly com-

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sions the birth of the son to be at the expence of the mother's safety. The official letter, announcing his nativity, is dated 12th Oct. (1537). See it in MSS. Nero, C. 10. This fixes it to that time. The queen did not die on the next day, or two days after, as some ancient authorities assert. Edward 6, in his own journal says 'within a few days.' See it in Burnet, 4. p. 1. A comparison of the letters in Nero, C. 10, show that she was alive on the 17th of October; for the third document, which announces that twelve masses had been said for her soul, in London, is dated *Thursday* 8th November, which makes the first Wednesday that occurred after the 12th October, to have been the 17th, and therefore on that day, or on the following Wednesday, the letter in the next note proves that she was still alive.

[45] In MSS. Nero, C. 10, is the following original letter, mournfully expressive of what was advancing, signed by six physicians. 'These shall be to advertise your lordship of the queen's estate. Yesterday afternoon she had a natural lax, by reason whereof she began somewhat to lighten, and as it appeared, to amend; and so continued till towards night. All this night she hath been very sick, and doth rather appaire than amend. Her confessor hath been with her grace this morning, and hath done (all) that to his office appertaineth, and even now is preparing to minister to her grace the sacrament of unction. At Hampton court, this Wednesday morning, at eight of the clock.' MS. ib. The first Wednesday after the birth being the 17th, the second was the 24th October. As G. Lilly places her death on the twelfth day after her delivery; and both the herald's office, and the journal of Cecil, mentioned in Burnet, v. 3. p. 1, date her death on 24th October; that has the greatest appearance of being the day of the melancholy event, and if so, the medical letter was probably written on that day, being the second Wednesday from the birth.

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mended his lost Jane, and she has been applauded beyond all his queens; but her reign, and therefore her trial was short. If Anne Boleyn had not survived her coronation for a longer period, panegyric would have emblazoned her tomb with all its rhetoric, and Henry have bedewed it with the tears of his fondest affection. To walk well and laudably thro a protracted life, is the great criterion of human virtue; the greatest claim to human praise; and the most difficult task, considering life's changes and temptations, of human perseverance. We cannot therefore positively decide that lady Jane intrinsically was, or if she had lived, would have been, superior to the female whom she succeeded and perhaps contributed to supersede. But her existence and even precipitate nuptials may have been of great importance to the prosecution and establishment of the English reformation. The pope so suddenly and completely changed his mind and conduct towards Henry, on hearing of Anne Boleyn's downfal, that if Jane had not secured both his hand and heart, the king might have been allured to a re-union with the papacy[46].

[46] I make this inference, from having observed and read the very important Latin despatch of Cassalis to the king, from Rome, dated 27th May 1536. It exhibits such an artful or wise effort of the pope, to regain the favor of Henry; and if Anne Boleyn's removal had left him a disengaged man, and his hasty marriage with Jane Seymour had not closed the avenue to friendship with Rome, before this letter reached him, it might have made so great an impression on his mind, that I am induced to lay before the reader its main contents, to show what a danger the English reformation escaped.

'Ten days have elapsed since I went to the pope, and narrated to him the tidings, that the queen had been thrown into prison, with her relations, for concurring in her adultery. He then said, that he had been imploring heaven to enlighten your mind on this affair; that he had always had something of this sort in his eye, because he thought the

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In June 1537 the emperor, as if the deaths of both Catherine and Anne had removed his point of honor from the quarrel, began to court Henry's friendship,

mind of your majesty was adorned with such virtues, and had such merits towards the christian republic, that heaven would not desert it, but would exalt it by the grace of his illumination. That your majesty now might, as you had in other respects done, perform an excellent work for christendom, being now released from a marriage that was indeed too unequal for you. That if you would now be joined to the Roman church, it would then have so much authority, that it would command both the emperor and the king of France, and compel both to peace. It was most manifest, that if your majesty had the Roman pontiff with you, you might command the other princes as you pleased. That he would promise to obey you in this business; he desired only peace, and he was not disposed for factions, nor to labor covetously to increase his fortunes, in immense sums, or to extend the boundaries of the pontificate.

'He said, your majesty ought not to be in an angry mind towards him, but to be friendly. That he had always sought to make your affair gratifying to you, and had not wished to hurt it. That he had given many signs of love and attentions in the cause of your marriage, and had done all things for you, both publicly and privately, with Clement VII. and at Bologna, with the emperor. That he had done this duty from his heart. That he had no wish to offend your majesty in any thing, altho he understood something was daily doing in England against the apostolic see.'

The pope then apologized for having made Fisher a cardinal. It was done to conciliate love, not to cause hatred. He had wished to have his council, and to increase his college of cardinals, by some men of learning. It was usual to have a cardinal of every nation, and therefore he had chosen the bishop to be one for England, because his book against Luther were of high authority. He confessed that he had erred in this step, and that afterwards he had been solicited on all sides to avenge his death, and could not avoid doing what he had done, tho his inclination had not gone with it; but he had wished heaven to interpose its assistance, as it now seemed to have done.

After more soothing intimations of this sort, Cassalis asked him if he wished these sentiments to be reported to the king. After much deliberation, the pope intimated, that Cassalis might say, that he had found the pontiff in such a good disposition, that Henry might, without doubt, promise himself every thing concerning himself, 'omnia de ipso.'

Cassalis adds, from himself, to his sovereign, 'In my judgment, if your majesty would make the least signification, by sending or writing something to me, from which it might be collected that you desired friendship and conjunction with the pope, he would send a nuncjo, and do all things which he could. But his will is now thwarted, because several tell him that it would be a great disgrace to him, after so many affronts, to send to your majesty before he had some eminent reason to hope that it would be taken in good part. For this reason, he would send Latinus Juvenalis, or Andreas Cassalius, but so that the rumor,

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and sent an ambassador to England, to treat for a marriage between don Louis of Portugal, and the often-bargained-for princess Mary[47]. The French court charged the mission with insincerity[48]. Prince Edward's welcomed birth in the same year[49], occasioned, with that singular anticipation of royal alliances that so seldom were effectuated, a proposal also for wedding him to a daughter of the emperor's, born or to be born, and another for the union of Elizabeth, likewise in her babyhood, with one of the archduke Ferdinand's sons[50]. Both Charles and Francis, too equal in strength to abase each other, were now anxious to obtain Henry's amity and alliance, to overwhelm his competitor. But as the English sovereign would not assist by arms, the French king, in March 1538, sent the bishop of Tarbes to agree that Henry should be the mediator; and also to assure him, that the emperor's promises were all fraud and deceit[51]. Sir Thomas Wyatt was commissioned by the English government to Spain, to offer there his sovereign's mediatorial aid, and to renew the ancient

should be, that he was not commissioned from him, but was going on my private affairs. But he has as yet determined nothing, nor would I agree that he should be dispatched in my name.' Lett. MS. Vitell. B. 14. p. 215–18. No advances could be more eager, submissive, flattering and tempting to a king of Henry's temper, than this ingenious conference. But long before this letter reached Henry, and even before it was written, he had married Jane Seymour, as great a friend to the reformation, as Anne Boleyn; and before he lost her, he had by her what he wished, a son and heir, which dispossessed Mary of the throne, and changed materially all his former relations. Thus the new policy of the pope was defeated as soon as it had come into existence, and had been put into operation.

[47] Cromwell's letter of 6th June, in Harl. MS. No. 282. p. 203.

[48] Cromwell's lett. 1st Oct. ib. 208.

[49] See before, p. 481, note 44.

[50] MS. ib. p. 159,

[51] Cromwell's letter in cypher, of 1st March. MS. ib. 175–182.

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friendship between him and Charles[52], when the marriages above mentioned became the subject of negotiation[53]. Francis, observing these proposed schemes, attempted a counteraction, by requesting Mary for the duke of Orleans[54].

Amid these speculations, Henry intimated his own wish to make the duchess dowager of Milan his queen[55]; but this suggestion was not encouraged[56]. He desired the emperor not to receive cardinal Pole, who was coming to him as legate from the pope[57]; and afterwards thanked him for refusing to admit him[58]. But Henry having now heard that the emperor and French king, with other princes, were planning, by the instigation of the pope, soon to invade England, laid an embargo on the Flemish shipping, and demanded to know positively from the emperor what his intentions were[59].

At this period the three great powers of Europe continued to be, the emperor, the king of France, and Henry. Their mutual and changeable wars had reduced the rest of Europe to a state of political nothingness and submitting inferiority, but had not altered their relative greatness and strength as to each other. They had fought and negotiated, with

[52] See Wyatt's transcript of the king's letter to him, of 22d Feb. 1538. Harl. MS. p. 1.

[53] Ib.

[54] King's let. 4th May 1538. MS. ib. p. 54. It was on 8th April, in this year, that Henry published his declaration, addressed to all the princes of christendom, protesting against the pope's intended council at Vincenza, as against the one he had before summoned to Mantua. See it in Harl. Misc. V. 3. p. 170. Park. ed.

[55] King's letter of 22d Jan. 1538. MS. ib. p. 15.

[56] King's letter of 5th April. MS. ib. 26.

[57] King's letter of 13th February 1539. MS. ib. p. 47.

[58] King's letter of 10th March 1539. ib. p. 59.

[59] Ib.

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the effect of trampling down the minor states and kingdoms, and of adding some to France and some to the imperial dominions; but they had only agitated the balance of power as to each other, without causing any lasting preponderation in favor of either. Charles and Francis, in the year 1538, stood before each other like two athletic wrestlers, who had often struggled and alternately thrown each other; but who, after twenty years of angry and ambitious competition, remained still determined to reciprocate assault and defiance, with unabated hostility, tho' unable to do more than to provoke and wound, without permanently conquering or long endangering each other. Henry, on his part, was still the great neutral power, whom each of the continental antagonists was inviting to be his ally, and dreading least his junction with the other should destroy that equality which, amid all their conflicts and vicissitudes, had preserved, undiminished, the national independence of both.

In this state of mutual invincibility and of angry jealousy, the emperor made proposals from Villa Franca to Henry, to induce him to unite in a friendly league, which might be made effective against France. From a manuscript of diplomatic instructions[60], we learn that the king of England was gratified by the overture of friendship, but did not at that time accept or pursue it. His own account

[60] These instructions, twelve pages in length, are preserved in their original shape in the British Museum. Vesp. C. 7. p. 71–82. They are indorsed as of the date of 16th Oct. 1538. They are curious for the interlineations made by Henry, in his own hand writing, and for the evidence they give of his personal and minute attention to his important state papers.

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of his motives for this receding caution is, that he might not, by assenting to it, be charged with preventing peace from being then established in Europe[61]. But in the October following, his political views or personal feelings became more favorable to the emperor's wishes, and he sent sir Philip Hoby to join sir Thomas Wyatt, his ambassador in Spain, in treating personally and decisively with Charles, on the objects which Henry now desired to attain[62].

The leading scheme in the king's mind, in this negotiation, seems to have been to establish an English interest, and to gain by marriages, an actual footing in Italy. To effectuate this, besides his own marriage with the widowed duchess of Milan, he proposed to coincide with the emperor's offer from Villa Franca; and on this prince investing his son-in-law, don Louis of Portugal, with the dukedom of Milan, to give this royal youth the lady Mary for his wife. If this was admitted, Henry then suggested, that he would allow his other daughter

[61] The king's instructions thus express his reasons: 'His majesty remembering the gentle overtures unto his highness by the said emperor made from Villa Franca, the which overtures, tho his grace took very thankfully and embraced them, yet nevertheless, at that time, lest he should be noted to be an interrupter of the comnon quiet of christendom, the meeting being already appointed and at hand, wherein the world looked for a good conclusion of peace, his grace stayed to send a commission to conclude upon the same, until that assembly and interview should be passed, intending nevertheless, after the same, to join with the emperor in all reasonable things and conditions.' MSS. Vesp. C. 7. p. 73.

[62] These instructions order Hoby to take them first to Wyatt, that this minister might make himself perfect master of them; and then both to require an audience with the emperor, and to state their contents. MSS. ib. In this part, Henry has interlined in his own hand writing, a caution that they should 'require of the emperor, both that he shall take the overtures in good part proceeding of so friendly an heart; and also promise, in the word of a prince, that he shall not disclose them to none but to such of his secret council as shall be sworn to the secrecy of the same.' MSS. ib.

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Elizabeth, his niece lady Margaret, and his son's widow, the duchess of Richmond, to be married to such of the princes and estates of Italy as the emperor should advise and think most expedient for securing the possession of Naples and Sicily, as well as the Milanese, in the imperial family[63]. As Charles had declared his determination to undertake in person a campaign against the Turks, who were endangering the empire, Henry suggested, that as this would be a hazardous enterprise, and his son Philip was young, he should settle these affairs before he went to this great conflict[64]; and the king closed his instructions with declaring, that if the emperor would send don Louis to the queen regent of Flanders, for her to bring him and the duchess of Milan to Calais, he would immediate cross the sea at the shortest notice, to meet them, and bring with him "his dearest and best beloved daughter, the lady Mary[65]," for the immediate conclusion of all these proposals.

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[63] MSS. Vesp. C. 7. p. 80, 81.

[64] The king has chosen to express this passage in his own writing: 'Tho he would be sorry that the emperor should expose his own person to any such jeopardy, he will not attempt to divert his fixed purpose, being Christ's cause; yet he thought it the part of a very friend now to put him in remembrance so to dispose all things before his departure; as the prince of Spain his son, which is yet but young, may,' &c. MS. ib. p. 78.

[65] MSS. ib. p. 82. At the end of this chapter, we will add an extract of a long passage, all in the king's hand writing, which he inserted in these instructions, after their first composition, as it is a fair specimen of his extemporaneous and current style and mind on the matters of his state business. His letters to Anne Boleyn, before inserted, show his easy and familiar diction; this quotation will exhibit his mode of thinking and writing on his public affairs; and as it seems to have been penned at the moment, in a continuous flow of thoughts as they occurred, with the instantaneous feeling breathing in every sentence, and without elaborate study, it presents to us an actual portrait of Henry's intellectual capacity in one of its most natural forms; and displays both his interior character and style of reasoning, and his habitual ease and fluency of expressing it, as passing occasions called them suddenly out. It is a

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Such was Henry's offer and plan which he pressed upon Charles with an earnestness as unusual, as, from some change in the position or views of the emperor, was soon experienced to be ineffective; for it was met with such little cordiality now, on the side of Charles, probably, in part, from the certainty of Edward's interfering accession, now a year old, and in part from the danger of giving to England, in the contingencies of things, from these weddings, legitimate or popular claims to Italian possessions, that at the end of November 1538, we read in the king's letters a complaint of the emperor's coldness on the proposed matching of the children[66]. Henry afterwards sent instructions to decline these, and to delay his own[67]. On this rupture of their reviving amity, the emperor expressed great resentment at Henry's calling him ungrateful, saying that it was a title scarcely to be given to an inferior, but not to be brooked by an equal[68]. But sir Thomas congratulated the king, that he had made an escape from the duchess of Milan, as tho he would suppose nothing but honor in her, yet a queen consort of England ought to be free from all suspicion[69]. Wyatt stated to Cromwell his apprehensions that designs were still forming by Charles and Francis against Henry[70]; and to the king, that the emperor was in France, but did not

favorable instance of his ready and general talent, and of a frank temper of mind, which felt and spoke from its high station, without any accompanying arrogance or offensive pride.

[66] Lett. 30th November, Harl. MS. p. 59.

[67] MS. ib. p. 68.

[68] Letter of Th. Wyatt to Henry, of 3d Feb. from Brussells. MS. ib. p. 113.

[69] Lett. 9th March 1540, from Ghent. He intimates that there had been long an affection between her and the prince of Orange. Harl. MS. 191.

[70] Lett. ib.

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mean to treat till he had reached his own dominions, where cardinal Farnese was to visit both these monarchs from the pope[71] Henry looked among the French princesses for a queen, but they would not stoop to his conditions[72].

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[71] His letter to Henry from Ambise, 12th December, stating that he had met the emperor at Chatelherault. MS. ib. p. 143.

[72] He thought of three in France, but desired to see them first at Calais. These were the duchess dowager of Longueville, mademoiselle de Vendom, and mademoiselle de Guise. Le Grand, p. 285. Francis treated the condition of the previous inspection with derision. His minister thus wrote to his ambassador in England:—'the king has laughed at the conferences they have had with you upon this subject. He says, it seemed as if there they selected their wives like their ponies; that is, to get together a good quantity, make them trot, and take that which will go the easiest. Besides, he does not chuse to put his daughter in the rank of the others.' Lett. to Chatillon, in Le Grand, 3. p. 638. Of those ladies, the duchess of Longueville, in August 1538, married the king of Scotland. Hall, 826.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON HENRY'S STYLE.

The king appears to have inserted the following paragraphs into the draft of his official instructions, when it was submitted to him for his perusal.

'As concerning Spain within itself, you may say, if I were as well acquainted as I have been in times past, I could and would give some counsel in that behalf; but, surely, I have had no practice in those affairs, these many years. Wherefore, I remit that wholly to his majesty and his discreet council, which can a thousand times better determine that than I. Yet will I not when occasion shall give, pretermit the office of a perfect friend in showing mine advice, tho it be but foolish, as before I have done, and in other things hereafter following intend to do, trusting that the emperor will take it as proceeding of a sincere heart and an old assured friend.

'But as for outward friendship, both for Spain and Flanders, I trust, if the emperor take it so that I and this poor island may and will stand him in as good stead, as any outward prince or realm in christendom. And if it will please him as sincerely of his part to go forth with this amity and alliance, already between us begun, and now yet in communication as we of ourside shall, I doubt not but it shall be a perdurable knot to all our blood, and a perfect union and surety for both our realms and dominions, at which, for my part, I greatly shall rejoice, trusting the emperor will do the same.

'And for that purpose you shall most heartily require of his majesty, that for voiding of delays which be always suspicious, he will either send to my lady regent, his sister, full and unrestrained power, briefly to

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delegate ministers to commune and conclude the same upon reasonable conditions; or else with diligence to send Grandwyll or Quoyvis to Flanders with the bottom of your stomach for performing of this indissoluble knot between us and ours to the performing whereof, ye may assure him of our behalf that there shall neither lack good will, nor speedy expedition; we finding the semblable; and that it shall not stand by us for lack of condescendance to a reasonable aid for Milan, so that, as reason would, we may have a reasonable reciproque for it.

'Furthermore, ye may declare unto the emperor, if, in communication, any slackness were laid to us, that it were no marvel tho we did delay; for we were but strangely handled by his agent with unjust and unreasonable demands, and unlike to proceed out of a willing heart to conclude.

'Besides that, he would be glad to put his foot in the briar, and take the whole burthen on his neck, these weighty causes afore rehearsed not being otherwise than we know of, provided for.

'Also, this now reconciled amity of old enemies, now entire friends, blows so strange a blast in our ears, so far from the surety of the emperor's succession, that it had been enough, alone, to desesperate us, considering that besides the title of Milan, there be so many other titles depending still between them, as Naples, sovereignty of Flanders, Genoa and Piedmont with Nice also.

'These things well considered I report me both to the emperor and his council, whether I have not had cause both to be slack, and occasion for to think that he and his agents did dissemble with us for winning of time, which ways being far from a sincere friend's demeanor, we heartily require him to no more put in use with us; but sincerely henceforth to proceed, as undoubtedly on our part we will; omitting all by past quarrels, and endeavoring ourselves on both parts to recompense them with perfect love and kindness.' Vesp. C. 7. p. 77.

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CHAP. XXXI.

ARREST AND EXECUTION OF THE POLES—HENRY'S FOURTH AND FIFTH MARRIAGES WITH ANNE OF CLEVES AND LADY HOWARD.

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THE war with the papal hierarchy, however beneficial to the English mind, from its abolition of a debilitating bondage, produced to Henry a series of private machinations and of personal danger, as well as of public attacks. As he was the great opponent of Rome, many of its interested or too zealous partisans became or were seduced to be earnest and resolute to depose or destroy him.

As the year 1538 advanced to its close, conspiracy assumed a new feature of guilt, and the arm of law was again summoned to raise the axe of death. On the third of November 1538, the marquis of Exeter and lord Montague, who was the brother of cardinal Pole, were suddenly arrested and sent to the Tower. The next day sir Edward Neville was added; and in a few days more, the countess Margaret, the aged mother of the Poles, was also in custody[1]. They were apprehended on the unexpected discovery and accusation, from his remorse on his attempted

[1] Hall, 827. There is a letter extant, dated 21st November 1538, from Robert Warner, stating these arrests, which he thus connects with the treasons of cardinal Pole. 'I do perceive it should be for my lord Montague's brother, which is beyond the sea with the bishop of Rome, and is an arrant traitor to the king's highness; and by some words that I hear spoken, they would have made a foul work in England as ever was heard of. My lady marquise is in the Tower.' Ellis's Orig. Lett. v. 2. p. 97.

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suicide, of sir Geoffrey Pole, son and brother of two of those whom he arraigned [2]. Their treason is not explicitly detailed, but it seems to have been a plot to assassinate or depose Henry, and to raise cardinal Pole to the throne in his stead [3]; ideas which recal to the recollection the plans which we have noticed before, for the cardinal's being made king, and marrying the princess Mary [4]. Henry appears to have received his first information of their meditated hostility from their own servants; but that from his regard to them personally, he endeavored to over-

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[2] Moryson, the same year of their execution, published his 'Invectives against Treason,' which indicates some particulars of what these persons meditated. He says the king 'was in great peril, yet neither saw it nor could mistrust any such thing; that he used more familiarness with few of his subjects, than he did with the marquis and sir Edward. That cardinal Pole was the worst of them, and was breeding traitors, stirring sedition, and intending his death. That Pole had sent his mother word, that if he knew her to be of the same opinion with the king, he would tread her underfoot. That Montague had told his friends, 'I trust to see a change in this world; I trust to see a merry world one day,' and intimated his intention to give the knaves a buffet who ruled about the king. That they had all practised with his greatest enemies; and that Geoffrey had been arrested without any suspicion attaching to the others. He stabbed himself in prison, and afterwards, sending for some of the king's privy council, revealed the intended treasons of his family, and swore to them at the bar on their trial.' The particular facts are not given, but he adds, 'at the scaffold, they did all three acknowlege their offences towards the king.' ib. Tunstall, the bishop of Durham, in his sermon at the time, calls them Pole's 'pernicious treasons, late secretly wrought, so marvellously detected, and by his own brother unexpectedly disclosed.' Strype, Eccl. 1. p. 521.

[3] They were 'indicted for devising to maintain, promote, and advance one Reginald Pole, late dean of Exeter, enemy to the king beyond the seas, and to deprive the king.' Herb. 439.

[4] 'The king thought the crisis so dangerous, and foreign aids so likely, that he caused all the havens to be fortified, rode to Dover, and had bulwarks made on the sea coast, and sent commissions thro the realm, to muster the people ready to repel any sudden invasion. Hall, p. 827. This was done because Pole had stirred divers great princes to invade England. 'Wherefore his majesty in his own person, without any delay, took very laborious and painful journeys towards the sea coasts, and also sent divers of his nobles and counsellors to search all the ports.' Hall, 828.

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come their enmity by his kindness [5]. His subsequent change of conduct and sudden apprehension of them, may be therefore imputed to the new facts and danger which their young relative and confidant Geoffrey disclosing, drove him to relinquish his wish of saving them, and which seem to have been extended to the infant Edward's destruction, as well as his own [6]. Yet, tho there was sufficient evidence of their guilt [7], the king proceeded reluctantly to their punishment [8]. On 31st December the peers were found guilty [9]. Three days after, Neville, with two priests and a mariner, and sir

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[5] The letter of sir Thomas Wriothesly, the ambassador at Brussells, of 13th November, to the English ambassador in Spain, intimates that the king had from 'his special favor borne towards them, passed over *many accusations made* against the same, of late, *by their* own domestics, thinking assuredly with his clemency to conquer their cancredness, as Cæsar, at the last, won and overcame Cynna.' Ellis, 2d Ser. 2. p. 109. This confidential statement from one diplomatic gentleman to another, is a private evidence of Henry's desire not to be severe, which ought to lessen the passion of so many still to write and think all that is evil against him. Mr. Ellis, in the remarks added to his letters, displays too much of this spirit; and on this letter gives a striking instance of it, for he says with an intended emphasis, that tho he loved them, yet 'WITHIN TEN DAYS *they were beheaded.*' p. 108. From 4th Nov. to 9th Jan. there were SIXTY-SIX days; not merely ten.

[6] Wriothesly adds, 'Yet his grace was constrained, for avoiding of such malice as was prepensed, *both against his person royal and the surety of* THE LORD PRINCE, our only jewel after his majesty, to use the remedy of committing them to ward.' Lett. ib. 109.

[7] 'The accusations made against them *be of great importance* and *duly proved by substantial witness.*' Lett. ib.

[8] The words of this *private* communication from one ambassador to another are more impressive to us for being so, and sir Thomas explicitly says to his friend, 'Yet the king's majesty loves them so well; and of his great goodness is SO LOTH to proceed against them, that tho *their own families*, in manner, *abhor their facts*, it is doubted what his highness will do towards them. I write this unto you, because you may peradventure hear somewhat hereof, and the thing, percase, sinisterly interpreted. *Now that you know the truth, you may declare the same upon my poor word*; and so you may make answer accordingly.' Lett. ib. 109, 110.

[9] Herb. 439. The marquis was the king's cousin german, by his mother, being the son of Edward the fourth's daughter, Katherine. ib.

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Geoffrey, were tried and convicted; and on 9th January 1539, all but the last were executed[10]. The aged Margaret, mother of the Poles, and the last of the Plantagenets, accused of being concerned in their treasons, was apprehended[11]. She appears to have been a woman with a Roman mind, as to firmness and fortitude[12]. Both the charges and evidence against her have perished. She was not attainted till four months after the others[13]; and so unwilling

[10] Herb. 439. Stow, 576. Sir Nicholas Carew, the king's master of the horse, having been found a councillor of the marquis on the subject, was convicted, and suffered on 3d March. ib. From the nearness to his person of the accused, Henry seems to have been in imminent danger. The failure of all the public insurrections may have led to the machination of this private villany.

[11] Lord Southampton and the bishop of Ely were sent to apprehend the countess. Their letter of 14th Nov. (MS. Cal. D. 11.) contains their report to lord Cromwell. 'Yesterday, the 13th, we travelled with the lady Salisbury till almost night. She would utter and confess little or nothing more than the first day she did, but she still stood and persisted in the denial of altogether. This day, altho we entreated her, sometime with mild words, and now roughly and asperly, by traitering her and her sons to the ninth degree, yet would she nothing utter, but utterly denieth all that is objected unto her. We suppose that there hath not been seen or heard of a woman so earnest, so manlike in countenance. We must needs deem, that her sons have not made her privy nor participant of the bottom and pit of their stomachs, or else she is the most arrant traiteress that ever was seen. Now that we seized her goods and given her notice, that the king's pleasure is she shall go, she seemeth thereat to be somewhat appalled.' Ellis. 2d Series, 2. p. 112.

[12] On the 16th November the earl and bishop informed Cromwell, that they had obtained more information from the countess and her servant, which they deemed material, and would communicate on their return. They had also, as about to leave her, received some bulls of the pope, and the copy of a letter from her to lord Montague, on which they intended to institute some examination before they quitted her. They thus describe her resolute demeanor: 'We assure your lordship we have dealed with such a one, as men have not dealed withall before us. We may call her rather a strong and constant man, than a woman. For, in all behaviour, howsoever we have used her, she hath shewed herself so earnest, vehement and precise, that more could not be.' Lett. Ellis. ib. 114, 115.

[13] Lord Cromwell, on 19th April, wrote to the king of her: 'The marquise hath been examined; and in effect albeit she pretendeth ignorance and no knowlege of the person that should report the tale, yet nevertheless she confesseth in substance the much like words to have

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was the king to take her life, that the fatal punishment was suspended for above two years, when its infliction [14] was occasioned by new irritations and alarms connected with Pole's treasons [15]. The historian can only regret both the persevering crimes, which impelled such sanguinary severities, and the spirit which sternly ordered them. They seem to have been neither unjust, illegal, nor undeserved; but the human mind recoils with aversion from these multiplied spectacles of violent death, however merited, and cannot but deem the extension of its terrors to an aged woman, the withered relic of a kingly race, an act of harsh pusillanimity. Indeed how little such bloodshed intimidates from guilt, was brought emphatically to Henry's perception at this very period, by two persons in his own household, who, tho they saw his angry inflexibility, yet chose

been told her. I shall never cease till the bottom of her stomach may be clearly opened and disclosed.' Ellis. 2d Series. p. 138.

[14] She was attainted by Parliament with the marchioness of Exeter, on 28th April 1539, but was not beheaded till 27th May 1541; after sir John Nevill's rebellion, in Yorkshire, another of Pole' incitations. Herb. 468. She refused to lay her head on the block, declaring she was no traitor, and turned it about every way to baffle the executioner, who 'was constrained to fetch it off slovenly.' Herb. 468. Her age was seventy. ib. 447.

[15] Tunstall, the bishop of Durham, about Easter, in the same year, 1539, after the legal convictions of the family, thus spoke of the pontiff and his agent, Pole, in a sermon he then preached and published. 'The pope hath allured to his purpose Reginald Pole, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same. The bishop of Rome is a stirrer of war, and this most errant and unkind traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the country he was born in; exhorting thereunto all princes that will hear him, who abhor to see such unnaturalness in any man as he shameless doth set forward.

'Whose pernicious *treasons late secretly wrought* against this realm, have been so marvellously detected, and *by his own brother* (sir Geoffrey Pole), *without looking therefore so disclosed*, and condign punishment ensued, that hereafter they shall not take any more such root.' See the extracts in Strype, Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 521.

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to dare its consequences and their fate, by counterfeiting—the one his sign manual, and the other his privy signet[16]—deeds never likely to be forgiven, and always certain of being detected. The most criminal person was the instigator, cardinal Pole; but while he brought ruin on his family and friends by his practices, in promotion of his revenge and bigotry, he eluded all the efforts made for his seizure; and with a consoling self-complacency, so deluded himself as to state both in his book and by letter[17], that he was only acting for Henry's good, in thus striving to bend his neck by force into the papal yoke, or to break it, if he persisted in being unmanageable. So much was Henry persecuted by every species of hostility, that in 1540, even a new pretender, affecting to be of the York lineage, was started up against him[18]; an imposture that reminds us of the prediction

[16] Both suffered, Herb, 439.

[17] See his jesuitical letters to Cromwell. Burn. 6. p. 168–174. 'My old purpose to procure his wealth and honor;' 'to practise yet to his honor and wealth;' 'my whole legation purposing no other but his honor and wealth;' 'my *affectionate* mind (to Henry) is not taken away.' ib. After this plot against his person, Henry appointed fifty gentlemen, with spears, to attend upon him. Hall, p. 832. The necessity of these executions was so little understood or approved of in Europe, that the classical Annibal Caro, adopting the feelings of Rome, where he resided, thus writes of these deaths to his patron, on 19th July 1541: 'This Nero of England has caused some other poor gentlemen to be put to death, and among these the mother of cardinal Pole.' Lett. Prin. V. 3. p. 73. Every public execution was put down to the account of Henry's wilful cruelty, whatever was the offence which caused it.

[18] We learn this from the king's letter to sir J. Wallop, his ambassador in France, of 20th August 1540. 'Whereas by your letters to the duke of Norfolk, you have advertized him that the traitor there, calling himself Blanche Rose, should be put to liberty; you shall understand, that much desiring to have him delivered to be sent hither according to our treaties, we have at this time written to the French king for that purpose.' MS. Cal. E. 4. p. 39. In his subsequent instructions, Henry says, 'the king being content to deliver him, was informed that the said traitor was not our subject, but a Frenchman, born in Orleans. We answer, that indeed he was our subject, born of a low and very base parentage, a tailor's son.' MS. Cal. E. 4. p. 40.

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of Mrs. Amadas, that such a person was existing and to be expected [19]. But villanies of all sorts were then afloat from the partisans of the papacy [20].

No man of principle will attempt to vindicate Henry from the indignant censure of all who can feel and judge, for the act of the six articles, appointing those who denied the real presence to be burnt, and all to be hanged who urged five other opinions [21]. It does not relieve his memory to show that it originated from Gardiner and those of his council, who were hostile to the reformation, and that both Cranmer [22] and Cromwell were opposed to it; because the king went himself unconstitutionally to parliament, and by his actual interference procured the disgraceful statute to be passed, which would otherwise have been rejected [23]. Such inti-

[19] See before, page 390, note 90. A man alive, on an island called the dead man, who was to come to hold a parliament, pointed to a pretender, assuming the name of some of the royal lines who had been supposed to have died.

[20] We have another curious instance of what some of these attempted for their own benefit, with Romish documents, in one of the king's proclamations, 'that persons called *pardoners* go daily abroad, declaring and publishing to his people, as well in parishes churches as elsewhere, divers indulgencies and pardons, corruptly and deceitfully obtained of the bishop of Rome, and by color thereof, exact great sums of money; and *that part of the said pardoners being confederate* with the great errant *thieves* of this realm, by going about, espy where the richest and most substantial men inhabit and dwell, to whose houses they many times guide and bring the said thieves, their confederates, to rob and spoil.' Cott. MSS. Titus, B. 1. p. 536.

[21] These were, that both kinds of the sacrament were necessary; that priests or professed nuns might marry; that private masses were not lawful; that auricular confession was not expedient. Herb. 446. It was passed 28th April 1539, as 'An Act for abolishing diversity of opinions,' but became nicknamed 'The Bloody Act of Six Articles.' Strype 1. p. 543.

[22] 'Cranmer, for three days together, in the open assembly, opposed these articles boldly. The king sent to him for a copy of his arguments, and misliked not his freedom.' Herb. 448.

[23] In 1549, Cranmer stated to the rebels who demanded this act to be used again, that it had been 'in something so enforced by the evil

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midating conduct was sufficient to stamp a personal dishonor on his name. That Dr. Barnes and others suffered on this sanguinary law [24] in 1540, and that in 1543 other persons were burnt for their opinions [25], and also three years afterwards the interesting Anne Askew, after being racked: these events concur to fix the degrading character of an intolerant persecutor on Henry, in this part of his reign [26].

The king's domestic affections and tendencies induced him to place his private happiness in marriage, unlike Francis, who sought his indulgencies elsewhere; but this virtuous disposition being too much allied with a determined self-gratification, led the English king into that defamation and evil which have made him seem the nursery Blue Beard both of the throne and of the nuptial state. Yet it was accident, not malignity, which brought the ascription of this character upon his name. Of his six wives, the first and the last did him credit, and made him happy, and were highly respected by him. The third died beloved and lamented; the second left her honor questionable, and the fifth indisputably disgraced herself. It was the fourth only, Anne of Cleves,

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counsel of certain papists, against the truth and common judgment both of divines and lawyers, that if the king's majesty himself had not come personally into the parliament house, those laws had never passed.' Strype, Cranmer, App. 808. It remained in force only about a year. ib.

[24] Godwin, 177. Five hundred other persons were arrested for infringing, but from their numbers were dismissed without punishment.

[25] Ib. 189.

[26] Fox; and see Mr. Southey's interesting narrative, Book of the Church, v. 2. p. 87–93. One phrase in her letter to Lascelles, inserted by Fox, suggests a doubt how far the king was a party to *all* her sufferings. 'I understand that the council is not a little displeased that it should be reported abroad that I was racked. Whereby I perceive, they fear *lest the king's majesty* should have information thereof. Wherefore they would have no man know it.' Fox, 1129.

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that could justly say she was repudiated without any fault, only because she was not personally attractive.

The mutual danger of Henry and the protestant princes in Germany, had increased the intercourse between them. Their league at Smalcald was communicated to him, and the terms of their reciprocal assistance were arranged [27]. To cement this alliance, a match was suggested and pursued between the king and the lady Anne of Cleves, whose relations were the chief supporters of the continental reformers [28].

Henry's nuptials with Anne of Cleves.

A precontract having been reported to have been made when she was young, between this princess and the duke of Lorraine, it was promised that documents should accompany her to England, to clear away the allegation [29]. The answer was brought, that it was done in the minority of the parties, and had never after taken any effect; but as no written annulments of it appeared, the king deferred his marriage for two days after her arrival, and was desirous not to have proceeded to its solemnization; but placing his reluctance on this ground, he was so strongly urged by those who accompanied her to be content with their promise to send satisfactory discharges, immediately after their return, that he proceeded to the ceremony [30]. But the real cause of the delay,

[27] On these events, see the duke of Norfolk's instructions: The Smalcaldic league; the propositions of the German princes to the king; his answer; his letter to them, and the answer of his ambassadors to them; in Burnet, v. 6. p. 130–150.

[28] The palsgrave of the Rhine came to Windsor on 16th Sept. 1539. The chancellor of Cleves followed; and Henry's marriage was concluded upon. Hall, 832.

[29] Depositions of the lord chancellor, archbishop of Canterbury, and others, in Strype, Eccl. Mem. v. 1. App. p. 452, 3.

[30] Strype, ib. p. 452.

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from the Sunday to the Tuesday, seems to have been his disappointment at her personal appearance. The duke of Suffolk thought that Henry would have been glad to have relinquished the match entirely, if he could have done it without a notorious breach of good faith[31].

When the earl of Southampton, the lord privy seal, who had been sent as the admiral to receive her at Calais, first beheld her, he saw that she was not the person, "whom so many had, by reports and paintings, so much extolled;" but considering that it was then no time to dispraise her, he chose to add his commendations of her in his dispatches to the king[32]. An absurd effusion of falsehood, which, unless Henry's vision had become imperfect, could be but as useless as it was vicious. She sailed with the fleet to the Downs, landed and passed to Rochester, where the king came to meet her. "At the first view of her he was marvellously astonied and abashed[33]." The next day, having asked lord Russell's opinion of her[34], he exclaimed, "Alas! whom should men trust. I see no such thing in her as hath been showed me of her; and am ashamed that men have so praised her as they have done: and yet I like her not[35]." He re-

[31] His Dep. p. 454.

[32] Dep. of earl Southampton. Hall, 454. 832, 3.

[33] Lord Russell's dep. 455. Hall describes her state, progress, and reception, with all that picturesque detail which will amuse those who study ancient manners and costume. p. 832–6.

[34] 'Returning from Rochester, his grace called the said lord admiral to him, saying, 'How like you the woman? Do you think her so fair and of such beauty as report hath been made unto me of her? I pray you tell me truth.' Whereunto the said lord admiral answered, 'that he took her not for fair, but to be of a brown complexion.' Dep. Russ. p. 455.

[35] Ib. Dep.

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peated this remark several times, and his countenance exhibited great interior perturbation [36]. He sent his master of horse, sir Anthony Brown, on new year's day 1540, with a compliment of the season to her. When sir Anthony entered the room, with the impression that he had received from pictures and descriptions of her beauty and qualities, he saw no lady present that corresponded with them; and he stated, that when he was directed to the intended queen, and looked at her, he had never been more dismayed in all his life; and lamented in his heart, and expressed his feeling in his features, to see the lady so unlike what had been reported of her, and to be such as he thought the king would not be contented with [37]. When Henry entered to embrace and salute her, his face evinced a visible dissatisfaction and dislike. He did not stay to speak twenty words to her, but called for his counsel, and was in close conference with them all that night. He had brought for her "a partlet furred with sables and richly garnished, to wear about her neck," with a cap; but he unable to prevail upon himself to make the present, sent it in the morning to her, "with as cold and single a message as might be [38]." Returning in his barge to Greenwich, he said very sadly and pensively, "I see nothing in this woman as men report of her. I marvel that wise men could make such report as they have done [39]." Her fashion was so strange; and her manners in which she had been brought up, so gross, and so discordant with the king's taste, that

[36] Russ. Dep. p. 455.
[37] Sir A Brown's dep. 456, 7.
[38] Dep. ib. 457.
[39] Dep. ib. 457.

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the lady appointed to wait on her was sure he would never heartily love her [40]. Henry declared, that he had been evil served of those in whom he had placed his trust [41]; and that she was not what she had been described [42]. She was conducted in great state to the metropolis [43].

It was obviously an unfortunate and irremediable case. The king, by the deceptions or mistakes of others, was brought into a dilemma, from which he could not extricate himself. A lady of a princely rank, whose family was in close alliance with the great supporters of the reformed interest in Germany [44]; and for whose hand Henry had negotiated, in order to connect himself with them, was now come into his kingdom to be his queen. She had been unfaithfully delineated to him, as to all her personal

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[40] Sir A. Brown's dep. p. 457.

[41] Dep. of sir T. Hennege, p. 458.

[42] Dep. of M. A. Denny, p. 458. The letter of N. Wotton to the king, from Duren, 11th August 1539, printed by Mr. Ellis, was no exaggerated description of her, except in affirming her likeness to Holbein's portrait of her. 'She occupieth her time mostly with her needle. She can read and write (her own tongue), but French, Latin or other language she . . . . . nor can sing nor play upon any instrument; for they take it here in Germany for a rebuke, and an occasion of lightness, that great ladies should be learned, or have any knowlege of music. Her wit is so good, that no doubt she will in a short space learn the English tongue, whensoever she putteth her mind to it.' He mentions her, as not inclined to the good cheer of that country; but adds, of the pictures which Holbein had made of her and two other ladies: 'He hath expressed their images very lively.' v. 2. p. 122. It was Henry's own fault to have fixed his choice on a flattering miniature, which cannot be expected to represent the mien, the carriage, the grace, the mind, the manners, or the whole appearance of the depicted female.

[43] Hall describes this with his usual copiousness on such themes. 833.

[44] The elector of Saxony congratulated him on the marriage with reference to his religious confederation with himself, the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Juliers. See his lett. Strype, p. 437.

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attractions. He had been deluded by his own servants into the contract; but he had chosen to judge by their eyes; had acquiesced in their representations; and had caused her to be brought, in the face of all Europe, into his country to be his wife. Was he, in breach of his royal honor, and of all manly decorum, and of the plighted faith of treaties, and to the fulfilment of the French king's sarcasm, that he wanted princesses to be brought to him like horses, to chuse from [45], to abandon his engagement, and to send her back disgraced and repudiated, for no fault but the want of those feminine charms, graces, and amiabilities which he had not adequately valued when he had them in their full perfection in Anne Boleyn: and which Anne of Cleves, as she had never possessed, could by no fraud have assumed for the purpose of imposing upon him, his commissioners and agents? The deformities which struck every Englishman at Calais and at Rochester, must have been equally visible in her Flemish home. She had therefore not cheated him. She was what she had always been. He had judged of her by his own intrusted friends. He had deliberately, by them, affianced himself to her; his nobles had conducted her to his presence, and had placed her under the honor and protection of the English nation, to be solemnly married and honorably treated by him, correspondently with his own character and station. Henry felt these appeals to his public rectitude and private sympathies; and however averse and repugnant, ordered the ceremony to be performed.

6 Jan. 1540.

[45] See letter of French ambassador, 3 Le Grand, p. 638.

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On the evening before it, he said he had a great yoke to enter into[46]. He prepared himself on that day, which is usually the most welcomed in domestic history, "very slackly," for the deciding rite, and was heard to murmur impatiently, that "he must needs" do it[47]. He submitted to be married. He determined his mind to live with her decorously as his queen. He made her the partner of his repose. His language to her was kindly courteous[48]; but he could not overcome the personal antipathy. He found affection and desire to fly from him, whenever he was alone with her; and six months afterwards she remained his reputed, but unbeloved, virgin wife[49]. A divorce broke the nuptial tie. The arrest, condemnation, and to Henry's reiterated disgrace, the execution of Cromwell, speedily followed the dissolution of this marriage[50]. Some infatuation seemed to reign now in the king's mind that offence could be only expiated by blood. Of Cromwell's private character we know little. His general mo-

Cromwell's death, 28 July 1540.

[46] Dep. of sir Anthony Browne. 1 Strype, App. p. 457.

[47] Ib. 458.

[48] The ladies Rutland, Rochfort and Edgcumb, declared that the queen told them, that he always slept with her, and 'when he comes, he kisses me, and biddeth me, 'Good night, Sweet heart!' and in the morning kisses me, and biddeth me, 'Farewell, darling!' Dep. ib. p. 462.

[49] See depositions of Dr. Buttes, p. 461; of Dr. Chamber, p. 460; sir Thomas Hennege, p. 458; and earl of Southampton, p. 455.

[50] He was committed to the Tower, on 9th July; on 19th attainted in Parliament, of heresy and treason, and 28th beheaded. Hall thinks that the hatred of some of the heads of the clergy accelerated his fate. In his public speech, he professed that he died in the catholic faith, not doubting any article or sacrament of it. p. 839. His earnest letter to the king, after his imprisonment, in Burnet, v. 6. p. 214–8, denies all treason, and strongly the charge, that he had revealed a matter of great secrecy. The duke of Norfolk, when some years afterwards in the same perilous condition, wrote of Cromwell, 'He was a false man.' Letter from the Tower. ib. p. 252.

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rality has not been the subject of any particular imputation; and altho, as to his political principles, Pole asserts that he taught his sovereign, and acted himself on the doctrines of Machiavel, in their literal sense[51], yet there is no satisfactory evidence that he was unfaithful to his sovereign. The more just accusation would be, that if to the counsels of any one in particular of his ministers, is to be attributed the king's sanguinary determination of extinguishing and deterring revolt, opposition, and error by blood, it may be, from his own letter ascribed to Cromwell[52]; and if it originated with him, he suffered from the very severity he had suggested. Yet some of the facts mentioned in his attainder, imply that mysterious and mischievous speculations were floating in his imagination[53].

[51] See before, p. 407, and Pole Apol. 133–9.

[52] I allude to his dispatch to the ambassadors in France, after the execution of More and Fisher. He had been apprised that the French king counselled Henry, if thereafter 'any such like offenders should happen to be in the realm, that he should rather banish them, than in such wise execute them.' Cromwell resents this humane and wise advice, and tells the ambassadors, that the king took it strangely: 'that it was neither the office of a friend nor of a brother, to counsel the king to banish his traitors into strange parts, where they might have good occasion, time, place and opportunity to waste their feats of treason and conspiracies.' See it printed in Burn. v. 6. p. 111.

[53] The 9th article states, That on 31st March 1539, on being told that of certain new preachers, as Robert Barnes and others, some were committed to the Tower for preaching against the king's proclamation, Cromwell exclaimed, "If the king would turn from it, yet I would not turn. And *if the king* did turn, and all this people, I would fight in the field in mine own person, with my sword in my hand, *against him*, and all others.' Pulling out his dagger, he held it up on high, saying these words, 'or else this dagger thrust me to the heart, if I would not die it that quarrel, against them all. And I trust, if I live one year or two, *it shall not lie in the king's power to resist*, or let it, if he would.' Swearing a great oath, he said, 'I would do, indeed,' extending up his arm, as tho he had a sword in his hand.

The 11th article mentioned, that in January 1540, on being put in mind of the words by him opprobriously spoken against the lords, and of the estate whereto the king had called him, he said, 'That if the

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He marries Lady Howard. 8 August, 1540.

As Henry became dissatisfied with Anne of Cleves, he looked around him for a successor, whom his own eyes could select, without trusting to the taste, the politics, or the fidelity of others. Fixed on the misleading principle, of making his gratification his guide; when his eye was attracted by the pleasing, tho diminutive person of lady Katherine Howard, the niece of his present minister the duke of Norfolk, and grand-daughter of the duke's father, his earliest state counsellor; he proceeded, as soon as his German marriage was dissolved, to wed this new object of those passions, which at the age of fifty-two, ought not to have made his sight his only guide. She had been living with her grand-mother the duchess dowager; but no previous inquiry appears to have investigated her former conduct; if it had, he must, from the facts which were afterwards so easily disclosed, when so much more dangerous to be known, have discerned her ineligibility. She interested him, and he looked no further. His parliament had wished him to marry again, for more issue[54]; and what he desired to do to please his own appetite, he wished, like Macbeth, to do holily, and therefore he made her his queen: altho it is most probable, from what became public of her previous habits, that she would not, like Anne Boleyn,

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lords would handle him so, *he would give them such a breakfast* as never was made in England; and that the proudest of them should know the great peril and danger, as well of the king's majesty as of his heirs and successors.' Cotton MSS. Titus, B. 1. p. 503. These intimations must have been flashes either of insanity, or of contemplating treason.

[54] So the official letter states, dated 12th Nov. 1541, in Otho, c. 10. p. 256, addressed from the English cabinet to sir William Paget, its ambassador at Paris.

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have so pertinaciously made that dignity the indispensable condition of her personal favors[55].

It is painful to disgrace any one of that sex which contributes so much to the amiabilities of our race of beings; but it is more painful to see it disparaged by the individual misconduct of its own members. If there be two qualities which more peculiarly associate with female excellence, or which conduce more than others to its attractiveness, they are its delicacy and its chastity. Without these, they may be pretty animals or pleasurable conveniences. We may like them as we do a fine horse or a good dinner; but they will not be lovely, admirable, superior, influencing, and permanently interesting women—the companions, auxiliaries, and improvers of our taste and reason; of our intellectual love, or of our nobler sensibilities. But Henry married in ignorance of the concealed deformity that was disgracing his new choice; and his first experience was all that happiness which a beautiful and agreeable woman, who seems to fulfil the beau ideal of our imagination, cannot fail to impart; and if her nuptials had drawn an impassable line between former errors and steady subsequent amendment, we might from the clear foresight of the melancholy event that was certain to follow the revealing them, regret that the wilful offi-

[55] I think no one will doubt this, who reads her confession of the facts as to Derham, which she only could have so circumstantially stated. It is printed in Burnet, v. 6. p. 226. After such transactions, Derham was the only man who ought to have been her husband; and if that became impossible, it was for her to have retired to privacy and penitence, and not to have sought the hand of any honorable man, when she could obtain it only by fraudulently deceiving him in the tenderest point of human sensibility.

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ciousness of an obscure individual, stumbling by chance on the truth, too eager to betray what he had discovered, and seeking some private advantage or malignant pleasure from disclosing it, should have interrupted their mutual satisfaction. But the evidence which remains leads to the unhappy inference, that the internal taint was not temporary; and that it was corrupting her royal, as it had so incurably infected her maiden life.

The king was making a progress thro the country, when an intermeddler came, uncalled, to Cranmer, and told him that he had heard from his sister, who had been servant to the old duchess of Norfolk, the grandmother of the new queen, that this lady, while residing with the dowager, and before her elevation, had been unchaste [56]. The information could only excite regret and terror, and its concealment would certainly compromise the person who suppressed it. But yet it was so obvious, that if divulged it would shock the world by another female execution on Tower Hill, that perhaps no circumstance of danger to himself ought to have made Cranmer hesitate a moment to undergo the sacrifice, rather than see his king, his country, and all that he was laudably doing, disgraced into a public mockery, and by new spectacles of death, into more personal abhorrence. Unfortunately, instead of prevailing on the man, at any expense or risk to be silent, and to make those so, who knew what he revealed, until it was seen whether the queen meant to repeat her misbehaviour,

[56] The official letter above mentioned, details these circumstances. Its substance is in Herbert, 471-3.

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the archbishop imparted it to the chancellor, and both determined to lay it before the king. We know not their reasons for the decision; but if it was indispensable, it was at least unfortunate; for the vicious conduct had not then reached beyond the household, who rather surmised than knew of its actual extent; and Henry "tenderly loved the queen, and had conceived such a constant opinion of her honor, that he supposed it rather to be a forged matter than the truth." So might these two statesmen have assumed, and on that ground have paused on their new knowlege, till the queen's future conduct either verified the communication, or shewed the mercy and the wisdom of their immediate forbearance. But both having decided that Cranmer should communicate the evil tidings to Henry, the information was given, and he received it with grief and perplexity, declaring his disbelief of it; but that having received the account, he must have it investigated. The inquiry was made, and the examinations confirmed the accusation. The king is described by his ministers, in their official letter, to have been affected with such "inward sorrow, when he perceived the information true, that it was the most woful thing to see it. His heart was so pierced with pensiveness, that it was long before his majesty could speak and utter his sorrows to us; but, finally, with plenty of tears, which was strange in his courage, gave vent to his feelings[57]." It was a lamentable case; but the aggravation stated by the lords of council, that she had, since her elevation, employed Derham to be with her in her chamber

[57] Herb. Lett. 471-3.

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alone, and to write her letters in the absence of her secretary [58]; together with the additional facts, that for this purpose she had called him from an official station in Ireland [59]; and that one Culpeper, a relation of her mother, had visited her during the king's progress at Lincoln, on the introduction of lady Rochfort, at a suspicious time, and under circumstances which usually imply criminality [60]: these things exhibited such an appearance of unamended and repeated depravity, that the suppression of it by Cranmer, or the chancellor, would probably have been as unavailing to her as it was likely to be dangerous to themselves. The perpetration of evil often brings with it an inseparable succession of fatal necessities, which cannot be averted till they have so effectually worked out their dismal task, as to fix on mankind the belief of vindictive and inevitable destinies.

Culpeper and Derham were arraigned—confessed, and were executed soon after [61]; but Henry paused nearly two months before he could resolve on the death of Katherine—a respite of mercy which there was no reason, that has come down to us, for not enlarging; and on 13th February 1542, he consigned her, with lady Rochfort, who had principally contributed to Anne Boleyn's downfal, to the fatal scaffold [62]. This bloodshed, tho not undeserved, was

Katherine's execution, 13 Feb. 1542,

[58] Herb. Lett. 471–3. [59] Godwin, p. 180.

[60] Hall, p. 842. The act of her attainder charges this private meeting between them, with the privity of lady Jane Rochfort. 'by whose means' he went there.

[61] Culpeper was beheaded on 30th November, and Derham was hanged on 10th December, 1541. Herb. 473.

[62] Mr. Ellis has printed the letter of the merchant Johnson, to her brother, dated London 15th Feb. 1542, on this catastrophe. He says,

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yet, as all such extreme severities must be, another stain on Henry's reign, which the disapprobation of the reasoning mind will not allow any argument to remove. That every offence which touched the crown, and by which ever sex committed, must be expiated with death, was a principle that was by no means essential to the living security of the reigning monarch, but was certain to deform his character among his neighbors, and with posterity. Three hundred years have not obliterated the detracting impression; nor will three thousand induce mankind to forget that he beheaded two wives, whose deaths, like other monarchs, he might have commuted[61] for less revolting punishments.

This second instance of female immorality in the highest circle of England's honor, diminished the personal character of the king's court, in the eyes of reproaching Europe. What had once shone and been extolled as a brilliant palace of all the respected amiabilities which adorn and elevate society, now seemed to have become a sullied mansion of voluptuous degradation. The change was evidence of the national importance of the decorous manners and sober virtues of the Spanish Catherine. Her

he saw them suffer. 'They made the most godly and christian's end that ever was heard tell of since the world's creation, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only; and with goodly words, and stedfast countenances, they desired all christian people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment with death, for their offences—they being justly condemned to die.' He adds, that 'they did heartily pray for the king's preservation.' v. 2. p. 129.

[61] If any public good effect resulted from Katherine's fall, it was, that as she was a strict papal catholic, it abated the reproach on the reformation, of Anne Boleyn's alleged misconduct. It was indeed more than a counterbalance. Anne's guilt is not unquestionable, and was rather inferred than proved; but Katherine's was clear, gross, indisputable and acknowleged.

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removal from the throne had destroyed the main barrier to deteriorating innovations: while the peaceful prosperity of the reign was multiplying affluence, and kindling the spirit of seeking pleasure in those material refinements and bodily indulgencies, with which the virtues had never been contemporaries. There is indeed no moral obliquity in having, like the ladies of French luxury a century or two ago, cedar wood for their fires; rose water for their hands, or fish fed on biscuit for their dinner; but enjoyments of this sort have been always found associated, sooner or later, with mental sluggishness, a sickly fastidiousness, irrational passions, and a depravation of taste. The petty gratifications and sensual tendencies of our nature, then prevail over all that is intellectual within us; and we become enervated and dissatisfied animals, craving mischievous excitements, pursuing unhallowed novelties, disliking nobler energies, losing better feelings, and at last abandoning every superior destination[64].

Increase of age did not take away his appetite for matrimony: altho the voyage had five times been unfortunate, he ventured again the year after his last queen's execution; and he found another lady not unwilling to take her chance on a throne, which had been to every other either death or repudiation, in lady Katherine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer[65]. But Henry now wanted rather a nurse than a wife;

12th July. 1543.

[64] An important change was, in 1542, made as to Ireland. Until this year the English sovereigns were styled Lords of Ireland; but the Irish parliament then enacted, that Henry should be styled, King of Ireland; and on 23d January, he was proclaimed so accordingly. Godw. 181.

[65] Herb. 497.

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for his bodily corpulence and dissolving constitution made his life little else than an intermitting disease. His mind and temper became broken up, as much as his disordered frame; and the difficulty and danger of soothing a spirit which had been so agitated, harassed, endangered, and disappointed, made even the participation of the crown a scanty recompense. But good sense, a steady cheerfulness, a watchful kindness, a yielding submission, and a discriminating regard for the good qualities which yet remained within him, alleviated the inconveniences that his new and last queen could not but feel; gratified him, and shed as much comfort over his fast declining life as it was capable of receiving, during the period—only four years—in which she had to undergo the trial to which she had voluntarily subjected herself[66].

[66] Her conduct on the trying occasion detailed by Fox, when Henry, under the instigation of bishop Gardiner, had ordered her arrest, evinced a strong effusion of connubial prudence. As it has been detailed frequently by others, we will merely refer the reader to the original account, in Fox, 1131, to Herbert, 560, and to Mr. Soane's recent narrative of it. Hist. Reform. v. 2. p. 625–630.

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CHAP. XXXII.

FRANCIS INVADES SAVOY AND PIEDMONT—EMPEROR INVADES FRANCE—HENRY ALLIES WITH HIM AGAINST IT, AND TAKES BOULOGNE—EVENTS IN SCOTLAND—HENRY'S DEATH AND CHARACTER.

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THE issue of the preceding wars between Francis and Charles did not prevent the former from attempting, in 1535, a new contest with the emperor, for the possession of Italy; but he had learnt from his former failures, to begin it upon a novel principle, which gave security to his advance, tho it moderated its progress. This was, not as before, to pass through Savoy with the permission of its prince, that his forces might overrun the Milanese, and capture Naples, but to begin the occupation of Italy by the conquest of Savoy and Piedmont, and by annexing these regions to France. This achievement would place under its dominion the whole of the Alps that limited the French kingdom on its eastern frontier; and subject continuous to its power, the peninsula itself. Pretexts to color such an expedition were easily put into words by official pens, when the fact was resolved on: and pretexts were only wanted to give it a talkative and printed plausibility[1]. The French king concealed his intentions until he was prepared to surprise and overwhelm: and while his ambassador was ingeniously but deceivingly arguing against the

[1] See these in the Mem. of Guillaume de Bellay, v. 19. p. 4–6.

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emperor, before the pope at Rome[2], his armies, under St. Pol, entered Savoy, and under Chabot, with the title of admiral, in March 1535, invaded Piedmont[3]. Charles offered, before the pope and his consistory, the choice of three things to Francis[4]: Milan to one of his children, if he would withdraw from Piedmont; a personal combat in an island, on a bridge, or in a boat on a river, with sword or poignard, and in their shirts, if that should be preferred[5]; or a national war. His copious speeches were disregarded[6]. Francis made an effusion of his eloquence before his own council[7]; and the forces on both sides were put into activity. The emperor directed an invasion of Provence, in imitation of the duke of Bourbon; and in June 1536, when Fossan had surrendered to Leyva[8], joined his army; and after further harangues, sanguine in extreme belief of great success, led it thro St. Laurent into France[9]. The French govern-

[2] Guillaume de Bellay details this argumentative warfare. p. 9–25.

[3] Guillaume de Bellay, 25, 36.

[4] See his long speech, from Lambert, in the editor's notes to G. Bellay, 67–81.

[5] The conqueror to lend the pope all his forces, to uphold his intended council, extirpate heresy, and stop the infidels; and the conquered to aid with all his forces. ib. The pope praised his propositions. G. Bell. 76.

[6] See his second speech, p. 89–94.

[7] See it in G. Bellay, 178–184. The council concurred, that it was better to make war in a conquered country, than to wait for it at home. p. 187. His distribution of his forces, is described p. 196–200. His negotiations with the German princes, p. 200; and their prejudices against him, p. 202; which Langley softened, 207–213. His 'belle' letter to the electors, occurs in 214–221.

[8] G. Bellay describes its applauded defence, 241–279. The marquis Saluzze, who had so long aided Francis, now dreading his vicinity, quitted his service. 246.

G. Bell. 289–328. He marched to Grasse, three leagues from Antibes, while Montmorency, dismantling Aix, p. 317, fortified his camp at Avignon, and the king another at Valence. 341. He was in great

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ment adopted the same plan of defence which had baffled Bourbon, in withdrawing all that could support the enemy; garrisoning strong places; harassing his advance, and avoiding all battle. The success was similar. Montmorency, who watched the emperor's progress and marshalled the French forces against him, frustrated the efforts of all his military movements. Charles attempted to surprise Marseilles[10], and laid siege to Arles[11], but failed in both. He had been advised to recover Savoy and Piedmont before he attempted this hazardous invasion[12]; but having preferred the latter plan, as more decisive and not less practicable, he was unable afterwards to expel the French from the Alpine provinces which they occupied. While he remained in France, a great scandal fastened upon his name, by the dauphin dying as coming to act against him[13]. The unjust charge, that he had poisoned the French prince, grievously wounded his feelings by its defaming imputation[14]. He advanced to Aix, while Francis watched

danger from the peasantry, as he was passing the Alps, which he resented with much cruelty. Mem. Guil. Bellay, v. 20. p. 15–17.

[10] It was well planned, and was near succeeding, when the neighing of a horse gave the alarm, and the garrison saved the city. G. Bell. v. 20. p. 20.

[11] He committed the siege to the duke of Alva, who here displayed that cruelty which became so proverbially conspicuous and disgraceful in Flanders. G. Bell. 29–31. If Charles had been alert enough to have attacked it before it was, on the 1st August, hastily fortified and supplied, he would have carried it, and have then commanded the passage of the Rhone, and the choice of operating, either in Provence or Languedoc, as he should please. ib. 31.

[12] G. Bell. v. 19. p. 290. He gave his reasons for his decision, 296–306.

[13] The prince arrived by water at Valence, and died on the fourth day. v. 19. p. 420. Ferron, Belcarris, and others, ascribe the event to his drinking water when hot, and to his excesses in his pleasures. Observ. 473.

[14] Ferron says, that the emperor's chagrin was extreme, when he

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him at Valence, and the second French prince, Orleans, now the new dauphin, with Montmorency, remained firm and vigilant in their fortified camp at Avignon. Charles kept his ground in France, till he lost the celebrated Antony de Leyva and nearly half his army, from sickness and service[15]; and then in the beginning of September 1536, ordering his soldiers to provide themselves with food for several days, suddenly decamped from Aix to Frejus so precipitately, that the line of his retreat was strewed with dead, sick, arms and horses[16], while he marched painfully to Nice. Andrew Doria embarked his artillery and baggage, and conveyed them to Genoa. Francis, happy at the disappointment of his great adversary, and in the deliverance of his kingdom, acted on Montmorency's sagacious advice, to make a bridge for a flying enemy, and did not enforce that

heard of the charge. Ker. Gal. l. 8. And Belleforest adds, that he swore that he had never thought of such a crime, and would rather lose all his wealth and greatness, than sully his character by a deed so unworthy of a prince of his magnitude. T. 2. p. 1493. The imperialists retorted it on Catherine de Medicis, whose husband now became the heir to the French crown. De Thou describes her as a woman of a 'vasti animi et superbi luxus.'

[15] He had left Nice with 50,000 men. He found, on a review, before he dislodged, that he had only between 25 and 30,000, fit for service. Mart. Bell. v. 20. p. 90. It was from Aix that the worthy Guidiccione, the bishop of Fossembrune, who remained there at the pope's desire, to negotiate a peace, wrote on 13 Aug. 1536, that letter to Cardinal Trevullio, the legate in France, to procure a treaty between Francis and Charles, which is printed in Lett. Eccel. Huom. p. 27–30. and Lett. Principi. v. 3. p. 37–41. This was followed by others, to the same effect, on 15 and 26 Aug. and 7 Sept. from Fr. Guicciardini. Lett. Pr. 41–5. The French king not advancing to a pacification, Guidiccione, on 7 Sept. wrote two earnest letters to his grand master strongly urging it. ib. 45–7. Two months afterward, in November, F. Guicciardini repeated the same invitations to this minister, in the name of the pope. ib. 47–50. But all these efforts were in vain. Francis adhered to his demand of Milan, and the emperor would not concede it.

[16] From Aix to Frejus, he left on the roads from 1,500 to 2,000 men. ib. 92.

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rapid pursuit which might have destroyed the retiring army in the bordering mountains, or might have dispossessed it of all the Milanese[17]. He had felt before what dire results might ensue from encountering a distressed army in its despair, and avoided the dangerous possibilities. The imperial forces from Flanders, under Nassau, were compelled to raise the siege of Peronne[18]; and after varying advantages on both sides, as well in Picardy as in Piedmont, a suspension of arms in 1537 was negotiated[19]. The pope persuaded both sovereigns to meet him at Nice, as the spring was closing, and a truce of ten years was agreed to[20]. In 1539, the city of Ghent, revolting, offered to put itself under Francis as their sovereign. He declined a proposal that would have renewed the war; and Charles, not chusing to pass into Flanders thro Germany, for fear of the protestants; nor to cross the sea, from the chance of meeting Henry's fleets, applied to the French king for leave to cross France to his Low Countries. It was granted as heroically as it was asked. Charles astonished Europe by venturing his person among his greatest enemies: and every one who either knew not or undervalued the generous emotions of the human heart, loudly censured his folly in the risk,

[17] So the emperor intimated, according to Balcarras and Varrillas.

[18] M. Bellay, 94–114.

[19] These incidents occupy the chief part of M. Bellay's eight books, 115. He was personally serving in Picardy. p. 167, 179.

[20] M. Bellay, 284, 5. While at Nice, Charles would not meet Francis in a personal interview, and they separated without it. But after embarking for Barcelona, the emperor offered a conference at Aigues Mortes. The long-contending princes there saw each other. Charles dined with Francis on shore, and he returned the visit in the emperor's galley. M. Bellay, 286. Next year, 1538, Francis became dangerously ill of an imposthume, at Compiegne. M. Bellay, 286.

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and less creditably, Francis, for not taking a base advantage of the confidence. In December 1539, the emperor reached Bayonne. He was liberally received, and after some danger at Amboise from a fire, proceeded thro Paris to his city of Valenciennes[21]. It was a courageous appeal to French generosity, which was nobly justified. The absolute reliance on one side, the perfect honor on the other, between two princes who had long been so hostile; and the corresponding conduct of the French nation, present one of those pictures of the moral beauties of the human spirit, which come to the mind, as it travels thro history, like a breeze of fragrance in a desert to the gratified sense. Such men ought to have been enemies no more. It was one of those incidents which electrify mankind to new perceptions of moral excellence, and to a higher love of moral character.

Yet in two short years their worldly interests and the collisions of the day again unsheathed their destructive swords. In 1542, war burst out between them[22]. The plans of Francis were large, and his

[21] M. Bellay, 288–294. The torches setting fire to some tapestry, he was nearly suffocated. ib. 293. Charles was more than once alarmed for his safety in this venturous visit. One of the young princes disquieted him, by leaping up into his saddle, and exclaiming, 'Your imperial majesty is my prisoner;' and Francis, pointing to a favorite lady, suddenly said to him, 'Brother! that fine woman advises me not to let you leave Paris till you have annulled the treaty of Madrid.' The emperor commanded himself so much as to answer, 'If the advice be good, follow it.' But the next day, as washing his hands, he chose to let fall a rich diamond ring. The same lady, who was attending him with the napkin, picked it up, and presented it to him; 'No, madam!' was his refusing answer, 'it is in too good hands, to be taken from them. Keep it for my sake.' Mem. Observ. p. 492.

[22] The assassination, by the order, as stated, of the marquis de Grasse, of Rincorn and Fregosa, sent on embassies to Venice and Constantinople, was one of the chief causes of this renewal. M. Bellay, 305-321.

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efforts correspondent. Soothing the Turks into an alliance which provoked the censuring criticism of Europe, he put five armies into motion; in Brabant; in Artois; against Luxemburg; in Piedmont, and against Perpignan. His troops acquired Montmedy, Luxemburg and other places, to lose them soon again[23]. He was disappointed at Antwerp, and the dauphin was repulsed at Perpignan[24]. The French kept Piedmont; and M. Bellay, in 1543, baffled the plans formed to recover Turin, of which he was the governor[25]. On their Flemish frontiers, in May 1543, the French attacked and abandoned Avesnes, but took and fortified Landrecy[26]. Arlon and Luxemburg again fell into their power[27]. Their general beyond the Alps, the count d'Anguyen, of the Bourbon line, after one failure, at last took Nice, with the aid of the mussulman Barbarossa[28], and gained an important victory, on 11th April 1544, over the marquis du Guast, at Serisolles[29], which added Montserrat and Carignan to the French conquests in Italy.

The marquis, in a long memorial to the Empire, (322-328), justified his conduct, to which Langey on the part of France, still more copiously replied. 328-351. He adds the speech of Francis on the occasion, 338-355, and his own views on the point of dispute between these two powers, 355-365.

[23] M. Bellay. 374-383.

[24] Ib. 383-93.

[25] M. Bellay, 422-436. Guillaume du Bellay, the Seigneur de Langey, died the 9th Jan. 1543. ib. 405.

[26] M. Bell. v. 21. p. 5-12.

[27] Ib. 43, 60.

[28] Ib. 85-7.

[29] Ib. 115-136. Bellay describes it in full detail. The imperialists are reported to have lost in it from 12 to 15,000 men. ib. 138. Montagne Serisolles was a small village, on a hill, near Carmagnola. Twice, as the battle seemed turning against him, Anguyen endeavored to kill himself, from his dread of a defeat. He perished two years afterwards, from a chest thrown out of a window on his head, in which the dauphin was suspected to be concerned. He was brother to the king of Navarre. Hainault's Abr.

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The emperor attempted an invasion in person out of Flanders, and besieged Landrecy with all his German and Flemish forces: but its continuing defence, and the want of provisions from a country which the operations of both armies had for the last six months drained of all further supplies, together with the continuous heavy rains, compelled him once more to abandon the attempt[30], and to fall back on Cambray[31]. From Spires, he afterwards directed an attack on Luxemburg which recovered it[32], and, undismayed by failure, as soon as he obtained, after much negotiation, an assisting alliance with Henry, he again directed his invading armies into France.

The connection which the French government established with the king of Scotland; its encouragement of the Scottish hostilities against England; and the determination of Francis not to abandon the pope; disposed Henry, in March 1543, to unite in an offensive and defensive treaty with the emperor[33]. The two sovereigns settled to invade France in person at the head of their forces; not sufficiently aware that it is military talent, and not superior dignity, which wins the difficult triumphs of war. The financial supplies which a foreign expedition require, were not easily raised by either of the confederating parties[34].

Henry's Treaty with the Emperor, March 1543.

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[30] M. Bellay, 79. This was in November 1543. ib. 80.

[31] Ib. 85. [32] Ib. 154.

[33] See the complaints against France, and the conditions with the emperor, in Herb. 490–4. It was sworn to by Charles, on 8th April 1543, before our bishop Bonner, and published in the following June. ib. 495. An original of this treaty, signed by Henry, is in MS. Galba. B. 10. p. 137.

[34] Charles, to raise the money he wanted, was obliged to pawn the Moluccas to the king of Portugal, and to sell the fortresses of Florence and Leghorn, to Cosmo de Medicis. Herb. 498; and met the pope, on 21st June 1543, to obtain pecuniary aid from his treasury. ib. 499.

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Charles was to enter the French kingdom in Champagne, and Henry in Picardy. Their plan was to advance to a point of union, and proceed direct to Paris, the only probable way of accomplishing their purposes[35]. The English king, on 14th July 1544, sailed to Calais in a ship rigged with cloth of gold, as if finery was to give victory. The emperor's high admiral advised him to march immediately on to Paris, without turning to any other object; but as Charles had taken some frontier towns, and as the advance of Norfolk on Montreuil induced the opposing general to weaken the garrison of Boulogne, Henry was tempted to pause to attack[36] that long-coveted object of his heart. On 26th July he besieged it; and on 14th September it surrendered[37],

Capture of Boulogne, 14th Sept. 1544.

Sandoval, L. 25. Henry, to keep the coin in his hands, raised the price of gold, three shillings an ounce, 45 to 48; and silver, from 3*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* and coined some base money. Herb. 510.

[35] It was calculated that their forces would then have been 80,000 foot, and 18,000 horse. Bp. Godw. 190.

[36] Godw. 190, 1. Jo. Boter, has given an enumeration of Henry's forces at this siege, which will give us an idea of the military power which England could at this time send on the continent. His army was in three grand divisions; two of these, the van and rear, contained, each, 12,000 foot, 1,500 horse lightly armed, and 1,000 others, with only breast plates and lances. These were all clothed in blue, with red borders. Between these were 1,000 Irish, in long and close camisiis over which was a cloak, which they tucked up when they fought. In other respects they were naked, and their heads bare, with long hair. Their arms were, three javelins, a long sword, and iron coverings on their left arm to the elbow. The center division, which the king led, contained 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse. Their uniform was red, with yellow margins; 100 pieces of large cannon followed, and many smaller. For their commissariat they had, 100 mills in waggons, each turned by a single horse, to grind their flour, which they baked in ovens, that were also in waggons. These baggage conveyances were so numerous, as to form an intrenchment round the whole camp; 25,000 horses were employed in all their carriages; 15,000 oxen also accompanied the army, and of sheep an immense number. D. Boteri Relatio de Regno Angliæ. p. 188.

[37] Herb. 514, 15. M. Bellay notices this siege. Mem. v. 21. 197–200. Rymer has printed, from the MS. Cal. E. 4, a journal of this expedition

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as the dauphin was marching with great force to succor it[38]. This inferior object again saved France. Ten thousand English assisted the emperor before Landrecy; but the great scheme of vigorous co-operation in an united movement on the French metropolis was broken up; and tho after the capture of St. Dizier, Epernay and Chateau Thierry[39], Charles began himself an advance on Paris[40], which terrified its inhabitants till Francis could reach the city, and by his own determined spirit revive theirs[41]; yet in September, after apprising Henry of his intentions, the emperor was forced by famine, from his provi-

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and siege, written by one who assisted in it, in his vol. 15. p. 52, and also the letter which the king wrote from Boulogne, to his last queen, Katherine Parr, of which the seventeen last lines were in his own handwriting; which proves, that tho he used an iron stamp for his numerous official signatures, he was not disabled from using his pen when he chose. This is also in MS. Calig. E. 4. and as it is one of his last exhibitions of his family mind and feelings, we will subjoin it: 'The castle aforenamed, with the dyke, is at our commandment, and not like to be recovered by the Frenchmen again, as we trust, for, as this day,—we begin three batteries, and have three mines going, beside one which hath done his execution in shaking and tearing off one of their greatest bulwarks. No more to you, at this time, sweetheart! both for lack of time and great occupation of business; saving, we pray you to give, in our name, our hearty blessings to ALL our children, and recommendations to our cousin Margaret, and the rest of the ladies and gentlewomen, and to our council also. Written with the hand of your loving husband, Henry R.' Since Rymer, Mr. Ellis has also printed this, v. 2. p. 130. The king's taking the trouble to write this, its recollections, and the kind style, are not the acts of a stern tyrant. The expression '*all* our children,' which manifestly alludes to Elizabeth, as without her, the phrase would have been 'both,' favors Thevet's report of his relenting sentiments as to Anne Boleyn.

[38] Godw. 192. [39] M. Bell. v. 21. p. 167–188.

[40] Paradin says, 'that the chief part of the Parisians fled out of the city, rich and poor, great and small; all estates and ages were seen escaping, and carrying their property, of all sorts, with them, in boats, waggons, on their shoulders, or how they could.' Hist. de Notre temps. 479.

[41] Francis exclaimed, 'He could not keep his people of Paris from having fear, but he would preserve them from suffering evil; and he would rather die in saving them, than live and fail to do so.' Parad. ib. Mem. Observ. 316.

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sions being on all sides cut off[42], to retire, and to conclude a treaty with the French king at Cressy[43]. Peace with England was attempted; but as it would not give up Boulogne, the negotiation was ineffectual[44]. Naval incursions ensued on both sides[45], till a pacification in 1546 restored the amity of two countries[46], whose wars may for a time afflict, but cannot materially or permanently alter each other. This result again proved France to have become impregnable by the ordinary means of warfare, and by the general average of military abilities; but these attacks agitated it into permanent power. Nothing more efficiently organizes and strengthens a government, and unites its people to it and with each other, and makes the nation afterwards compact in itself, warlike in its spirit, formidable to its neighbors and opponents, and unimpressible by their future hostilities, than the unsuccessful invasions of foreign enemies. From these repeated attempts on France during the reign of Henry, the French power first obtained that consolidation, vigor, unity, moveability and active energy, which, under Louis XIV, and since, has surprised, and at times endangered Europe.

The last years of Henry's reign were much occu-

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[42] M. Bell. 190.

[43] It was signed 19th September 1544. See its conditions in Herb. 516-520; and in Bellay, 195. The duke of Savoy was to be reinstated, if the emperor would give one of the French princes the duchy of Milan or the county of Flanders. Bellay, 194.

[44] Herb. 523. The baffled efforts of the French to retake Boulogne, are described at length, in Bellay.

[45] Godw. 194-8. Herb. 525-8. 538-40.

[46] Boulogne was to be given up, when the French government paid the two millions of crowns which it owed, and the 500,000 also claimed, if the appointed commissioners should find it to be due. It was dated 7th June 1546. See it in Herb. 540-2.

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pied in warfare with Scotland. That interesting portion of our island, which, by the moral and intellectual habits it has attained, so powerfully contributes to our national strength, mental richness, and general improvement, was then, from its distinct and separated royalty, at all times disquieting, and occasionally dangerous to the English government. It would occupy too much of this work to detail its disturbed history, from the battle of Flodden to these later hostilities. It has been ably narrated by others[47], and we need only mention here, that James V, the son of Henry's sister, having successively married two French princesses, Maddelina and Mary, declined an interview with his uncle at York, and excited his jealousy by an uninvited visit to France. In 1542 an unnatural war began. The Scottish force was defeated; and their king soon afterwards dying, from the vexation and a fever, left his kingdom to a daughter scarcely eight years old, the celebrated Mary, and to his youthful widow. This state of things induced Henry to hope that the two nations might be united under one sceptre, by a marriage between the infant queen and prince Edward. The regent cardinal opposed the match, and Scotland was invaded in 1543 in three parts, with the shocking result of much plunder and fifty-five villages burnt. In the next year another aggression ensued. Edinburgh was taken and sacked, and all the country round greatly devastated. The French afterwards assisted the Scottish government with a small auxiliary force, which protracted the contest, without liberating the

[47] See the first part of Dr. Robertson's most interesting history, and the last part of Pinkerton's History of Scotland.

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country. Two factions, the French and English, divided it; and its ancient kingdom was agitated and weakened by their irreconcileable animosities[48]. The Reformation spread into it. The cardinal Beaton was killed, and the angry bickerings still raged, when death removed Henry from an uneasy throne, and a diseased and debilitated life. It was again his evil fortune to have or to think he had cause to arrest his chief minister, the duke of Norfolk, to whom he owed the victory at Flodden, and his son lord Surrey, who was emulating the warlike spirit of his parent with superior accomplishments. Yet in pitying the duke, we must recollect that there was not an execution before his own arrest, which he had not sanctioned as minister, including Fisher's, More's, Ann Boleyn's, and Cromwell's. The legal charges against him and Surrey rather show pretexts to bring the accused within the reach of legal penalties, than the actual cause of the severity or the offence committed. His defending letters imply that he was thought to have been unfaithful or treacherous as a minister in his foreign politics, and was inclining to re-establish the papal power[49]. He declared a strenuous hostility to the pope's supremacy in England[50], tho he opposed

Duke of Norfolk's arrest. 12th Dec. 1547.

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[48] See Herbert's detail, 404–49; 507–10; 525; 561. Hall's more ancient account, and sir Ralph Sadler's State Papers, on his negotiations, supply many interesting circumstances. Godwin notices the defeat which the English troops received in 1545, on one of their destructive incursions, thro the advice of an ingenious northern patriot, 'Walter Scott.' Ann. p. 199.

[49] See his letter to the council, in Burnet, v. 6. p. 250–4.

[50] In this letter, he says, 'If I had twenty lives, I would rather have spent them all against him (the pope), than ever he should have any power in this realm.' p. 251.

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the great principles of the Reformation[51]. That he was forming some projects for the re-establishment of the old system, for endangering the king or the succession of Edward, and for the overthrow of the reforming changes in the event of Henry's demise[52], which was visibly approaching, has been also supposed. We cannot judge now so well of the justice of his condemnation as we can of the national and royal cruelty in such sanguinary measures. Bills of attainder against him and his son passed both houses of parliament in January 1547, with a rapidity which disgraced the legislature[53]. On the 19th Surrey was executed; and the duke would have also perished, if Henry had not himself expired the day after he had commissioned the royal assent to be given to the destructive statute. Henry had become so corpulent, that he could not go up or down stairs, but

Lord Surrey executed Jan. 19, 1547.

[51] His letter to the king, after his arrest, is in Herb. 565. Bishop Thirlby's account of his communication of the measure to the emperor is also printed by Burnet, v. 6. p. 248.

[52] The duke's signed confession was, that he had disclosed the king's secret counsel at divers times to divers persons, and had concealed his son's putting the arms of Edward the Confessor among his own. Herb. 567–9. Of the evidence given on the trial of lord Surrey, we select the points that were most likely to have endangered them. Mrs. Holland stated, that the duke had told her, that none of the king's council loved him; that the king loved him not, because he was too much loved in his country; that he would follow his father's lesson, and set more by himself as others less valued him; that the king could not long survive, and that the realm was like to be in an ill case. The duchess of Richmond confessed, that Surrey had said, 'These new men loved no nobility, and if the king were called away, they should smart for it; and that he hated them all; and that he reviled some of the present council. The duke was also stated to have called the Act of Uses the worst ever made.' Herb. 562–4. That Norfolk was deemed guilty, or had become dangerous, or was thought to be so, we may infer from his being kept long in prison, under the reign of Edward VI.

[53] Twenty-seven peers voted for his condemnation. Their names are in Harl. MS. N° 542, and some of the first nobility of the country are among them.

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was moved when necessary by machinery[54]. An ulcerated leg increased his debility; and an attack of disease so manifestly dangerous came upon him at the end of 1546, that he was not expected to survive it. He lingered on in a feeble state in the succeeding month, when more decisive symptoms induced his attendants to apprise him of his danger. He sent at last for Cranmer[55]. The archbishop found him speechless, but still sensible, and asked him to give some intimation of his reliance on the merits of his Redeemer. The king grasped his hand strongly, and soon after expired[56].

Henry's death, Jan. 28th 1547.

Francis I. dies 31 March, 1547.

On receiving the news of his death, Francis, altho recently invaded by him, was so affected by it as to survive him only two months[57]. Luther had preceded

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[54] The duke of Norfolk mentioned this to Mrs. Holland, as she swore. Herb. 563.

[55] His physician at last apprised him of his approaching death. He heard the information with visible disquietude. Being asked if he wished to confer with any clergyman, he answered, 'only with Cranmer, and not with him as yet. I will first repose myself a little, and as I then find myself I will determine.' He slept, and waking to feel himself fainting, he sent for the archbishop from Croydon, but was speechless by the time he came. Godwin, 207.

[56] The earl of Sussex wrote to his lady, that Henry died, 'on Friday, 28th January, about two of the clock in the morning.' Ellis, 2. p. 137.

[57] 'He thought he should soon follow. From that time he became more pensive than before; a slow fever came upon him. He went to a new house he had lately built at Muette, near St. Germain's, but in a week became tired of it, and moved to Villepreux. A feverish fit that night came on him, and he went the next to Dempierre. He moved to Limours, where his look was observed to change greatly, and in a few days went to Rochfort, where he tried hunting, but this only brought on increased disease every evening. He soon proceeded to Rambouillet, where he added hawking to the chase. There the fever fastened upon him in a continued attack, and he prepared for his death, and after giving his son important admonitions, died, 31st March 1547, aged 53.' M. Bellay, 276–8. 'Il étoit magnanime et genereux; amateur de bonnes lettres; il aima toutes gens d'esprit et fonda a Paris des colleges pour les lettres Latines, Grecques et Hebraiques.' ib. 278.

It seems strange to us, to read of the sort of honors which Cassale, on 25th May 1547, described to pope Paul, had been exhibited in the

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them to the tomb the year before, at the age of sixty-three. The emperor abdicated nine years afterwards; while Paul III. outlived only two summers the king he had excommunicated. Thus all these competitors and combatants disappeared from the world they had so long perturbed, within very short intervals of each other; but only to be succeeded by new agents and agitators, with more important results, more extensive wars, grander characters, and some permanent revolutions.

That the last part of Henry's reign and conduct was unlike the brightness and amenity of the preceding portions, is felt by every one, and has been remarked with asperity by most. But our censure must be limited by justice; and the amount and nature of what we blame, should be discriminated from promiscuous invective, by that impartial judgment which, separating truth from prejudice, endeavors to substitute equitable statements and larger views of the imperious and impelling circumstances which surrounded him, for party exaggeration or passionate misrepresentation.

If we deduct the ordinary mutations of advancing life, and the usual irritabilities of a breaking constitution, and of increasing disease, which are too common to the great bulk of mankind, to justify peculiar reproach to any one for their petulant evils, we shall

courts at Paris, to the memory of Francis: 'Between his death and the day of his burial, they made his effigy; clothed it with the most superb garments; and putting on it his crown, sceptre and other regal ornaments, laid it on a rich bed, and every morning and evening, at the hours of dinner and supper, carried it with the same ceremonies that were used to him when alive, to the royal table. As the day of burial approached, they exchanged its stately vestment for its funeral dress.' Lett. Prin. V. 3. p. 98.

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find that nearly all which is condemnable in the darker period of Henry's reign, resolves into those public executions which our pages have neither disguised nor excused. It is the historian's duty to uphold the great principles of social welfare, whenever they come in contact with his subject, and to mark the error and the mischiefs of forsaking them. But it must be remembered, that the criminality of the transgressing individual is not always proportionate to the crime he may commit; and it will be unfair to Henry to omit the alleviating facts which ought to be recollected when his legal cruelties are surveyed, and when his moral character is to be finally awarded.

None of these severities were inflicted without the due legal authority. The verdict of juries; the solemn judgment of the peers, or attainders by both houses of parliament on offences proved to its satisfaction; pronounced all the convictions, and produced the fatal sentence. Every one was approved and sanctioned by the cabinet council of the government. The king is responsible only for adopting the harsh system; for not interposing his prerogative of mercy, and for signing the death warrants, which ordered the legal sentences to be put in force. He punished no one tyrannically, without trial or legal condemnation. None, therefore, fell by his single act; and we may add, that no one appears to have fallen without the actual commission of something which came within the application of the existing laws, and which was then considered by the first men of the country to be a guilty deed that merited the punishment.

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CHAP. XXXII.

The next remark will be, that no execution occurred until conspiracy and rebellion were afloat; until disaffection was publicly taught and propagated; until the deposition or coercion of the king, and the overthrow of his government, were meditated and attempted. It was after a mortal battle between him and the pope had begun, that the executions took place. This contest was a contest of life or death. The papal excommunication of Henry shows its real character. The utmost violence was enforced against him: and his subjects were made to be his treasonable assailants. It was therefore a civil war, wilfully waged by those who were punished, on behalf and by the excitement of a foreign pope, against their king, which on their part took the shape of unceasing conspiracy, and on his side that of arrest, trial, sentence, and unsparing execution.

It was in 1535 that the legal severities became adopted, as the determined principle of the endangered government; and an intelligent foreigner at that time imputes their application by a prince, who, until this period had been so clement and liberal as Henry, to his irritation at the menaces and official thunders of the vindictive pope[58]. But the resolute execution of bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, evincing that the king was not to be intimidated, and deterring many who had begun to be active, the Vatican hastened to new revenge; and issued that infuriat-

[58] It is the author of the account of More's trial, published at Antwerp in 1536, by some foreigner, under the name of Courinus Nucerinus, who says of Henry, 'Interim rex minis ac fulminibus Clementi VII. factus irritatior.' It has been ascribed to Erasmus, but not on sufficient evidence. See it in App. to Roper's Life of More, p. 185.

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ing excommunication which commanded treason, rebellion, invasion, robbery and murder, in order to throw down Henry. From that time, as the preceding history has exhibited, Pole, the pontiff, the emperor, the monks and friars of the country, and the discontented part of the inferior clergy, sought to inflame the nation against the king; and assailed him with continual invective, conspiracies, and insurrections, menace of foreign attack, and schemes of personal assassination, with a mischievous and implacable pertinacity; which, altho failing to accomplish his destruction, or to overturn his throne, yet harassed him with continual alarm, suspicion, and indignation. Under these circumstances, the sanguinary executions were resolved upon by his cabinet and by himself, not as matters of his personal taste, but as the state policy most proper to be adopted in that perilous crisis. One of his leading ministers mentions them as such, and blames the French king, because, with a cooler judgment, from not being in a similar emergency, he had recommended exile as a preferable punishment[59].

We cannot hesitate now to say, that the milder council of Francis was the wiser policy, and that Henry and his cabinet lamentably erred in fixing their determination to fight their opponents with merciless legal bloodshed. The provocation, the

[59] See Cromwell's letter, in Burnet, v. 6. and cited before, p. 507. The duke of Norfolk, when his own death was impending, so far from thinking such severities wrong, claimed a merit from his activity in producing some; for he asks the council, in his letter to it, 'Who tried out the falsehood of the lord Darcy, sir Robert Constable, sir J. Bulmer, Aske, and *many others*, for which they suffered, *but only I.*' Burn. 6. p. 254.

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alarm, and the agitating danger certainly existed, but do not justify such revolting catastrophes. Sovereigns and ministers must have moral courage in the cabinet, as well as generals in the field. It is better to risk personal calamity than to commit evil. It is on such occasions that the great and the little mind become widely distinguished from each other. We can all bask harmlessly in the sunshine, and glide with good humour on the calming wave; but when the dangerous tempest shakes the soul from its quiet level, it is then that, conquering its perturbation, it should rise into that efficient magnanimity which so much aggrandizes and benefits its possessor. Like the imperturbable rock, it should endure the lashing and tumults of the outrageous waves, and disdain to be moved from its great rules of moral conduct, "tho the earth should shake, and the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea." It is because the soul allows its enemies to irritate it into alarm and cruelty, that a Tiberius, a Herod, or a Borgia at times appears where nature had given the elements of an interesting and grander spirit; and one peculiar mischief of such a result is, the extraordinary, but often verified fact, that blood-shedding once begun, creates a taste for its repetition, till even the humane man is transformed into the remorseless tyrant.

It would not be justice to class Henry, even for the last turbid division of his life, with characters like these, tho his enemies did and their imitators still delight to do so. He acted from better motives; under more palliating circumstances, and without any of their personal atrocities; but by adopting unpitying counsels, he has caused the angry pen of

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literature to place him in their vicinity. Kings are too prominent to escape the scathing from posterity, which their bad or dubious actions provoke, tho the censor's bolt is often thrown, with a self-forgetting spleen, too promiscuously and too vindictively. That the names of all the good kings who have ever lived might be engraved upon a ring, was the hasty satire of Justus Lipsius—a severe remark, which in one narrowing sense would reduce them to so small a number, that Henry VIII. would obtain no admission among such a scanty party. But if the denomination of a good king be taken with the same latitude of meaning, as the expression of a good man in ordinary life, the inscriptionary circle must then be as large as the royal crown it criticises, and Henry might plead not unavailingly for a graduated inclusion. A perfect king, like a perfect man, is as yet but a theoretical possibility, and will be expected by no one who truly knows either himself or his fellow creatures. Like each of his subjects in every age and country, a king will be always such a person as the circumstances of his day contribute to make him; and is usually on the whole an improved mirror of his great nobility, improving them by his re-action and example. Miracles may indeed arise on the throne in an Alfred, as they have done in science and poetry, in a Newton and a Shakespeare. But this is not the general course of nature either with sovereigns or their subjects: and according to the common laws of social life, Henry could not be greater than he was, as far as natural causes operate; and he has the undeniable glory of having advanced his contemporaries by a combination of merit which

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few of any rank united in themselves[60]. But altho it would be mere vanity of phrase to represent him as an Apollo Belvidere of the throne, yet we have no right to present him as its contrasted deformity. After death had completed the account, both of his virtues and his faults, he was still remembered with kindness and pourtrayed with distinction: and while his enemies could not avoid being often copious in his praise[61], his companionableness, amenity, and amiability were not forgotten by his surviving friends[62]. His imperfections, as with most persons,

[60] Sir Thomas Chaloner, who knew him calls him a 'Præstantissimus rex.' In his carmen upon him, he declares, that tho he sometimes transgressed, yet he never trespassed beyond venial faults.

'Indulsit genio, admittens quandoque proterva;
At non immani veniam superantia facto.'

Strype. Eccl. Mem. 1. p. 624.

Of Skelton's panegyric, the following lines seem not to have exceeded the truth.

He rules his commonalty
With all benignity.
His noble baronage,
He putteth them in courage
To exploit deeds of arms,
To the damage and harms
Of such as be his foes.
Wherever he rides or goes,
His subjects he doth support,
Maintain them with comfort
Of his most princely port.
All his subjects and he
Most lovingly agree
With whole heart and true mind.
They find his grace so kind;
Wherewith he doth them bind
All hours to be ready
With him to live and die.
And to spend their heart blood
With him in all distress.

Duke of Albany, Chal. p. 258.

[61] See before.

[62] Sir T. Chaloner thus pleasingly sketches him:

'Quem musæ fovere sinu; charitas que lepore
Dotarunt: gratæ multa gravitate loquelæ.'

The same gentleman and statesman shows the impression which Henry's

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may have increased as he became older, because, altho our frame is so beautifully organized, that in the first part of our life its natural agencies dispose us to many virtues with instinctive operation, yet when in maturer age our free agency and worldly habits take the lead, too many of us become self-deteriorated, instead of improving beings. But Henry was long celebrated for his good nature, his social freedom, and for loving and mixing with his gratified people[63]; and therefore fairly claims for his posthu-

appearance and manner had made on his own taste and feeling, in this expressive and temperate line:

'Gestus, vultusque etiam *aut amabile* spirans.'

Strype. 1. p. 625.

Guistiniani wrote of him in 1519; 'He is an excellent musician and composer: an admirable horseman and wrestler; and is very devout. He is uncommonly fond of the chase and never indulges in this diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. He takes great delight in bowling: and it is the pleasantest sight in the world to see him engaged in this exercise with his fair skin covered with a beautifully white shirt. AFFABLE AND BENIGN, HE OFFENDS NO ONE.' Compend. 2 Ellis, S. S. p. 177.

[63] That he would sometimes walk disguised in the city to know better the minds and manners of his people, is mentioned by Strype, p. 625, and has been traditionally transmitted to us in many a tale and ballad, that have amused our childhood, and given dramatists a subject for their lighter compositions, from the King and the Cobler, to the King and the Miller of Mansfield. It is thus alluded to by Chaloner, who represented him as soon fixing the public eye, by his stately walk, superior tallness, and striking figure:

'Specie, atque ipso gressu sublimior esse
Quam mentiretur vulgo, appareret; et alta
Ingrediens cervice tenus turbæ super esset
Attonitæ; humano ceu quiddam augustius ore,
Cerneret obtutu fixo.'

His personal majesty, and manly beauty are strongly intimated in Chaloner's

'Vicerat ille omnes tunc pulchros pulchrior unus,
Tanta fuit, sacræ majestas regia formæ.'

1 Strype, 625.

Chaloner's encomium is the more valuable, as it was written after Henry was in his grave.

Henry's person, at the age of twenty-nine, was thus described by the Venetian ambassador: 'As handsome as nature could form him; handsomer by far than the king of France. He is exceeding fair, and as well proportioned in every part as possible. When he learnt that the king

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mous character, every allowance for his situation and crisis. It has been said, not unreasonably, that "if you look at the manners of men, you would think the whole world a mansion of fools;" yet however true this may generally be, each of us is not, without discrimination, to be denominated a madman. At times indeed, as our great dramatist has remarked with the truth and boldness which so often distinguish his moral sketches, we all "play such fantastic tricks before high heaven, as make the angels weep:" —but what is usually true of every one, must not be pressed with branding sarcasm, peculiarly against any, without distinguishing what is imputable to accidental contingencies, and what was the pernicious emanation from the spontaneous will and permanent character. It is from the want of such discrimination, that the memory of this king has chiefly suffered.

That he dreaded disgrace and infamy, one of his greatest revilers acknowleges[64]. What then must have been the effect on his sensibility, when he was told, "You have never done any thing which appertains either to the honor of God, or to the leaving for yourself a pleasing memory to posterity[65]." No king had become so infamous[66], was the unjustifiable addition. And this was asserted before Anne

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of France had a beard, he allowed his to grow, which being somewhat red, has the appearance of being gold.' Giustiniani's Compendio. Ellis. Sec. Ser. v. 1. p. 177.

[64] 'Princeps! in hoc ipso, in quo tu dedecus atque infamiam times.' Pole's Eccl. 420.

[65] 'Nihil unquam gessisti,' &c. ib. p. 433.

[66] 'You are now fallen into such disgrace and contumely, as no enemy, however crafty, tho he had been day and night thinking to make you infamous, could have put upon you. No king, whose memory remains in letters, was ever afflicted with so much.' ib. p. 260, 261. The alleged cause of this effusion was the divorce.

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Boleyn's death had startled the compassionate public. No one will attempt to exalt Henry as Rabbi Solomon does Adam, when he makes him so tall as to have touched the sky with his head[67]; but we are called upon to remember that the inconsistent upbraider who so passionately arraigns the king for the severe actions we have noticed, in the same composition calls him, in addition to his other encomiums, "a plant of God[68];"—"a generous plant[69]," and "a vine which might still produce abundant fruit to the glory of his Creator[70],"—if—what?—if he would but reinstate the papal supremacy.

Nothing more injures the human character, than unjust or unexpected reproach; the resentful feelings which it excites, the dark emotions which succeed, and the misanthropical humor which accompanies its recollection, dispose the spirit that has power, to use it harshly against those who disturb its internal comfort. The king's peace and safety were so repeatedly and so malevolently struck at by this painful weapon, that its poison could not but exasperate and disease his sensibilities, according to the natural agencies of such envenomed missiles. Branded by one writer as a Phalaris[71]; told to his face from the pulpit, before his court and people, that he was an Ahab whose blood dogs were ordained to lick[72]; compared

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[67] Rabbi Sal. in Deut. c. 3.

[68] 'Tu, *nunc*, Princeps! planta Dei es.' Pole, 421.

[69] 'Sane es, a Deo factus, tanquam generosa planta.' ib.

[70] 'Tanquam vitis quæ fructus ad Dei gloriam uberes pararet.' Pole, 421.

[71] This was by Paulus Jovius.

[72] Father Peto, in his sermon at Greenwich, before Henry, was the first that thus openly reprehended him. Stow's Ann. 562. And the author of the History of the Divorce, in the Sloane MS. gravely assures us, that 'the event confirmed the doctrine, for the king being carried

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by his ungrateful kinsman, in publications addressed and sent to the highest ranks in Europe, and at last also circulated among the lower, to a Nero, a pirate, an hydra, a Turk, a Cerberus, and a Satan[73]; declared to have reigned twenty-seven years for nothing but evil[74], and to have become a fable of derision to all men[75]; pursued by papal aspersions and maledictions; and endangered for years by perilous rebellion and persisting conspiracy,—it cannot be surprising, tho it must be regretted, that Henry was stung by the falsehood, the malignity, and the injustice, into revengeful exacerbations; that his former suavity should be displaced by vexation, suspicion, and bursts of anger; nor that his cheerful equanimity should, from his disquiets and their increasing perturbations whenever his personal safety, kingly dignity, or constitutional rights were endangered, harden into sternness, rigor, and legal inflexibility. But even in these respects, the occasional must be distinguished from the habitual. If he was unmerciful towards his opponents, he was still in other points

to Windsor to be buried, stood all night among the broken walls of Sion; and there the leaden chest, where the body was, being cleft by the shaking of the waggon, the pavement of the church was wetted with his blood.' In the morning came the plumbers to mend the chest, 'under whose feet,' says the author, 'I tremble to write it, was seen a dog, suddenly creeping and licking up the king's blood. If you ask me how I know this, I answer, William Greville, who could scarce drive away the dog, told me, and so did the plumber also.' MS. ib. p. 15. Such were the stories circulated to make Henry's memory detested.

[73] Pole's Eccl. Unit. p. 288; 292, 3; 350; 383.

[74] Pole, Eccl. Un. p. 407.

[75] This is Pole again: 'You are a fable in the mouth and voices of all men. The name of no one is more frequently cited when tyranny or impiety is talked of. You are lacerated by the tongues of all, from the highest to the lowest. If the highest injustice, and the highest impiety and tyranny, can make men reviled and infamous, you are so.' De Unit. p. 400.

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both estimable and useful[76]. He was still condescending, accessible, affable, and frequently kind[77]. Embittered hostility soured the steady mind of an Edward I.; and even our Alfred the Great lies under the imputation of repressing injustice by punishments which, if literally true, have the aspect of tyranny, and a waste of human life[78]. It is too often forgotten, that extreme law is extreme cruelty; and that, compared with vindictive exactions of death's terrible penalty, even impunity would be better wisdom and a greater good. But as Henry was sanctioned in his most unpitying actions by the co-operation of the most distinguished of his countrymen, both religious and civil, he may truly say that as far as his

[76] As a specimen how those of his subjects, who were not papal adherents, thought of him, we may quote Udal, who, in his son Edward's reign, considered him to be the English Hezekiah, 'deputed and sent to be the destroyer, not only of all counterfeits in religion, who swarmed among us like disguised maskers, and not mummers, but mumlets, who, under the cloak of holiness, seduced the people, and devoured the houses of rich widows, and were maintainers of all superstition, idolatry and rebellion; but, also, to root up all idolatry done to dead images of stone and timber.' Pref. to his Transl. of Eras. Paraph. on Luke. Strype 1. p. 627. The bishop of Durham, one of the most candid men of the age, says of Henry, in a private letter, 'There is no prince in christendom that more redargueth, or better knoweth th'office and honor of a christian prince; nor that more doth esteem spiritual men, that be given to learning and virtue, than he doth.' MS. Cleop. E. 6. p. 375.

[77] The letters which Henry took the trouble to write to respectable women, in recommendation of those in his household whom he wished to favor, are instances of obliging condescension. One has been already inserted, vol. 1. ch. 2. Several others exist. One in Titus, b. 1. p. 58. signed 'Henry H. T.' which expresses of the person introduced, 'That he, for the *knowlege* of your virtuous demeanour, is greatly minded towards you,' I quote here, to give an instance, from the highest authority, of that ancient spelling of the word knowlege without the d, which has been adopted in this work as most euphonous, and most suitable to the modern pronunciation. Our poet Thomson uses the same orthography, in his preface to Milton's Areopagitica. And so do Lord Cromwell in his letter to Henry, Ellis 2. series 2. p. 138. and queen Elizabeth in her letter to Mary. Laud. MSS. N° 1236. p. 37.

[78] See our ancient Law Book, Horne's Miroir de Justice, and Hist. Angl. Sax. vol. 2.

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censured punishments were merciless, they were the errors and the vices of the stern and unfeeling mind of his day[79], and display the general inhumanity of the temper of human society, when the great personal interests come into conflict; and not an individual atrocity peculiar to himself[80]. We may ask if history can

[79] I feel strongly the merciless character of the times, when I read that even the mild, venerable, and amiable Cranmer, could mention, in a letter of poor Frith, whom he had consigned, or was resigning, to be burnt, for disliking transubstantiation, with cool brevity, 'he looketh every day to go into the fire.' Ellis's Orig. Lett. v. 2. p. 40. As if it were no more than taking a walk. Not one word of pity, or compunction, or regret; and no indication of horror at such a dreadful fate. On the contrary, the next paragraph of his epistle is as apparently indifferent, tho to the same horrible purport; 'and there is also condemned with him one Andrew, a taylor of London, for the said self-same opinion.' ib. If Cranmer and More could look on such things with so little remorse, or shaken feeling, and every bishop, cardinal and pope, had the same lamentable taste and insensibility, there can be no reason to make Henry a proverb of inhumanity. Another striking instance of the cruel taste of the age, appears in the duke of Richmond's presence at Ann Boleyn's execution. Stow, 573. That so young a man could have gone to see so lovely a woman, with whose sportive conversation he must have often amused himself, beheaded, before his eyes, and when there did not arrest the arm that raised the fatal weapon, and fly to urge that pardon from his father, which, to the importunity of such a favorite son, could hardly have been refused, it is difficult for us to conceive, with our present sensibilities. A third instance, still more offensive, and even unpardonable, if any thing human ought to be deemed so, was, that when the amiable Anne Askew was not subdued by the rack, the chancellor and solicitor-general, irritated by her fortitude, tightened with their own hands the cords, to make them more torturing to her, to extort what they wanted. Fox and Bale. The quantity of executions of the common criminals of the nation at this time, and the number of their crimes, imply the same stern feelings in the country. And these have been unhesitatingly charged on Henry, as produced by his personal taste!

[80] The last persecution of his reign, in the year preceding his death, may be ascribed to the instigations and counsels of bishop Gardiner, the duke of Norfolk, and the chancellor Wriothesly, all strong advocates of the old system. It seems to have been aimed by them at the queen, and other ladies, who favored the reformation. Among these, Strype names the duchess of Suffolk, the countesses of Sussex and Hertford, lady Denny, and lady Fitzwilliam. v. 1. p. 598. The queen having rescued herself, tho evil agents were disappointed. It was in this that Anne Askew suffered a severity, that must be called the murder of wrong-headed power. Her own account in Fox, mentions Bonner and Gardiner as the persecuting bishops, not Cranmer.

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present an instance, in any government or king so endangered, vilified and attacked, and accomplishing such grand revolutions, so earnestly desired by one part of the country and so fiercely resisted by the rest; and having to act for twelve years amid the unabated hostility of domestic and internal treason, upheld by foreign power; in which so little blood was publicly shed, and in which the assailed sovereign himself displayed so little individual vengeance. Lamentable as the inflictions were, no such vast changes had ever before—may we not add since—been completed with so few severities. How small were all which he sanctioned, in comparison with those executed by the papal agents upon the Albigenses; the persecutions patronized by Francis I. against his own subjects; the atrocities perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's gloomy day, by Catherine de Medicis, and Charles IX; by papal adherents, in the Irish massacres of 1643; or by Philip II. and the duke of Alva in the Low Countries! How diminutive do they seem if compared in later periods, with the expulsion of the Moriscoes by Philip III; the dragoonings and banishments on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, by Louis XIV; the transcending butcheries and exiles, surpassing all former ferocities, of the philosophical convention and revolutionists in the cultivated metropolis and nation of France, in 1793 and 1794; and with the numerous Autos de Fé and inquisition cruelties, sanctioned by the papal hierarchy in Spain during the last two centuries, repeated even while this history is first printing!

One man's crime never justifies another's: but

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these recollections are important when we are considering if any peculiar denigration ought to be fixed upon Henry and his government, for what occurred under the great revolution, and (as all but the friends of the popedom think), under the national improvements, which they who suffered, resisted; which resistance on their part was voluntary and wilful, and for which alone they were molested. The historical fact may be therefore again repeated, that changes so mighty in the opinion of all, and so beneficial in the judgment of most, have never been achieved in any country, when so opposed, with such little bloodshed and individual cruelty. The personal imputation presses most on Henry in his sanctioning the execution of women, and of his friends, even tho not guiltless; because in their cases, whatever may have been the offence, the sympathies and charities of the heart ought not to have been ineffective.

Yet we ought not to infer any natural cruelty in this king because these benign feelings had not a more persuading influence in his bosom. It is too much the case with us all, that the understanding—the reason alone—without that other appendage of our being, which all ages, all classes, and all nations, even in central Africa[81], concur to call the heart,—

[81] We have two instances of this in major Denham's late travels into central Africa. When he was wounded, and had fallen down at the foot of a tree, insensible, in the flight of the defeated Bournous, their chief wanted to leave him behind, as an incumbrance: but the sheikh's negro, 'Maramy, returned to the tree, and said, 'HIS HEART told him what to do,' and he placed him on his horse.' p. 138. So the Dugganah chief, Tahr, surprised that Denham could be absent so long from his friends in England, exclaimed to him, 'If my eyes do not see the wife and children OF MY HEART for ten days, they are flowing with tears when they should be closed in sleep.' ib. 264.

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tends from its very energies, to be tyrannical, violent and stern. It is the essence and character of mental power to be active, and to act with force and determination in proportion to its vigor; to allow no resistance to its sovereignty; to combat with all its strength what opposes it, and, identifying from its very sincerity, its own conclusions with truth and right, to see only falsehood and mischief in what is contrary, and in those who support it. Hence our intellectual energy is naturally intolerant, zealous, impatient and severe; and even becomes so in proportion to its theoretical philanthropy, unless it associates itself intimately and inseparably with the cultivated feelings of a softened, benevolent, affectionate, benign and sensitive heart[82].

It is for the improving to unite these distinct qualities: and when the reason and the sensibility are each fully cultivated, and trained to act harmoniously together, and with mutual influence on each other, the perfection of human nature arises, as such a connubial union is completed. The understanding is then guided and controlled by the sympathy, and that by the understanding. Each adorns, assists, and enlightens the other. While Henry preserved their

[82] This term is objected to by some, but it has been every where and in all periods used to denote the tender and kind sensibilities of our nature. The denomination seems to have become so general, because, by their emotions, this material organ of our frame is found to be strongly affected. When we love, when we grieve, when we pity, when we oblige, when we are obliged, and when we rejoice, we feel altered movements of our material heart. Its pulsations are sensibly affected; and therefore as some general term is wanted to signify the social sympathies of our intellectual individuality, that function of our body has been chosen to do so, which always appears to be most concerned with their agencies and effects.

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due combination, his life was honored, popular and happy. But when he allowed alarm and exasperation to suppress the benevolent emotions of his heart, and put only the vigor of his excited reason into action, he committed or sanctioned those deeds of violence, intimidation and unfeeling severity, which it is the interest of all to reprobate, because we are all in danger of suffering by such moral evils, not only from kings and governments, but in daily life from each other.

It increased the ill effects of the misdirected powers of Henry's mind, that when the papal supremacy was abolished, the legal necessities of the state requiring a domestic authority to be substituted for the foreigner who was dispossessed, the king was placed in the vacant situation. If the substitution had confined him to the mere official and temporal acts that became necessary, only benefit would have resulted from the change. But opinions, feelings, and modes of worship, came into question, collision and alteration, as well as matters of revenue, dignity and power: and Henry conceived that he had not only the right, but was placed in the duty, of guiding and ruling the faith and doctrines and religious reasonings of his people. He believed he was to act in these as the vicar of the divine legislator, as the pontiff he had dethroned had arrogated a right dictatorially to be. It was on this principle, that he so personally insisted on the act for suppressing diversity of opinions. He saw his people in a fluctuating sea of mind and discussion, from the influx of the new sentiments and views that now rushed in from all parts of society; and he thought that he was the

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proper Neptune to pacify and to govern the disordering commotion into quiet and uniformity, We see this misconceiving idea in full operation in his last speech in Parliament, in which he urges the clergy to terminate the reigning discord, "or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar, and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant and untrue officer[83]." A wide career of evil was opened by this strange assumption, in which the most energetic mind, without any bad motives, and even from its very best purposes, especially if unchecked by the kind sensibilities, was sure to be the most tyrannical, and from principle, unrelenting.

But the well-being of society requires that no apology should be offered for any act of inhumanity. Torture and cruelty have been too long the defamations of mankind; which give maligner beings the right to deride and brand us, and to deny the justice of our invectives against them. It is of small importance whether their pretexts be religion, policy, or personal danger; or whether a coif, an helmet, a mitre, a crown, or a philosopher's cap, cover the head that directs or sanctions them. It makes no difference whether a tribunal, a camp, a church, an inquisition, a throne, or an academic grove, be the locality which witnesses them. Whether on the Ilissus, the Tiber, the Bosphorus, or the Thames, they are the deeds of a demonized spirit, whatever bosom it may inhabit. And whatever reasons may have oc-

[83] Hap. 866.

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casioned or do fairly account for Henry's approach to this moral deformity, they neither palliate nor justify its irremoveable degradation. It was both his folly and his fault to let his enemies or his own apprehensions or resentments convert his honorable and honored mind into the revolting barbarian; and to go down to posterity with features that suit better the wild brutes of Africa, than the exalted possessor of an English crown. It is unnecessary to pursue this painful subject further. When "heaven poured the seed of immortality into the human breast," to borrow Ganganelli's fine expression, neither violence nor corruption was intended to be its fruits.

The discovery of Wolsey's treachery, which the perusal of his correspondence on the seizure of his papers occasioned, gave to the mind of Henry a fatal blow. He trusted no man with the heart's confidence again. He suspected those whom he employed, and sternly crushed whoever offended on the first appearance of their deceit or duplicity. Towards the enemies who attacked him, he had afterwards no mercy. His mind had, perhaps, originally been too much formed in the dialetic schools. Tho taught in his youth by a votary of the Muse, yet it was by one who had little more than a facility of versifying satire[84], and none of the semi-divine inspiration which produces the poetry of the heart, and imbues the imagination of others with the beau-

[84] Erasmus has recorded, that Skelton was the teacher of his childhood. 'You have at home, Skelton, one of the lights of Britain, and its ornament, who can not only excite your studies, but complete them.' p. 1018. So in his early poem upon him, he remarked of the 'pue Henricus'

'Monstrante fonteis *vate Skeltono* sacros.'

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teous forms and colors that arise in its own. The correspondence which he began with Erasmus[85], and his attachment to his writings, tended much to improve his taste, and to transfuse some of the elegance of the scholars' mind to that of his admirer; but Wolsey afterwards led him from his classical studies to what the cardinal better understood—to the disputatious logic of St. Thomas the Angelical. He argued, instead of feeling. He exchanged fancy for ratiocination, and preferred subtleties of art and the victory of debate, to the sublime, the pathetic, and the beautiful. The great moral use which may be extracted from eloquence and poetry, is to ennoble the conceptions, to elevate the spirit, to make moral beauty an habitual feeling, and to give tenderness, delicacy, and quickness of tact to the virtuous sensibilities of our nature. The business, contests, agitations, wrongs and vicissitudes of life tend so much to make us rough, irritable, stern and ill-humoured, that we need every unworldly and intellectual ally of our better susceptibilities to keep our

[85] His Latin letter to Erasmus, when eighteen, a little before his accession, deserves to be preserved in a literal translation. 'To Erasmus, a man in every respect most learned. I am very much interested by thy letters, most learned Erasmus! for they are too beautiful to seem sudden effusions, and yet are more lucid and simple than they would have been if they had been premeditated, by a genius so acute. I do not know how it is, but those things which are produced by the ingenious with elaborate efforts, often bring with them much affectation and difficulty; for while we study for a more labored diction, the open and clear mode of expression secretly escapes us. Your letter, however, while it is vigorous in its beauty, yet flows with such a perspicuity of its own, that you seem to have entirely thrown all labor away. But why should I praise your eloquence, whose knowlege is distinguished over the whole world. I can really frame nothing in your praise, which is sufficiently worthy of such consummate erudition. I therefore omit your praises, because it is fitter to be silent about them, than to treat of them sparingly. Richmond, 17th January.' Eras. Ep. p. 911.

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temper and our conduct more consonant to the dignified sentiment, the social humanity, and the kind amenities of which we all are or have been capable. The pugnacious reasoner neglects or despises the cultivation of these softening and superior qualities of that spirit which constitutes his mental self, and becomes morose, hard-hearted and severe when difficulties embarrass, when obstacles resist, or when enmity assails him[86].

In the latter part of his reign, Henry gave an evidence of his improved taste for more beneficial studies, by founding professorships, in 1540, at Oxford and Cambridge, for Greek, Hebrew, civil law, divinity and medicine[87]. He had always been attached to religion as it was taught at that time, under

[86] Every path of mind is so gratifying to those who love the activity of thought, that none will be without its visitors, and it is unpleasing to dispraise any. But yet we may be allowed to suggest, that of all the subjects of our studies, artificial logic is the least likely to give us any useful fruit. It may form a ready debator, and assist the attainment of a loquacious fluency; but it also leads the mind to a love of unnecessary, unimportant and unserviceable distinctions. It creates the habit of verbal argumentation, without adequate researches into facts, and encourages its pupil, not only to dispense with extensive acquisitions of knowlege in himself, but to undervalue them in others. We may appeal to the decision of those who have fairly made the experiment, whether it does not too often and most commonly end in a superficial self-complacency of mind, indolently substituting words for things; phrase for experience; cramping definitions for large inquiry; objection for discrimination; censure for judgment; and controversy for truth. Its aim is for better things, but the intelligent discernment, mental wisdom, the richly stored memory, and the sound and penetrating judgment, must be sought for with a very different taste, and from superior materials.

[87] With a salary of 40*l.* a year to each, Cheke was appointed the first Greek lecturer. Strype's Cheke, p. 13. His habits with sir Thomas More, shows Henry's love of knowlege. He used 'upon holidays, to send for him into his traverse, and there, sometimes in matters of astronomy, geometry, and divinity, and such other faculties; and sometimes of his worldly affairs, to sit and confer with him: and otherwhiles in the night, he would have him up into the leads, there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions and operations of the stars and planets.' Roper's More, p. 12.

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the papal hierarchy, and wrote his book in defence of what Luther had attacked[88]. On the six articles he argued personally against six of his bishops, for transubstantiation; for the sacrament in one kind; for auricular confession, and against the marriage of priests[89]; and he disapproved of Latimer's arguments against purgatory[90]. His largest claim to our gratitude is, that he at last permitted the great fountain of religious truth and of intellectual piety to be opened to the people, by sanctioning the translation and circulation of the Scriptures in the national language[91]: thus making free to every one, what millions have blessed him for, and what the profoundest of our scholars, the great lord Bacon impressively calls—"sacred and inspired Divinity; the SABBATH and the PORT of all men's labors and peregrinations."

The plans and purposes of Henry were larger

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[88] It has been contested, whether the king wrote his celebrated book; and Wolsey, Erasmus, More and others, have been variously supposed by some to have been the authors. But there is nothing in it superior to Henry's attainments, or to his abilities; nor should I be disposed to cite it as the most favorable specimen of either. That he consulted or conversed with his more intellectual friends, as he proceeded with it, need be as little doubted as that he himself composed it. There is no adequate reason for dispossessing him of it. More says of it, 'I was only a sorter out and placer of the principal matter therein contained.' Rop. Life, 65. And he mentions it as the book which 'the king's highness *had written*.' p. 119.

[89] See the document in Burnet, v. 6. p. 212.

[90] See Strype's Eccl. Mem. Ap. v. 1. p. 388–392.

[91] On this subject, see Strype. Eccl. Mem. v. 1. p. 546–8. It was in 1539, that he gave the first permission, by his letters patent to Cromwell; and more fully in 1541, 'when the English Bible came forth in folio, with the king's allowance.' Its title purported, that it was, by his command, 'to be used in every church;' and that it had been 'overseen by Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, and Nicholas, bishop of Rochester.' ib. p. 574. This event alone would have made his reign of inestimable value, to all who wish to know the mind of the Deity from hisown communications.

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and more excellent than their execution[92]. He was to the last praised by some[93]; vindicated by others[94]; and not unpopular[95]. But in the spontaneous answer

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[92] As genuine feelings are best learnt from his own expression of his sentiments, we will add what he has inserted in his own handwriting, in the preamble to the act for making the six new bishoprics, in 1539. 'As it is not unknown the slothful and ungodly life which have been used among all those sects that have borne the name of religious folk; and that henceforth, many of them might be turned to better use, whereby God's word might better be set forth; children brought up in learning; clerk's nourished in the universities; old servants decayed to have livings; almshouses for poor folk to be had; readers of Greek, Hebrew and Latin, to have good stipends; daily alms to be ministered; mending of highways; exhibition for ministers of the church.' Strype, 1. p. 541. That such objects were so much in the king's contemplation as to be specially written by himself, in a draft of the new statute, is a fact to his honor, that ought not to be forgotten. The six new sees, were Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester.

[93] Thus Sir John Cheke: 'They who put together the authority and truth of all times, and fix their eyes upon your most potent majesty, are easily made to understand, that there is no one, either in the greatness of things already achieved, or in the splendor of a kingdom, or in the great abundance of all those things that are the usual objects of men's desires, nor yet in the happy and wished-for events of things; neither in the foresight and prevention of great evils, nor in the fruits and acquirements of the most ample advantages—No one has so well succeeded *in any one* of these, as you have flourished *in them all.*' Discourse of Superstition. Strype's Cheke, p. 193.

[94] Sir Thomas Chaloner defends Henry's legal rigors, on the ground that they were acts of mercy, because they intimidated offenders, and prevented the commission of offences. He states, that the king had been too mild in the former part of his reign, and had thereby multiplied crimes, which it became more necessary afterwards, by severity, to repress. See his Latin verses, in Strype, p. 626. This was a wrong view of the subject, but it shows that Henry acted on what some thought a right principle.

[95] Of Henry's popularity in 1544, in Kent, we have the following indication: 'When the king's letters were delivered unto certain gentlemen there, for the preparing of certain people apt for the wars, how expeditely was his grace's pleasure accomplished in every condition. The gentlemen, all other businesses laid aside, immediately provided their before appointed number of men, arraying them with decent martial armor. It was almost incredible, to see and perceive what alacrity and quickness of spirit was in the men which were pressed to go unto the wars. They seemed to be so desirous to defend their country.

'Never was there a prince that took like pains for the safeguard of his community. Never was there a father that so greatly watched for the health of his son, as he doth for ours. He is a very right and true father of this our country of England, as his most godly actions and virtuous enterprises do manifest every day, more and more.' Becon's Policy of War. Strype, 1. p. 601-3.

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which he chose to make to the Speaker, in his last parliament, instead of letting his chancellor give the usual official thanks and dismissal, we have an exhibition of some of the features of his mind and sentiments, at the latter period of his life, in his own language, which has the air of being extemporaneous, and of which we will present some extracts to our reader.

HENRY'S LAST SPEECH.

"ALTHO my chancellor hath before this time used to make answer to such orations; yet is he not able to open and set forth my mind and meaning and the secrets of my heart in so plain and ample a manner as I myself am, and can do.

"Wherefore, I, taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, master Speaker! say, that where you in the name of our well-beloved commons hath both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all, *that you have put me in remembrance of my duty*, which is to endeavor myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities and necessary virtues as a prince or governor should or ought to have: of which gifts I recognise myself both bare and barren. But of such small qualities as God hath endued me withal I render to His goodness my most humble thanks; intending with all my wit and diligence to get and acquire to me such notable virtues and princely qualities as you have alleged to be incorporate in my person."

He then thanked them for their subsidies, and expressed his resolution to fulfil their wishes in disposing of the chantries, colleges, hospitals, and other places committed by them to his order and disposition, adding:—

"Surely, if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the church to decay; or learning, which is so great a jewel, to be minished; or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved, you might say that I were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable man to mine even christian; neither a lover of the

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public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served, more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

" Now, since I find such kindness on your part toward me, I cannot chuse but love and favor you; affirming that no prince in the world more favoreth his subjects, than I do you; nor no subjects nor commons more love and obey their sovereign lord than I perceive you do me; for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden; nor, if necessity require, my person shall not be unadventured. Yet, altho I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue except both you, my lords temporal! and you, my lords spiritual! and you, my loving subjects! study and take pains to amend one thing, which surely is amiss and far out of order, to the which I most heartily require you, which is, that charity and concord is not among you; but discord and dissention bear rule in every place.

" What love and charity is among you, when the one calleth the other heretic and anabaptist; and he calleth him again papist, hypocrite, and pharisee? Be these, tokens of charity among you? are these the signs of fraternal love between you? No, no; I assure you that this lack of charity among yourselves will be the hinderance and assuaging of the fervent love between us, except this would be clearly made whole.

" I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of the spirituality. For, if I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily that you of the clergy preach one against another; teach one contrary to another; inveigh one against another without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old mumpsimus; others be too busy and curious in their new sumpsimus. Thus all men be almost in variety and discord; and few or none preach truly and sincerely the word of God according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable persons doing this? No, no; I cannot do so. Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord, when you preachers sow among them, in your sermons, debate and discord. Of you, they look for light; and you bring them to darkness."

Are these the feelings of a tyrant, a monster, or of

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such an evil being as Henry is by some depicted? This was spoken in December 1545, thirteen months before his death[96].

[96] Perhaps the most expressive testimony to Henry's personal amiabilities amid his regal severities was given by Catherine in her dying hour. Altho he had offended her by the divorce, by his marriage with Anne Boleyn, by the execution of her great friends More and Fisher, and by his abolition of the pope's supremacy—and tho from her zealous piety, worldly feelings could have but little of her attention on her death bed; yet notwithstanding all her affronts and resentments, and amid the abstractions of her mind to her heavenly objects, such was her unabated regard for Henry, that the last line of her dying letter to him was, 'MINE EYES DESIRE YOU ABOVE ALL THINGS.' See before, p. 433. Wonderful must have been her connubial attachment that could thus have overcome such stimulating irritabilities, and in the last hour of so devout a woman, could direct her departing thought, so kindly and so emphatically upon him. But could that man have been unamiable whom such a wife, under such circumstances, could so affectionately recollect?

The next great tribute to his merit was, that Francis I. so lamented his death, as to fall immediately into his mortal illness, which was ascribed by his contemporaries to his grief for Henry.

Henry seems to have promoted literature more by his own example and attainments: by his incitement and encouragement of a classical education, and by his selection and advancement of able men to state offices, and in all his public business, than by a direct patronage of individual poets and literary men as such; he therefore has not obtained from the gratitude of literature, that distinguishing character in this respect, which Francis I. so largely enjoys. The difference seems to have been, that the French king was more fond of poetry and the belles lettres, as a personal enjoyment, and looked less profoundly at the national improvement. Francis took great pleasure in the literary compositions of men of talent. He attempted at times to imitate them, and benefited and encouraged many such, both in France and Italy, by his pecuniary liberalities. Hence it is not his own subjects and countrymen only who have praised him for this exhibition of his good taste and kind feelings. Writers of all countries have added their applause. Among these the polished pen of cardinal Bembo noticed this feature in Francis so early as the twenty-fifth year of the king's age, and thus expresses his own feelings on observing it to a friend in France: 'I hope, that as his majesty has in himself a poetical spirit, he will love literary men, and especially poets; and from his regard for them, will give them the means of writing at their ease, and of making themselves superior authors. This cannot be done without repose and leisure. Augustus and Mecenas did this, and the names of those who imitate these great men will, like theirs, live for ever. If this king be himself a composer, as you say, he will do so, and then he will be a more famous and glorious king than all his ancestors, and with a very small and light degree of labor and expense.' Lett. Bemb. to Card. S. Maria. p. 67-9. This was written October

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We may here close our historical attempt: and leave this king's striking, uncommon, and varied character to be appreciated by that earthly tribunal, which is, and in every age must be, the final awarder of all human reputation, the private judgment of each individual reader: and which in this case, as in almost every other, is not likely to be unanimous. The camelion-changes both of our own taste, and of the persons we criticise, make uniformity of decision scarcely possible. There have been some few characters in past ages, which, like the dew-drop in the sun, only multiply their beauties as we more variously contemplate them. If we change our point of sight, new virtues emane to our gratified observation, as the ruby, the emerald, the sapphire, and the amethyst succeed each other in nature's gem with undiminishing brilliancy and with delighting loveliness. But, in our visible horizon, personages like these are rarer than comets. None such appear among all the characters that have passed before our view in the reign of Henry VIII. In the most distinguished of these, and in him, great qualities appear amid

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1519. Francis fulfilled the cardinal's prophetic wishes in the subsequent twenty-eight years of his reign, and owes his earthly immortality principally to his doing so. No king in Europe has given to letters an equal degree of direct and individual patronage, not even Louis XIV. The general result was, that Francis has derived from his taste and generosity a personal celebrity which will never die; and that Henry caused and cherished a spirit of intellectual improvement and of sound moral character among his people, of which his own children were leading examples, and which appeared in a general superiority to all that Europe contained during the reign of his most cultivated daughter, our IMMORTAL ELIZABETH It is obvious, that the wisest sovereign will unite both the kinds of patronage which these two kings pursued. But if one only is to be used, that of Henry VIII. will be, by far, the most nationally advantageous.

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great imperfections. Spots and eclipses, fading or departing light, deform what at times we most admire, and excite our regret or our indignation, even when we would have wished not to have been peevish. But such is yet the imperfect tho advancing formation of the human spirit. If dust and ashes be the applicable expressions for our connected body, error, weakness, inconsistency, mutability and sin, no less truly claim to be among the marking features of our intellectual life. But the mind which animates us, seems as yet to be only in the process of its growth; and it ought not to surprise us, if that which is meant to be eternal, should require many ages to revolve, before it can attain all that wonderful combination of perfections which will fit it to receive and to enjoy an immortality of existence and an everlasting felicity[97].

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[97] To Henry's character thus far exhibited, we may add three other quotations of sentiments that were penned after his death by zealous papal champions. One is Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester. He says of Henry, that he was 'buried honorably *with sorrow and lamentation* of his servants and subjects. It is agreed our late sovereign is received to God's mercy; and tho some would say he had his errors, and saw not perfectly God's truth, yet it were better for us to go to heaven with one eye after him, than to travail here for another eye, with danger to lose both. Our sovereign is gone from us to heaven in his way. Our sovereign lord, that governed them without these homilies, is gone to heaven.' Letter to Cranmer, Strype's App. 780–5. If so stout and stern a papal bishop, as Gardiner proved himself to be, thought Henry was gone to heaven, the king must have had no common merit in the eyes of those who knew him best.

Some favorable descriptions of the king have been quoted from cardinal Pole. To these may be added what this resolute enemy deliberately wrote of him after his death, and after he had been kept an exile and outlaw from his country above twenty years; yet even under these circumstances, he gave this testimony to Henry's kindness and generosity.

'I can truly declare that I never went to him, either as a boy or as a youth, but he always gave me some striking mark of his kindness;

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and he often did this before his nobility. By this conduct he shewed that he not only meant to excite me to the study of letters and of the best arts, but to point out to the nobles what he desired to see in such of their children as wished to attain honors from him, and what would be, above all things, peculiarly grateful and pleasing to him. So when he sent me to Italy, to make a further progress in the studies of virtue and literature, which were eminently flourishing there, he gave me a most poignant spur to intermit no time and to spare no labor to acquire a proficiency in these arts and ornaments, that I might fully answer in all thing his expectations.' Epist. Pole ad Edw. 6. v. 4. p. 342.

A quotation from SIR THOMAS MORE, may be also subjoined, to shew that the preceding pages, have not exhibited Henry's character in too favorable a light during the first two thirds of his reign, before the conspiracies of Pole and the Romish see destroyed the equanimity and mildness of his former temper. His highly-lauded chancellor thus speaks of him:

'There never was, I trow, brought in this world a prince of more benign nature; nor of more merciful mind than is our sovereign lord that now reigneth. Never king could find in his heart more freely to forgive and forget offences done and committed unto himself. Yet hath his highness such a fervent affection to right and justice in other men's causes, and such a tender zeal to the conservation of his subjects, of whose lives his high wisdom considereth many to stand in peril by the giving of pardon to a few wilful murderers, that never was there king, I believe, that ever wore the crown in this realm, which hath, in so many years, given unto such folk so few.—The king's high prudence, without flattery, pierceth as deep into the bottom of a doubtful matter, as ever I saw man in my life.' The Dialogue in More's English Works, p. 238.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

ON THE ORIGIN OF HENRY'S DIVORCE.

It has been shewn in this work, from new and official documents, that the first scruples on his marriage did not originate from the king, to whose new passion modern catholics are fond of ascribing them; but that Wolsey was the suggester of the divorce from Catherine, and that it was concocted between him and the bishop of Tarbes. I have since met with two Romish historians, nearly contemporary and of high authority, who had access to the papal records, and who explicitly ascribe the origin, not to the king, but to Wolsey and the French bishop. These are the Spanish jesuit Ribadeneyra, and the Italian priest Pollini. Both have written the history of the schism of the English church, from the papacy; and as their accounts are important confirmations of the truth of the preceding narration on this much controverted subject, I subjoin, first, a translation from the Spanish work of Ribadeneyra, and the substance of the Italian writer's accordant story.

RIBADENEYRA'S ACCOUNT.

His Historia Ecclesiastica of the English schism was approved by Aquaviva, the general of his order, in April 1588, and is dedicated to

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Philip II, and in its general tenor is as hostile to Henry and the reformation as the most angry Romanist can desire. His statement on this part of his subject is, therefore, more deserving of our attention.

Having noticed Wolsey's second failure to be Pope, by the election of Clement VII. and his consequential rage against the emperor, he says:

'In this fury, arising from his own mad ambition, he plotted and wove a web which he afterwards could not undo, which produced the mischief.

'For seeing Henry dissatisfied with his queen Catherine, and that she was adverse to his own ambition, he sought out a means of separating them; some say, that he was excited to persecute her because an astrologer had prognosticated, that a woman would occasion his ruin, and that crediting these words, he thought the queen was to be this person, and therefore determined to divest her of the power and to part the king from her.

'With this vindictive intention, he sent for the king's confessor, J. Langland, the bishop of Lincoln, and taking him aside, with much secresy expressed his sense of the great obligations and signal favors which he had received from his sovereign, who had raised him from the dust to his great honors, and that next to his own, nothing was more dear to him than the salvation of the king; and that he thought it was to the bishop, as his majesty's confessor, that he ought first to mention, that the marriage between Henry and Catherine appeared to him to be conscientiously objectionable and dangerous to his soul.

'The confessor believing that the cardinal was speaking with plainness and truth; and knowing that the king would not dislike the conversation, did not contradict a person so great and powerful, but intimated, that the cardinal should mention it to him, to which the cardinal agreed; when the king heard it, he said to Wolsey, 'take care that you do not bring in doubt what has been already once determined.'

'Two or three days afterwards, the cardinal took with him the confessor, and persuaded him to intreat the king, that on a subject so important, and which involved his salvation, his majesty would give permission for its being discussed and examined. The king granting this, the cardinal said, 'in France, there is Margaret, sister of the king Francis, who was married to the duke of Alençon, a lady of very great beauty, and who would suit your majesty for a wife.' The king replied, 'we will afterwards look to this. But keep the affair secret, that nothing be made public before the proper time, that will affect our honor.' Ribad. Hist. Eccl. 28–30.]

Ribadeneyra then describes the embassy of the bishop of Tarbes, into England, to negotiate a marriage between the princess Mary and the French king's second son, to whom he says, Wolsey, by Henry's order, communicated the matter. He describes the bishop as coinciding with Wolsey's plans, and that 'one day, in the presence of Henry and his council, he declared, that nothing was more desirable than peace between the two nations, and to cement it by the bonds of a strict friendship, he had come to treat of an union between the princess of Wales and the duke of Orleans; he then subjoined, that his king's sister, the duchess of Alençon, was of fit age, and had every nuptial quality that could be wished for in a princess. That she was then without a husband, and if in England there was any principal man, or to express it better, if the first and head of all the lords in the kingdom, had no existing wife, such

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a one night have this lady in marriage, to the universal quietude and security of his kingdom.' 35.

POLLINI.

Was a Dominican of Florence, who published his Ecclesiastical History of England, with the permission of Clement VIII. in 1594.

He states the same facts on this subject, as the Jesuit Ribadeneyra does, but in a narrative more copious in its style and circumstances. He ascribes its conception to Wolsey, from his animosity to Charles V. and to queen Catherine, who had disapproved of his unclerical habits. He narrates at more length his conference with Langland, and their application to Henry suggesting the scruple, and the cardinal recommending the duchess D'Alençon for his new queen. He also states the arrival and concurrence of the bishop of Tarbes, in the scheme, and this prelate's intimation also to the king that the French princess was 'in tutto libera e sciolta dei legame del matrimonio,' and he urged the king to take her 'per moglie in vece di Caterina,' and thus to consolidate 'tra questi due reame una perpetua pace.' The king professed to receive the news of the scruple with regret, but answered that he would deliberate upon it.' Poll. Hist. Eccl. p. 16–20.

ON SIR THOMAS MORE.

The Author has in the preceding pages expressed his full admission of the virtues, amiabilities, and general talents and merit of sir Thomas More; but has been thought by some to have been unjust to him in doubting if his intellectual character has not been overrated. A few facts will therefore be added in this note, which will elucidate the imperfections of his reasoning and feeling on some of the most important subjects of human thought.

In the dialogue of the first book of his English works, he enters into an unqualified defence of the popish miracles, done by images, saints and pilgrimages, altho he makes his friend adduce every argument against them which wiser men have since urged, including even the substance of Hume's anticipated objections. Yet with a mind aware of the reasonings of an intelligent understanding against them, he characterises as heresies, the assertions, 'that we should no worship to any images, nor pray to any saints, or go on pilgrimages.' p. 113. He denies that a certain person who had been prosecuted for heresy, 'for preaching against pilgrimages and images and prayers made to saints was therein greatly wronged.' p. 112. 'If that man were in all his other living as innocent as a saint, yet if he were infected and faulty in these heresies, he had then in this matter no wrong,' in having been so prosecuted. p. 112. And therefore, as the clergy had not wronged him in so attacking him, 'altho the whole spirituality were in their living far worse than devils, yet there hath for this matter no man against them any cause of complaint.' ib.

He admits that some such miracles were 'falsely feigned,' yet this perception does not hinder him from maintaining that they were generally true: and he tells, as an illustration, a story 'of a wonderful work' wrought a few years before, on the daughter of sir Roger Wentworth, a girl of twelve years old, who being 'in marvellous manner vexed and tormented by the devil,' was brought and laid before the image of the virgin at Ipswich, where 'in the sight of many people,' tho 'her counte-

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nance was grisly changed; her mouth drawn aside, and her eyes laid out upon her cheek, yet she as well as all the remanent there, were in the presence of all the company, restored to their good state, *perfectly cured* and *suddenly*.' p. 137.

He puts into his friend's mouth some of the strongest reasons that sensible men urge against pilgrimages, and the worship paid to images and saints, and even a display of some of the impostures practised by the catholic priests on these subjects; and only answers them by a long but warm assertion, that images, saints and pilgrimages are to be venerated and pursued, because the papal church has ordained them, and the church cannot err.

The two first books of his dialogue are applied to defend pilgrimages, relics, saints, and images, and most strenuously on these usual grounds of Roman catholics, that their church has ordained their veneration and use, and that the church cannot err; and that tho scripture may seem to condemn them, yet if 'the church say one thing, and the Holy Scripture another thing, the faith of the church is to be taken as the word of God, as well as the scripture, and therefore as well to be believed.' This is the argument of the 26th chapter of his first book, p. 163. and of the first chapter in his third book, p. 203.

He then proceeds to justify the application of legal severities to the repression of the reformed opinions; and to defend the conviction of the man whose punishment for opposing the worship of saints and images had occasioned the conversation. In this he speaks of the persons who then held the religious opinions which now distinguish the British population, and the whole protestant world, with a degree of contempt and hatred, which it is difficult to account for in a man, whose amenity and humor have been so much applauded. He says, the individual spoken of was convicted 'by the oaths of above twenty; not such men as we now speak of, lollards and heretics, but honest men, and almost of all sorts.' p. 211. As if no one of the reformed opinions could be an honest man. He insists, that after witnesses had proved that the party accused had uttered the heresy, he ought not to be allowed to examine other witnesses to show that he had never spoken such words, not even if they could swear that he had preached the very contrary doctrine. In vain his friend alleges, that all, which any man accused would say, ought to be heard and that all should be taken for the best to him that was so arraigned. More answers, 'that in all such heinous crimes as heresy, reason is clear to the contrary; of all crimes, in heresy it is least to be suffered: for well ye wote, that heresies be false belief, and factious ways full of business; and such as give themselves thereto be sturdy and studious about the furtherance of their seditious sect.' p. 212.

When his friend suggested that two, both beneficed men, and very virtuous, who had heard him preach, offered to depose that he did not preach what he was accused of, More answers, that for the man's excuse, they would not be good witnesses, not even 'if they had been forty men more as good as the better of them both.' p. 212.—Such was the equity of a chancellor's mind towards one, who had only been charged with depreciating 'images, relics and pilgrimages.'

He notices it as a great crime, that one of the two persons who had been mentioned to him as so virtuous, had purchased books of the reformed opinions. He says, 'I told you also, that one of these two, that ye took for so good and cunning men, was after founden worse than many

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men would have thought. Sir! so was it indeed, that he was detected for buying of many books of Luther, Lambart, and Zuinglius, with others of that sort; and he also confessed that he had bought of those books very many, which he brought forth at last, where he had laid them by, no less suspiciously than secretly, and so secretly that all the town should have sought them long ere they should have found them out.' p. 213.

No inquisitor could speak more bitterly of any one indulging even his private reading and studies on religious subjects than sir Thomas More. He proceeds to say, 'but the thing that I tell you my tale for, is this: this man besides that, all the books in effect which he has bought of this Lutheran sect, were diligently read over and studied; and with such manner of notes marked in the margin, and words written of his own hand, where the worst matters were, that he left no man in doubt that read them, what fervent affection he bare unto them: I say, besides all this, he had divers epistles, written with his own hand, wherein were plenty of pestilent heresies. And a sermon also worse than they all, written with his own hand also, ready to be preached; if the world would so change, that time would serve it.' p. 214.

Where is that amiable character of sir Thomas, which we cherish in our imaginations of him in his strenuous assertions, that all who were not of his religious opinions should be burnt. No Spanish bigot could be more unrelenting on this subject, as he thus chooses to state his own sentiments in direct opposition to others of a milder nature.

'Why,' quoth he, 'what devil-rigour could they more have shewed for the first time, than make him abjure and bear a faggot.' 'Yes,' quod I, 'Some man had lever bear twain cold in his neck, than have one bear him hot on a fire at his feet.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'they could not have done that to him the first time.' 'No,' quod I, 'not, if he willingly returned to the church knowleging his fault, and ready to abjure all heresies, and penitently submitted himself to penance. And else if he prove himself obstinate and impenitent, the church neither is bounden *nor ought* to receive him; but utterly may forsake him, and leave him to the secular hands.'

More, not only thus denies all mercy to those who would not recant, but he who was a judge himself, condemns those who in that character were endeavoring to save the life of the accused man. He adds, 'but now he was so obstinate, that he would not abjure of long time, and divers days were his judges fain of their favor to give him: with sufferance of some of his best friends, and whom he most trusted, to resort to him, and yet scantly could all these make him submit himself to make his abjuration. And finally were they fain, for saving of his life, to devise a form of abjuration, whereof I never saw the like, *nor* in so plain a case, *would I the judge, suffer the like hereafter.*' p. 214.

In the prosecution of their conversation, the friend attacks the catholic clergy in England, not only for burning Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, but also for their provincial constitution, that no layman should have any translation at all, upon pain of suffering all the penalties of heresy; whereas all the other countries of christendom, at that moment, allowed the people to have the scriptures in their own tongue. He proceeds then to attack the papal church for the general vices of its ecclesiastics. More answers, 'I wot well, there be many very lewd and naught,' and endeavors to rescue the larger number from the charge by many observations which are ingenious and not unfair. But he con-

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tends, 'that be the priest never so vicious, and therewith so impenitent, and so far from all purpose of amendment, that his prayers are rejected and abhorred,' yet that the profit of his mass, was to every one else just as good as if he were the most virtuous man,' p. 226, a doctrine, which goes very nearly to give the clergy a license for every sin. He has, however, the good sense to say, 'but for the number, I would surely see such a way therein, that we should not have such a rabble, as that every mean man must have a priest in his house to wait upon his wife, which no man almost lacketh now, to the great contempt of priesthood, in as vile office as his horsekeeper.' p. 228.

Sir Thomas condemns vehemently both Wickliff's and Tyndale's translations; but has the merit of expressing that a proper version, into the English language, ought to be made for the laity. But his extraordinary enmity to the reformed opinions led him to call Luther 'a fond frere, an apostate, an open incestuous lechour, a plain limb of the devil, and a manifest messenger of hell.' p. 247. He declares his heresies, that is, the present religious opinions of the protestant world, to be 'abominable; far from reason and truth; against the right understanding of scripture; stretching all things against good manners and virtue; provoking the world to wrong opinions of God, and to boldness in sin and wretchedness, so that there can no good but much harm grow in the reading.' p. 248. According to him, Luther and Tyndale were not teaching the truth, but 'false devilish heresies.' 'In the making of such writing as Luther's is, the devil is of counsel, and giveth therewith a breath of his assistance.' ib. Hence the books of the reformers were not to be suffered to be read by any.

He leaves us in no doubt what these opinions were which he so reviled, for he enumerates them. That the pope could not grant pardons for sin; that of the popish seven sacraments, three only are so, including penance; that confession to a priest is unnecessary; that it is the faith which accompanies the sacrament which gives to it all its virtue; that it is our faith which produces salvation, and not our works; that the canon of the mass was unfounded, and that there was no oblation or sacrifice in its consecrated host; that there was no purgatory; that men's souls lie still until the day of doom; that no man should pray to saints, nor set by any holy relics or pilgrimages, nor do any reverence to images; that the virgin should not be worshipped, nor the crucifix. These and other misrepresentations of what Luther taught, are the sentiments which sir Thomas More, who is usually thought so wise and enlightened a man says, ought 'to make him hated of all good folk,' p. 252-4; and therefore he proceeds to abuse him and all his actions and writings in the most rancorous manner.

Such was More's liberality, that he declares a maniac was the fittest to dispute with Luther and Tyndale; adding 'for he lasheth out scripture in Bedlam as fast as they both in Almayn; and in good faith they both expound it as madly as he, and me thinketh the man is as mad as all three' who believes as they do. p. 206. He makes antichrist the head of all such, ib.; and 'the devil, the great master of them all.' p. 287.

So enlightened was his mind as to assert, that 'lack of belief of purgatory is the very straight way to hell,' p. 289. He is angry that priests were in almost every sessions, in some county or other, indicted for rapes, while but few were put to penance for heresy. p. 297. He affirms, that the marriages of the clergy, so far from lessening the number of unchaste

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women, would increase it, because every such matrimony would be incestuous, and all such wives stark harlots. p. 308. But it will be too long to go thro all the sentiments of this sort which he maintains. We may say generally, with perfect truth, that all the notions, superstitions and practices which the most bigotted and ignorant monk of the Romish church has ever taught or believed, are defended by sir Thomas, in one or other of his voluminous English writings against the most venerated of the first reformers, occupying above 1,300 folio pages. If we had not his works before us, we could not believe that the author of the Utopia could have so far abandoned the spirit of that his juvenile composition, as in the maturity of his age and judgment to have so darkened and deformed his mind, as to become the empassioned advocate of all that the most conscientious and intellectual men of his day were regretting or forsaking.

But it is not for his contempt and hatred of all that the most enlightened nations and individuals in Europe now believe, that sir Thomas is most to be censured. His greater error was that he was the vindictive advocate, in printed publications, of the most bitter, unrelenting, and inquisitorial persecution, even to death at the stake, of every one, however otherwise distinguished for virtue, talents or piety, who held any of the reformed opinions, and did not fully and promptly abjure. A few passages, out of a great number that might be quoted, will shew the spirit and principles which he inculcated on this subject.

In one part he thus insists; that he clergy were right in causing heretics to be put to death.

"As for the clergy whom they labor to bring in hatred under the false occasion of cruelty, there is little doubt but, as an honorable prelate of this realm (Fisher, bishop of Rochester), in his most erudite book answereth unto Luther, the prelates of Christ's church rather *ought temporally to destroy* those ravenous wolves than suffer them to worry and devour everlastingly the flock. All the sore punishments of heretics, wherewith such folk as favor them would fain defame the clergy, is and hath been for the great outrages and temporal harms, that such heretics have been always wont to do, and seditious commotions that they be wont to make, devised and executed against them of necessity, by good christian princes and politic rulers of the temporality. Forasmuch as their wisdoms well perceived that the people should not fail to fall into many sore and intolerable troubles, if such seditious sects of heretics were not by *grievous punishment repressed* in the beginning; and the *sparkle well quenched* ere it were suffered to grow to over great a fire.

'Forsooth, quoth your friend, it appeareth well that the clergy is not in this matter to be blamed as many men reckon. For it seemeth that the sore punishment of heretics is devised not by the clergy, but by temporal princes and good lay people and not without great cause.' p. 285.

His intemperance in persecution was so great, that he required the practice to be continued, for the judge to charge the grand jury to make it a part of their duty to search out and present indictments against persons for heresy, at the sessions, tho no one accused them, and for the jury to do so. It had become, since the cruel laws of Henry IV. and V. against heresies, a practice to do so, but under Henry VIII. as milder feelings and reformed opinions spread, this attacking custom was falling into disuse. It became the wish and the practice, to make no inquiry uncalled into heresies, and that no official presentment should be made,

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unless some one brought a formal accusation and preferred a special indictment. More thus argues that this lenity should not be continued, and that the old severity should be revived and continued.

'But yet will, peradventure, this pacifier say, that sometimes in some very special case, he could be content that the spiritual judge should upon his discretion, call one for suspicion of heresy, ex officio; but he would not have men commonly called; but either by accusation or presentment in their senes or indictments, at the common law.

'I had as lief, for any thing that I see, that this pacifier should say thus; "by this way that they may be called, I would not have them called: but I would have them called after such an order as they might be sure that then should they never be called." For, as for accuse folk openly for heresy, every man hath experience enough, that ye shall seldom find any man that will. But if the judge should set an officer of the court thereto, without any peril of expences, then were this way and that way, all of one effect.

'For this is a thing well known to every man, that in every sene; every session of peace; every session of gaol delivery; every leet thro the realm, the first thing that the jury have given them in charge is, heresy. Yet for all this, thro the whole realm, how many presentments be there made in the whole year? I wene, *in some seven years*, NOT ONE. Yet I suppose no man doubteth that some there be. I will not be curious about searching out of the cause; why it is either never, or so very seldom presented: not five, in fifteen. *But this I say*, that since some will not, some cannot, and none doth; if he should put away the process ex officio, the thing would be left undone, and then should soon after, heretics be increased and multiplied; the faith be undone; and after that, should be sedition and trouble, and dearth and death in this realm; many men, both good and bad, be undone.

'And therefore for conclusion of this piece, *my poor advice and counsel shall be*, that for heresy, and specially now at this time, men shall suffer the processes ex officio, to stand, and for as many other sins also as are only reformable by the spiritual law.' p. 992.

Thus altho the crown had dropped prosecutions, charges, and indictments ex officio against heretics, when no one had accused any, More urged that they should be resumed; and thus the legal officers of the state become active persecutors at every sessions, tho contrary to their own will and judgment and to the wishes of the government.

He annexes to the above remarks this illustration, which shews how inferior, both in feeling and reason More was to those who formed the juries of the day.

'One of these matters, with the priest that preached it, when I was chancellor, was brought unto me, by right worshipful folk, who, before me, avowed it in his face. And yet could not all they cause the inquest to present it, but some folk began to fall to favor him, and had he not been taken, many would have flocked after him and followed him. That priest I delivered unto his ordinary. But I tell it you for this, *that the jury would not find it*, for all the good folk that gave them open evidence. Whereby you may see, that in heresy, if the judge should not ex officio proceed, till the matter were presented by the juries, heretics might be bold to proceed on apace; and so they would, I warrant you, and multiply full fast.' p. 992.

In the year 1533, after he had resigned the chancellorship, and not

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many months before his own arrest and death, he wrote an answer to a book which had been published against the catholic sacrament, in which his pen displays the same infuriated spirit against protestant reformers. He says, 'those that have fallen in false heresies, and have forsaken the faith, have an hot fire of hell in their hearts.' p. 1035. 'All such as believe well themselves, should, both by word and countenance, show themselves plainly to hate and detest, and abhor utterly the pestilent contagion of all such smoky communication.' ib. 'After once or twice warning of them the bishop should, as folk incorrigible, expel them, and we should keep no more company, nor more communication with them; not so much as bid them good speed or good morrow, when we meet them.' p. 1036.

In this temper he reviews his opponent's book. He loads it in every page with coarse execration. It is 'blasphemous;' it is 'bedlam ripe;' it is 'a foolish book, made by a mad fool;' 'a madman would wax almost red with shame to write in somethings so frantically.' He approves of those who expound Samson and the foxes, to mean, that 'the devil sends his heretics into the church tyed by their tails, to the destruction of all manner of grace and goodness.' 'The tying of the fire and their tails together, signifieth that for their foxly falsehood, the hot fire of hell shall be so fast tied in all their tails, that never shall they get from the bands of hell.' p. 1041. He declares the author has made his book, 'with his own poisoned cookery, the supper of the devil,' and adds, 'and yet would the devil, I wene, disdain to have his supper dressed by such a scald colin cook, as under the name of a clerk, so ribauldiously raileth against the sacrament of the altar.' p. 1136.

I wish not to add a single expression of personal depreciation to a man in some points so valuable, nor to make any other exception to his celebrity, than such as his own exhibition of his mind and feelings in these sentiments ought justly to occasion. This note has been appended in order that the whole character of this respected individual may be seen. Perhaps then the result will be, that most readers will think that the present author has not been entirely wrong in suggesting, that altho in some points he deserves our praise, yet that he has been hitherto too indiscriminately and too partially applauded.

By these remarks on sir Thomas More, it is not intended to impute any blame to him for adhering to the Roman see, and to its system, nor for disapproving of Luther and the reformation. As between man and man, he had a right to do so, if he preferred all his ancient opinions, to the new improvements. This was the fair exercise of his social right of thinking conscientiously for himself; and some of his remarks on Luther and on Tyndale's translation, were not unjust. But to cherish such a vindictive hatred and contempt for all the good and wise men who at that time dissented from the papal superstitions, and for their books and sentiments without the least discrimination, and to regard all such as the offspring of Satan and Bedlam, and to desire and teach their instantaneous persecution and unpitying extinction; and not content with destroying them when they were accused, and would not abjure, to urge also the most rigorous inquisition to find them out for the purpose of their eradication; when he saw that the government judges and juries were letting the ex officio presentments of heresies, fall into disuse, to urge that they should be revived, and the sessions officers should as a part of their duty, be

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BOOK I.

forced to search out and make special indictments against all who had any books, or held any opinions of the reformers: These things display both great inferiority and great inhumanity of mind. Bonner, Gardiner, and the Spanish inquisition, did nothing afterwards, but what More in the above cited, and in other parts of his English works justified and recommended, and therefore would have done, if he had possessed their power.

He was very vehement against the marriages of the clergy, and tho he had a good wife, and some excellent daughters, yet he does not always speak in a favorable tone of the female sex, for we can hardly have a more discouraging image of matrimony than he gives, with some glee, on the authority of his parent. 'But now, if ye were in the case, that I have heard my father *merrily* say, *every man is*, at the choice of his *wife*; that ye should put your hand into a blind bag, full of snakes and eels together, *seven* snakes for *one* eel, ye would reckon it a perilous choice to take up one at adventure.' p. 165.

Three of his descendants became nuns. My copy of his English works belonged to one of them, who has had lettered on the covers, 'Reverend MARY More, Superieure.' She has taken out his Utopia and Richard III. and only bound up his religious treatises. Another, GERTRUDE, has left a volume of 'spiritual exercises,' full of ardent and aspirant piety, with an assertion in it of freedom of thought as to her confessors, which shows that she had not her father's undistinguishing bigotry. After her death, it was published and dedicated to her surviving sister BRIDGET, who is styled the 'Prioress of the English Benedictine nuns of our Lady of Hope in Paris.' Of the chancellor's children Ascham thus wrote in 1550. 'From the daughters of sir Thomas More a great number of honorable women now excel in all kinds of literature.' Ep. p. 20. One of them, Mrs. Roper, invited Ascham from Cambridge to teach her children Greek and Latin; but he was unwilling to leave his collegiate studies. One of Mrs. Roper's daughters was lady Clarke, whom the same learned man praises for her 'virtutis amor et literarum cultus,' altho, she was living with distinction at court. See his letter to her, dated 15 Jan. 1554. Epist. p. 269.

If sir Thomas had but admitted into his mind the improvements of the Reformation, he would have avoided the defects which shadowed his merits; and have been justly entitled to all the praise he has received.

FINIS.

Luke Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.

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