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THE

LIFE

OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH,

AND

HISTORY OF THE SCHISM

OF ~~ENGLAND.~~

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

M. AUDIN,

(AUTHOR OF THE LIVES OF CALVIN AND LUTHER.)

BY

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NOTICE.

The following Translation of M. Audin's learned and interesting History of King Henry VIII. and the Schism of England, has been undertaken with the special sanction and desire of its talented Author, who favoured the Translator with numerous corrections and additional notes.

M. Audin's luminous Preface speaks for itself, and renders unnecessary any expression of comment by the Translator, as to the great importance of a work, which, in the present state of historical inquiry, as well as of theological distraction, in Great Britain, cannot fail to excite earnest attention.

E. G. K. B.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

"I come no more to make you laugh; things now
That bear a weighty and a serious brow,
Sad, high and working, full of state and woe,
Such noble scenes as draw the eye to flow,
We now present. Those that can pity, here
May, if they think it well, let fall a tear;
The subject will deserve it."

This prologue to the great English dramatist's tragedy of Henry VIII. forms, in some measure, a summary of our work. "Blood and tears"—these are what Shakespeare presented to his audience "at 1s. a head." Blood, tears, a mad despotism, follies, murders, and, what is nowhere to be met with in the annals of a Christian people, a nation brutalized by its representatives,—the law itself consecrating iniquity; a House of Peers making servility a dogma; a House of Commons transforming the monarch, not into an image of God, but into a Divinity; a priesthood investing the theocrat with the attributes of Him who reigns in heaven, infallibility and impeccability—such are the scenes which the historian has to lay before his readers.

We do not know of any story more dramatic than the annals of Tacitus, and yet, despite the wonderful talent of the writer, his readers would soon throw the book aside, if it invariably represented crime triumphant; for fond as is the human soul of excitement, it is fonder still of justice, and looks for consolation no less than for excitement. Hence, in that magnificent description of the "Lives of the Cæsars," we behold retribution following, with limping steps it may be, yet surely and closely, on the track of crime; whenever a tyrant appears upon the scene, we feel certain that a judge and an avenger are nigh at hand—the law of expiation is one from which, even in this life, none of the great criminals whom the historian brings upon the stage can escape. The liberator may be concealed under the garb of some obscure centurion, may stealthily creep into the secret apartments of the

imperial palace, may embark on a foreign shore, may be lying in wait in a common sewer to seize and smite the oppressor; but almost all these emperors meet a violent death, one beneath a pillow, another at the dagger's point. Hence all those dismal catastrophies in which tyrants, seized by an invisible hand, are made to expiate even the very tears which are called forth, after the lapse of eighteen centuries, by a bare perusal of their crimes. These are visible phenomena, that served to force upon the pagan writer a conviction of the resistance of a Supreme cause. The Christian needs no such sensible signs, knowing, as he does, that God is patient, because He is eternal. Henry, it is true, reigned in peace, and, after a life of infamy, died in his bed, but these facts alter not the conviction of the Christian, who seeks not to fathom the mysterious ways of Heaven, and who knows that the temporal impunity of the wicked forms no ground of accusation against the Deity.

We should not have undertaken to write the history of this deplorable reign, if we had no other end in view than to awaken recollections, which, as Shakespeare has elsewhere observed, are enough to make the very angels weep. The episode of the Anglican schism, studied in its causes and effects, abounds in instructive lessons, which we have endeavoured to draw out in developing the facts of history. Here we shall find reproduced that struggle between the two principles which we have already noted in our work on Luther and Calvin. In detailing the progress of the Reformation in Germany, from the time when the monk of Erfurt posted up his summons to revolt, on the walls of All Saints' Church at Wittemberg, to the hour when he dropped from his withered fingers his pamphlet against the Papacy, it is easy to see that beyond the unity represented by the Catholic symbol, all becomes intellectual confusion, doctrinal anarchy, ideas of negation, despair in the soul and barrenness of works. To the teaching of that Church to which the world owes its civilization, what could Luther, with all his ability and all his rage, oppose? Why, a patchwork confession of faith which he continued altering and changing until his last breath, and which his followers have revised and corrected until the mute signs which represent it to the eye, no longer contain even a semblance of the original—thus, under the name of Catholic unity, destroying that universal association of souls which was the only motive to immortal deeds. The doctor of the gentiles says: *Fides ex auditu*, faith cometh by hearing; but how can there be faith where there are as many doctrines as teachers?

At Geneva, Calvin established the Reformation on the ruins of all the communal liberties purchased or won by the people and their prelates. To the wisely limited powers of the episcopacy, there soon succeeded a theocracy, which, during a struggle of twenty years against the liberal party, was sustained solely by terrorism and the gibbet. A writer of the Berlin school has justly observed, in speaking of the laws of Calvin, that they were written with a red hot iron,(a) and Mr. James Fazy, truly says of the institutions of the Genevan, that they must have been borrowed from Decius or Valens, punishing as blasphemy every word spoken against the hierophant. Reformed Geneva resembles the city of Dante, where nothing is to be heard but sighs and groans, and weeping beneath a starless sky.

> Quivi sospiri, pianti e alti guai
> Risonavan per l'aer senza stelle.

Any one who studies the condition of England during the period anterior to the accession of the Tudors, must be struck by the state of the free institutions which the country possessed—Magna Charta wrested from King John by the barons, and, together with this written code, instances of resistance to despotism; a House of Lords constituted of men of ancient lineage, jealous of their independence; a House of Commons that had made itself felt in the administration of affairs, and was prepared with indomitable courage to defend the immunities of the domestic hearth and individual liberty;(b) a religious representation, which, under the name of Convocation, was empowered, independently of any authority or control on the part of the monarch, to meet in synod and to regulate everything appertaining to doctrine or to discipline. In case of need, the clergy could claim the immunities that had been acknowledged and confirmed by royal charter. The people had the right to assemble, to carry arms, to be judged by the peers. When royalty, however great its power, was in need of money, it was obliged to have recourse to a vote from the Commons. Now, it should be carefully borne in mind, that all these institutions of freedom, the envy of surrounding nations, were established and had their growth under the influence of Catholicity, and it will then be seen how supremely unjust is the reproach that Catholicism has an affinity to despotism. In England it has certainly been closely linked with the representative life of

(a) Seine Gesetze waren nicht nur mit Blut geschrieben, wie des Athenienseers Draco, sondern miteinem glühenden Griffel-Das Leben Johann Calvins, t. II., 78.

(b) M. Guizot, History of Civilization in Europe.

the nation. Little solicitous about political forms, whether these take the name of Parliament, States General, Diets, or Cortes (a) it pitches its tent anywhere and everywhere, even side by side with the republican tribunals of Florence, of Venice, of Genoa, of Pisa, of Sienna, everywhere engaged in watching over popular liberty, and differing widely from Protestantism, which, in Germany, that theatre on which it made its first appearance, far from demanding popular liberty, accepted, says M. Guizot, whom we quote with peculiar pleasure, "I will not say political servitude, but the absence of liberty."(b)

The religious revolution in England was a simple accident, and not, as Burnet pretends, the deliberate protest of an oppressed people against the tyranny of its priesthood. In the sixteenth century, the clergy did not oppress society in England any more than in Germany. History shows us this priesthood as it really existed, "easy and tolerant."(c) In case of need, there was always the Papacy to give it lessons of wisdom and moderation. We shall soon have to contemplate a struggle between royalty, represented by Henry VIII., and the Papacy represented by Clement VII. and Paul III., and we shall see which of these two powers was on the side of justice and civilization. The Anglican schism originating in illicit amours, came forth ready made from the brain of a Tudor, and its coming was neither heralded nor provoked by any antecedent facts. This revolutionary work, M. Guizot represents as consummated by the monarch and the episcopacy, banded together for the purpose of sharing amongst themselves both the wealth and the power of which they despoiled the Pontifical hierarchy. In our opinion, the eminent publicist attaches too much importance to the part played by the episcopacy, which rather appears on the scene as the passive instrument, the submissive slave, and silent tool of royalty. True enough, the despotic monarch, for the purpose of gaining over the clergy, agreed to give up to them a portion of the spoils of the Religious Houses, but he retained within his own grasp that monstrous power of an hierophant and monarch, and in this character of phenomenal dualism, we purpose speaking of him in the two phases of his civil and spiritual life

This history of Henry VIII., and of the Anglican schism forms, as it were, the complement of our previous labours on the Reformation, earnest, patient, and, above all, conscientious labours, as German criticism has

(a) Balmez's Protestantism compared with Catholicism.
(b) Hist. of Civilization in Europe.
(c) Ib

admitted them to be. Moreover, we have sought inspiration at official sources. At Rome, the Vatican, besides the autograph letters of Henry to Anne Boleyn, has afforded us numerous documents relating to the glorious struggle between Clement VII. and the King of England, and to the diplomatic intrigues of Wolsey; from the Minerva we have obtained inedited writings on the sacking of Rome, and on the disputes in the Italian universities respecting the question of divorce between Henry and Katharine of Arragon.

At Florence, the Magliabecchian Library has furnished us with the dispatches of the Venetian Ambassadors in England. Vienna professes many letters of Charles V. which we have carefully consulted. At Paris, in the Bethune Collection, is deposited the correspondence of the French agents to the British Cabinet, a treasure of importance which Le Grand had not exhausted. But it is in the British Museum that we find the richest collection of authentic documents relative to the great political characters, Wolsey, Thomas More, Cromwell, and Pace, who took so active a part in the political and religious struggles of this epoch. There we meet with the correspondence of the Constable de Bourbon, selling the Crown of Francis I. to Henry VIII. Such are the sources from which we have drawn our information (*)

We are far from wishing to impose our individual opinions upon our readers. Before writing our work, we called to mind what Goethe exacts from the historian—first, to assure himself, and then to prove to his reader, that his facts belong to the domain of reality. Thanks to our official documents, which, being in autograph, that mirror of conscience, often throw quite a new light upon the past, it will become easy to confirm or to correct any private opinions, especially by comparing our inedited narratives with the testimony of the historians, biographers, publicists and philologists, whom we have consulted.

(*) The reader, who casts a glance at the notes of our history, may feel some surprise at the difference in the orthography of our quotations from texts of the same epoch. The author has in every instance endeavoured to give a faithful transcript of the original; but the friendly hand that collected the quotations, whilst preserving the meaning and character of the document, has often substituted a modern expression for an old word.

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LIFE

OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

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RICHARD III. slept on the 20th of August, 1485, at the Blue Boar Hotel, Leicester, and on the morrow left that town on his war-horse, followed by a body of 13,000 men. As he was crossing the bridge, a blind beggar held out his hand, hoping to receive alms, and was refused; hearing that it was the king's army passing by, he exclaimed: "If our moon changes twice this day, as the moon in heaven has changed twice this morning, Richard will lose his crown and life;" alluding to the desertion of Percy, whose crest was the rising moon.(a) Richard heard not this prophecy; at that moment the sovereign's foot struck against a parapet by the bridge, when the beggar again exclaimed: "His head shall strike against that very parapet as he returns this night."(b) Richard, eager to decide the fate of the contending parties by an appeal to arms, soon disappeared in the neighbouring forest.

Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, that "bastard,"(c) as Richard called his rival in a proclamation addressed to his good and faithful subjects, had sailed from Harfleur, on 1st August, with the united fleets of France and Brittany, accompanied by his poet, Bernard André.(d) On the 20th, he marched from Tamworth to Atherstone, with a body of 5,000 men, principally composed of French and Welshmen, buoyed up with a hope of meeting his adversary, and

(a) Lives of the Queens of England, by Miss Agnes Strickland, IV. p. 26.

(b) Twelve Strange Prophecies.—MSS. British Museum.

(c) Lingard, II.

(d) Miss Strickland's Queens of England. IV., p. 28.

the evening of that day beheld him at a short distance from Richard. On the right of Redmore was the village of Bosworth, where the hostile armies met. The Earl of Richmond divided his forces into two bodies, giving the command of the vanguard to the Earl of Oxford, while he himself commanded the rear. The night was spent, as Shakespeare has so beautifully described, in preparation for the morrow's contest, and the old chroniclers, Speed and Hollingshed, informs us, that Richard "was most terribly pulled and haled by devils in his sleep."(a) But notwithstanding these nocturnal visitants, he was stirring at dawn to inspect his position, and finding a sentinel sleeping at his post, drew his sword and stabbed him to the heart, exclaiming, "I found him asleep, and so I leave him." As he passed before the tent of the Duke of Norfolk in search of a confessor,(b) he read the following couplet, which was affixed to the tent:

"Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold;"

at which Richard only smiled. The poet was right, the king had been betrayed; for Lord Stanley, whom he had summoned to join him, replied in a most insolent manner, that he would march as soon as it was requisite,(c) whereon Richard ordered that the father's treason should be expiated by the son, whom he had detained as a hostage, on the trumpet sounding the charge. Richard advanced at the first onset, exclaiming, "Treason;" slew with his own hand Sir William Brandon, the enemy's standard-bearer, and Sir John Cheney, and sought for Richmond but in vain; betrayed by his subjects, abandoned by his allies, and surrounded by his enemies, he fell, covered with wounds, at the foot of a hill, known by the name of Aymonlays,(d) staining with his blood a rivulet, the waters of which no peasant will drink, to this day, through a feeling of superstition.(e) His body was soon stripped of his garments, arms and military insignia, and the crown concealed by one of the fugitives behind some brambles growing on the bank,(f) where it was discovered after the engagement by a peasant who carried it to Lord Stanley; this nobleman immediately placed it on the conqueror's head, hailing him as King Henry VII., while the army intoned the *Te Deum* amid the blood-dyed brambles.(g) Never was there so rapid a revolution; in the morning, the Earl of Richmond was an adventurer, at eventide, King of England. Between sunrise and sunset, England had beheld two masters, one, a usurper, whose very name was held in execration; the other, elected by God and victory, had his poet-laureate, Bernard André,(h) who had come some distance to be present at the Battle of Bosworth, ready to praise and extol his deeds. Henry Tudor, raised to the empire by an election altogether pagan, adopted as his crest a crown in a bush of thorns.(i) Richard's body, naked, mutilated, and covered with filth, was thrown across a horse, his feet hanging on one side while his head lay on the other, and thus conveyed to Leicester: as the cortége was passing over the bridge, his head struck, like "a thrum-mop," against one of the parapets, and thus was the blind beggar's prophecy fulfilled. After having been exposed for two days to the sacrilegious jeerings of the populace, Richard was buried in the church of the Grey Friars, at Leicester; these religious, who had even found a protector in the deceased sovereign, prayed for the repose of his soul. Thus were the children

(a) Speed, p. 932.—Hollinshed.—Hall.
(b) Turner's History of England during the Middle Ages, IV., 41.
(c) Turner.—Rapin de Thoyras.—Echard.
(d) Hutton's Bosworth.
(e) Miss Strickland's Queens of England, IV., 27.

(f) The works of Sir Thomas More, sometime Lord Chancellor of England. Wrytten by him. London, 1557.—*Passim.*—Historia Richardi Regis Angliæ ejus nominis tertii, l., p. 26. The history of King Richard the Thirde, written by Mayster Thomas More, then one of the under-sheriffs of London, about the year of our Lord 1513.
(g) O Redmore, then it seemed thy name was not in vain!
(h) Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis, poëtæ laureati, regii historiographi, de vitâ atque gestis Henrici VII. Angliæ ac Franciæ regis potentissimi sapientissimique historia. MSS. Cott., Domit A., XVIII., p. 126—229.
(i) The English proverb: "Cling to a crown though it hang on a bush," is well known.

of Edward avenged.(a) The House of York had ceased to reign; that of Lancaster was about to succeed; but Henry was not the legitimate heir of that noble family. His mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond, was the daughter of John Duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and a bastard. By virtue of letters patent from Richard II., John of Gaunt had obtained the legitimation of his natural children; but yet this act of kindness on the part of Richard II. gave them no right to the crown, as in the act wherein were specified the various privileges granted to the heirs of the bastard, the right of succession was especially prohibited.(b) The conqueror solemnly entered London on the 28th of August, in a close carriage, concealing himself as far as possible from the gaze of the public, either through fear or modesty. The Lord Mayor and the principal citizens waited on him at Hornsey Park, to congratulate him on his accession to the throne.(c) The people ran to meet him on his way, and made the air resound with their acclamations, as they had previously done when Richard marched out of the city to meet his adversary. The master was the same; the name alone was changed.

"King Henry! King Henry! Our Lord preserve that sweet and well-known face."(d) They carried in procession before him the image of St. George, the red dragon of Cadwallader, the dun cow, the three standards which had floated in the air during the combat, and which were devoutly laid by the conqueror on the high altar of St. Paul's; after the intoning of the *Te Deum*, the prince returned to the Palace of the Bishop of London.(e) Shortly after commenced the preparations for his coronation. To add to the pomp of the ceremony, the king created, under the name of the "Yeoman of the Guard," a body of fifty archers, as a portion of his escort: this act would probably have given offence to the nation, had he not, like a skilful politician, affirmed that it was an inoffensive appendage to the royal dignity.(f) The Archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown on the head of the new monarch, who, on receiving it, took the usual oath that he "would keep and maintain the rights and liberties of holy Church of old time, granted by the righteous Christian kings of England."(g) We shall soon have to notice the alterations made by Henry VIII. in this oath immediately after his coronation.(h)

The Parliament assembled on the 7th of November, 1485, at Westminster. Convoked by a conqueror, it was, to use the expression of an eminent writer, conquered beforehand.(i) Bribery and corruption won a majority for the partisans of the House of Lancaster, who, under the reign of the House of York, had been either exiled, imprisoned, or condemned for contumacy,(j) and consequently, their right to take their seats in the house was disputed at the outset. How could they possibly recognise, as representatives, men under legal condemnation? The question was brought before the Exchequer, when it was decided that the new members could not take their seats until the statute, by which they had been condemned, had been abrogated. A few strokes from the pen soon restored these rights to nearly a hundred representatives.

But another difficulty, of far greater importance, was now laid before the house. Henry himself had been condemned as a traitor, during the late reign, and had he fallen into the hands of the deceased monarch, would doubtless have been put to death; as it was, he was still amenable to the law. But the judges solved this problem by deciding that the possession of the crown had abolished the statute of attainder, and that, consequently, as soon

(a) Quarum causa potissimè vindicata est. History of Croyland, p. 575.

(b) Hallam's Constitutional History of England.—Hume.

(c) Hall's Chronicles.—The vnyon of the twoo noble and illustre families of Lancaster and York. I., p. 1.

(d) Hearne.

(e) Bacon's History of the Reign of Henry VII.—Rapin de Thoyras.

(f) Hallam.—Hume.—Turner.

(g) That we shall kepe and mayntene the right and the liberties of holie Church of old tyme, graunted by the righteous christen kings of England. British Mus. MSS. Cott. Tiberius. E. VIII.

(h) See Chap. II.

(i) Hallam.

(j) Hume.

as Henry had been vested with kingly authority, he had ceased to be responsible for past crimes.(g) It now became necessary to establish the claims of Henry Tudor to the English crown, and as he had been victorious at Bosworth, his success was interpreted as a manifestation of the will of God in his favour.(h) Hence it may be seen from this argument, that the doctrine of the middle ages was again revived, which taught, as the reader may possibly recollect, that in a duel, the Divine will was shown in favour of the conqueror, as if Divine Providence resembled the poets, who invariably punish the guilty and reward the innocent. This deification of a human act enabled the conqueror to strip his enemies of power, but Henry, fearful of alarming his new subjects, graciously permitted them to retain whatever posts of honour they had held under Richard.(i)

The exile, on ascending the throne, often exercises vengeance over his enemies,(k) and such was the course pursued by Henry, who, instead of granting a general amnesty, demanded of Parliament power to punish those who had been guilty of treason against a loyalty just emerged from a bramble bush. Avaricious and revengeful, Henry thought only of satisfying his passions. He stigmatized his predecessor as a murderer and a perjurer, and banished Sir Walter Harrington, Sir William Berkeley, Sir James Harrington, Sir Humphrey Stafford, Catesby and twenty other noblemen, who had fought under Richard's standard at Bosworth.(l) He moreover confiscated the property of a number of the Yorkists, and yet was called clement on account of the amnesty he had published.(m) His claims to the English crown were laughed at, and even Parliament declared, that it "belongeth to the royal person of the actual Sovereign Lord, Henry VII., and his heirs;"(n) an ambiguous manner of expression, which Henry ought at once to have rejected. Parliament, not daring to admit his right to the crown, inasmuch as it was yet unrecognised by the nation, conceded to the king *de facto* a Parliamentary legitimacy, before which every other claim yielded.(o) The right of succession must, therefore, have been considered a grave question, since Parliament, after all, was not satisfied as to the legitimacy of its own act. The mysterious decree of heaven which its members imagined for a moment that they had read on the thorn-bush of Bosworth, did not now appear to them sufficiently manifest to establish or consecrate a royalty. They were now in fear of some phantom or other, which arising from one of the tombs of the family of York, might sooner or later come forth, armed *cap-à-pied*, to claim hereditary rights, and they besought the monarch to marry Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., who with her title of queen, would transmit to his posterity her royal blood.

Edward Plantaganet, son of the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, created Earl of Warwick by Edward IV., had been confined at Sheriff Hutton Castle during the reign of Richard III., in consequence of his title to the crown being on a better foundation than that of the usurper. Warwick flattered himself that, on the death of Richard, he would be restored to liberty; for what opposition could a poor, sickly lad of fifteen offer to the claims of Henry or Elizabeth? But on the new sovereign's arrival at Leicester, and even before Richard was consigned to the grave, Sir Robert Willoughby was ordered to take the prisoner to the Tower, where he was to be confined in the room which had witnessed the murder of Edward's two children; but Elizabeth, his fellow-prisoner, was released, and conducted in triumph to Westminster.(p) A singular destiny for two innocent creatures; the one cast into a dungeon, because he was of royal blood, and the other, for the same reason, led in triumph to London; the one dragged to a scaffold, the other decked with a crown and sceptre! The king was not at rest: Plantaganet was a prisoner in the Tower, and Elizabeth, a descendant of the House

(a) Hume.
(b) Rymer's Fœdera. 1X., p. 780. Hume.
(c) Rotuli Parliamentorum. V., p. 278.
(d) Suetonius.
(e) Rotuli Parliamentorum. VI., p. 275.
(f) Lingard.
(g) Rot. Parl. VI., p. 270.
(h) Hallam.
(i) Bacon.—Miss A. Strickland, IV., 28.

of York, was about to partake of the royal couch, yet he was not really at rest. To banish his terrors, he applied to Rome for the confirmation of his title to the crown of England, and this in a twofold petition, praying for a dispensation to marry Elizabeth, and the approbation of the act of Parliament.(a) The Chair of St. Peter was at that time filled by Innocent VIII., a prince endowed with remarkable talent. The two bulls were soon expedited, and in both, Henry's claims to the English crown mentioned. "The crown of England lawfully belongs to Henry, king by right of conquest, king by order of succession, king by the acclamation of the people, king by the unanimous assent and consent of the three orders of the nation."(b) Still, to prevent a repetition of the sanguinary wars caused by the rival claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, Henry, yielding to the wishes of the state assembled in Parliament, desired to marry the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and true heiress of Edward, of immortal memory. Innocent, at the king's request, and to secure the peace of the kingdom, after having confirmed the first dispensation, pronounced the issue of such marriage to be legitimate, and capable of succeeding their father and mother. "In compliance with his own desire, the Sovereign Pontiff vouchsafes to confirm the statute regarding the king and the succession of his children." By virtue of his apostolical power, he ordered obedience to be paid to the new monarch, and anathematized those that should pretend to the throne. In case of the queen dying without issue, or the children not surviving their father, the crown was to pass to other children born in lawful wedlock.(c) Lastly, the Pontiff ordered all archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, archdeacons, rectors, incumbents, priors and guardians of monasteries, under pain of censure, to excommunicate those who should disobey the Holy See, and refuse obedience to the acts of succession and establishment.(d)

(a) Lingard.
(b) The original is in the Cottonian collection, at the British Museum.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.—Bacon.—Hume.—Lingard.
(d) Rymer Fœdera. XII., p. 297.—Rapin de Thoyras.

Henry, in making these applications to the Holy See, was evidently guided rather by feelings of selfishness than piety. He well knew that there was no surer method of weakening his own authority than proclaiming himself king by right of conquest only, and of opening the way to rebellion.(e) His appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff might seem a violation of the statute of *præmunire*, which had ever been regarded in England as inviolate. What matter! It was necessary to show that the bulls had been accorded spontaneously by the Holy Father, though they contained a *primâ facie* evidence to the contrary.(f) Is it likely that Innocent would have adduced in Henry's favour the right of succession, the consent of the nobility, the gratitude of the people, and the acclamations of the soldiery, had not his royal client previously founded his claim to the throne on those grounds? But it was essentially necessary that the nation should be kept in ignorance of Henry's having solicited the bull, for John Lackland had lost his crown, even before the passing of the statute of *præmunire*, because he appealed to the Holy See, and this circumstance was well remembered by the Earl of Richmond, who had spent a great portion of his time, while in exile, in the study of English history.(g)

Henry had been employed by the nation as the instrument of her vengeance on a cruel tyrant, and she was by no means ungrateful towards her liberator. The Parliament, as we have already seen, assented to invest him with the insignia of royalty, by bestowing on him the hand of Elizabeth, whom England would have recognized as her queen. Before he left his exile, Henry had been obliged to betroth himself to Edward's daughter, in order that, should success attend his arms, a fresh rebellion might be avoided, and it was not till after this arrangement had been entered into, that Henry crossed the Channel. However, after the tyrant's fall, his only object was to turn royalty to the best account for the promotion of his own views, faithless alike to the promise he had made, and

(e) Balmez. El Protestantismo comparado con el Catolicisme en sus relaciones au la civilizacion Europea.
(f) Rapin de Thoyras.
(g) Rapin de Thoyras.

to the confidence reposed in him by the nation.(a) Henry, like a prudent and skilful politician, obtained an acknowledgement from Rome of his hereditary right to the crown of England. Dr. Lingard has protested against the bulls of Innocent VIII., and placed them among those occasional "extraordinary" acts, for which no reason can be given. But if we cast a *coup d'œil* over the annals of English history, from the death of Edward III., to the tragic end of Richard III. at Bosworth, we find nothing but acts of cruelty, civil war, and tyranny. Richard II. assassinated in prison; Henry VI. deposed, cast into prison, recalled to the throne, then assassinated by a prince of the blood royal; his son, Edward Prince of Wales, dying a yet more awful death; Richard, Earl of Cambridge, losing his life on a scaffold; George, Duke of Clarence, drowned in a butt of malmsley; Edward V. and his brother Richard suffocated in the Tower. At every moment, there appeared a fresh usurper on the stage; insurrection and assassinations paved the way to the throne. How, then, could people decide whether the Red or the White Rose was most to blame? Where was the blood royal when the younger son of the Duke of York was accused of being the bastard offspring of a knight in the duke's service? Where was the divine right of sovereigns when the nobility acknowledged as their sovereign the murderer of his own nephews? How, then, could Innocent VIII. have acted otherwise when Henry petitioned for his bull of consecration? Was he to acknowledge the prince to whom all England had sworn fealty? Or was he, by refusing, to expose the nation to the horrors of another civil war, to be instrumental in shedding blood, to exasperate Parliament, and, perhaps, to precipitate the country into schism, or, at least, to weaken the influence of the Papacy, which, as Voltaire acknowledged, had kept kings in check, protected the people, put an end to quarrels, and, by a wise mediation, reminded sovereigns and subjects of their respective duties, and anathematized those who would not return to obedience. "Thus," says Bacon, "in addition to the three gems which ornamented Henry's crown, viz., his descent, the blood of York, and the victory at Bosworth, there were two others —the establishment of his right by Parliament, and the acknowledgement of its justice by the Sovereign Pontiff.(b)

Some of the advisers of the crown had predicted an unfavourable result to the prince, as well as the constitution of the country, but, happily, they were false prophets, as no danger can ever arise from connexion with Rome. A few months after his coronation, the king, according to the custom of his predecessors, visited the provinces, and was every where received as the deliverer of the country; the aldermen met him at the gates, the clergy incensed him, and the barons, mounted on their finest steeds, joined his escort,(c) while the people hurraed and shouted, "May the Lord protect our King Henry;"(d) and the bishops, in their cathedral cities, explained from the pulpits the bulls conceding the marriage and confirming the claims of Henry to the throne. The marriage of Henry and Elizabeth of York was celebrated on the 8th of January, 1486, at Westminster, by Cardinal Bouchier, himself a descendant of the Plantagenets.(e) De Gigli, Prebend of St. Paul's, who was as good a Latin writer as Erasmus, was ordered to compose the epithalamium, which is still to be seen at the British Museum.(f) Imitating his countrymen, De Gigli drew all his comparisons from pagan mythology, and, consequently, we find his pagan muse invoking Venus, Mars, Apollo, and Minerva, to celebrate the wedding of the royal pair. Another poet celebrated the event in the vernacular tongue, in a song which evidently gave rise to the national anthem of "God save the King."(g) The royal rejoicings were, however, soon

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.

(b) Bacon. History of the Reign of Henry VII.

(c) Hume.

(d) Leland de Rebus Britannicis. IV., p. 188.

(e) Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England. IV., p. 30.

(f) Bibl. Harl. p. 336.

(g) "God save King Henrie whereso'ver he be,
And for Queen Elizabeth now pray we,
And for all her noble progenie;
God save the Church of Christ from any follie,
And for Queen Elizabeth now pray wee."—
Clarke's History and Origin of "God save the King."

to be damped. The inhabitants of Yorkshire, faithful to their late sovereign, took up arms against Henry, but were defeated. Two brothers, of the name of Stafford, on the dispersion of the insurgents, took refuge in the church of Colnham, near Abingdon, where they imagined themselves secure against their pursuers, as at that period a church was a place of inviolable refuge to every criminal, no matter what his crime, owing to a superstitious belief, that a pursuivant of justice, if he attempted to arrest the criminal within the sacred precints, would be chastised by the hand of Almighty God. The leader, however, of the royal detachment, regardless of the superstition, seized the refugees, and the eldest of the brothers, Humphrey, was executed at Tyburn as a traitor.(a) The monks complained, and the papacy, countenanced by the irritation of the people, interceded, and thus put an end to circumstances which might have compromised the peace of some of the counties. The Holy Father further modified by a bull the immunities which the Church had hitherto enjoyed. The culprit who, during the night, left his place of refuge, to commit a fresh crime, was declared relapsed by the Holy See, and could not again seek a sanctuary; neither could the debtor in future, under the protection of the altar which shielded him from the pursuits of his creditors, reclaim that security for his goods which the right of shelter afforded to his person. Neither, in fine, could the felon accused of high treason escape the executioner's axe by concealing himself in a church, for the soldiers in pursuit of him were henceforth to be empowered to penetrate the sanctuary, remain therein, and watch him night and day to prevent his escape.( )

The defeat of the insurgents in Yorkshire, the meeting of Parliament, the fidelity of the clergy, the friendship of the Sovereign Pontiff, and the amicable dispositions of the continental powers, were to Henry so many assurances of hope and security; his dynasty, moreover, would not be extinguished, as God had just given him a son. The child was called Arthur, after that glorious King of Wales, from whom the Tudors pretended to be descended. Elizabeth's joy was yet greater than her husband's; she superintended all the arrangements for her infant son's baptism; in fact, every thing was carried out under her surveillance. But while she was watching with a mother's joy over the cradle of her firstborn, a priest determined to raise up a yet more dangerous claimant to the crown of England than any Henry had hitherto encountered. This priest's name was Richard Simon, of whom it was said that to the boldness of a Welsh peasant, he united the *finesse* of a city merchant. To act the part of a pretender, Simon had cast his eyes on one Lambert Simnel, the son of a baker, but worthy of a crown, if such were the reward of a finely proportioned figure. Simon was indefatigable in instructing his pupil Simnel, who was to represent Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., suffocated, as we have seen, in the Tower, but who was said to have escaped the cruel death designed for him by his uncle, and having been for sometime living in concealment in England, now put forth his claim to the crown.(c) But Simon changed his plan on hearing the people speak in mysterious terms of the escape of the Earl of Warwick, and accordingly instructed his pupil to feign that character. The priest, however, it was reported, was but an instrument in the hands of the Queen Dowager, but the plot

(a) Leland. IV., p. 186.—Lingard.
(b) Bacon.—Rapin de Thoyras.

(c) Some few historians have endeavoured to acquit Richard of the murder of his nephews, but their arguments have been ably refuted by Hume and Lingard. Moreover, in 1674, while some labourers were engaged in demolishing certain buildings attached to the Tower, the bones of two children were discovered under the staircase leading from the royal apartments to St. John's Chapel. No child could have met with a violent death in the Tower, unless they were of royal descent, and as their remains were found on the very spot supposed by More, Bacon, and other writers, to have been the place where the infant princes had been buried, Charles II., supposing these bones to be their *reliques*, ordered them to be interred in Henry VII.'s Chapel, at Westminster, near two princesses of the blood royal, Mary and Sophia, daughters of James I., and had erected a handsome mausoleum of white marble to their memory. Historic Doubts in the reign of Richard III., by Horace Walpole.

must be sooner or later unmasked; the queen, however, imagined that this was the only means whereby she could gain her liberty.(a) Ireland was selected as the stage on which the adventurer was to make his first appearance; for the Irish were sure to receive with open arms the son of their former viceroy, the Duke of Clarence, whose memory they still justly venerated. The governor of the island, or, as he was styled, the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Kildare, his brother the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Fitzgerald and the greater part of the officers were ardent Yorkists, and Henry committed a great error on his accession in not depriving them of their offices. On the impostor's appearance, Kildare and the Irish nobility backed him as their sovereign, and took the oath of allegiance.(b) The Irish clergy refused all participation in the conspiracy; the Bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, without even inquiring whether the claimant was the real Earl of Warwick, remained faithful to their oath of allegiance, it being sufficient for them that Rome had so commanded them to act, feeling fully convinced that it was their duty to obey the voice of Jesus Christ. The wisdom of the king's policy is here apparent; had it not been for the influence of the clergy, who knows whether Ireland would not have been violently severed from England? We have no wish to dive into the mysteries of Divine Providence, but the acts of superiors invariably proceed from laws laid down by God himself; and Henry was doubtless the unconscious instrument of his own safety in applying to Rome, for to it he was indebted for the speedy repression of an insurrection in Ireland.(c)

Henry had now an opportunity of satiating his dominant passions, cupidity and revenge. On hearing a rumour of the revolt of Ireland, he convoked a council, and adopted measures calculated to frighten his enemies. The Queen Dowager was arrested, imprisoned in a convent at Bermondsey, and her property confiscated.(d)

(a) Hume.—Rapin de Thoyras.
(b) Polydorus Virgil. Historiæ Anglicæ.
(c) Lingard.—Polydorus Virgil.
(d) Lingard.—Hume.

The people were not in the slightest degree affected at seeing this woman, whose heart was still suffering from the untimely death of her children, dragged, like a criminal, to prison. Henry was, however, bold enough to accuse the Queen Dowager of having been guilty of allowing her daughter and her sisters to remain in the power of Richard III., after having betrothed the former to the Earl of Richmond; as if this act, had it been a crime, had not been included in the general amnesty proclaimed by the conqueror after the battle of Bosworth. While the Queen Dowager was on her way to prison, the Earl of Warwick was taken from the Tower, and paraded through the streets of London as far as St. Paul's, and exposed to the gaze of the people. The procession proceeded but slowly, stopping every now and then, in order that the nobility and those who were suspected, might have an opportunity of conversing with the prisoner; (e) an unjust punishment, undergone by a child to satisfy the whim of a sovereign who would otherwise have starved him to death. On passing Westminster, the youthful captive did not lift up his eyes, as he felt satisfied he would never again enter the palace. He was then taken to Sheen, where he had formerly been imprisoned with Elizabeth. On again seeing her fellow-prisoner, the queen burst into tears and embraced him, but Warwick, deprived of reason, no longer knew what sympathy was.(f) "Poor Warwick!" exclaims Cardinal Pole, "he was as innocent as an infant."(g) Ireland persisted in her revolt, convinced that in Simnel she possessed the lawful heir to the throne; she accused Henry of deceiving the citizens of London, by exhibiting one who pretended to be the Earl of Warwick. The conspiracy extended even to the royal palace. John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth, eldest

(e) Being all the way discours'd withal by divers of the nobility who knew him, especially by such of whom the king had any suspicion; that all might have full conviction of his being alive. Echard, p. 707.
(f) Wardrobe's account of Edward IV.—Ed. by Sir Harris Nicolas, p. 157-158.
(g) Hall.—Agnes Strickland, IV., p. 28.

sister of Edward IV., declared by Richard III. as heir presumptive to the crown, announced himself as one of Simnel's partisans.(a) He had left London by night for his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy's, court, and having received from her an army of 2,000 veterans, under the command of Martin Schwartz, he sailed for Ireland, and landed at Dublin.(b) A few days after, Simnel was carried from the church to the castle on the shoulders of a captain, according to the Irish custom, seated on a velvet throne, invested with the insignia of royalty, and on his brow was placed a tiara, taken from a statue of our Blessed Lady in the cathedral, hailed as Edward VI., King of England and France, and Lord of Ireland. Simon and Kildare kissed the hand of a baker's son as their liege lord.(c)

Henry prepared to resist the rebels, and entrusted the command of his troops to the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford, while he himself made a pilgrimage to the shrine of our Lady of Walsingham.(d) On the 4th of June, 1487, Lambert Simnel, Lincoln, and Schwartz, landed at Foudray, in Lancashire. The insurgents had been buoyed with the hope that the northern counties would join their standard, but, restrained by the priesthood, not a soul joined them.(e) The discipline of the royal army was admirable; an order from the commanders forbade, under pain of instant death, pillage, robbery, or any other act of violence,(f) and threatened all prostitutes and vagabonds with imprisonment, should they persist in following the army. The chronicle, however, makes no mention of any person having suffered capital punishment, but states that the prisons at Leicester and Loughborough were filled with military delinquents.(g) Lincoln, the leader of the rebels, determined to try the fate of his *protégé* by an appeal to arms, which was instantly accepted by the royalists. The vanguard of the royal army was attacked at Stoke, on 10th of June: the action was short, but bloody. The German veterans fought admirably, the Irish also distinguished themselves in the use of the javelin and short sword, but the royal cavalry did wonders, so that, after a few hours' severe fighting, 4,000 rebels were left on the field.(h) The Earl of Lincoln, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martin Schwartz, and Lord Maurice Fitzgerald, were found among the slain. Lovel escaped, and fled to his seat, Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, were his remains were discovered, two centuries after, in a subterraneous chamber, seated on a *fauteuil*, his head reclining on a table, and presenting the signs of one who had died of starvation. Simnel and Simon were taken prisoners by Sir Robert Bellingham; their lots were different: the priest, tried by a synod, confessed his crime, and was condemned to deplore his treason in eternal darkness;(i) while "Edward VI., King of England and France," worthier of contempt than anger, was pardoned and employed as a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterwards raised to the rank of falconer in the king's suite.(j) After the engagement at Stoke, the king left for Lincoln, where for three days the Adorable Victim was offered up in thanksgiving; the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham was by no means forgotten, nor the visit Henry had made to that celebrated sanctuary; for the banner carried by the English army that day was laid on the altar of the Virgin at Walsingham.(k)

The conqueror had to choose between the property and lives of his enemies; the latter would not fill his coffers, whereas if he confiscated their property he would be himself enriched; the Parliament, moreover, was not backward in testifying their loyalty to the sovereign, by voting him a subsidy to pay the expenses of the Irish campaign, and passing a Bill of Proscription against

(a) Leland. IV., 209.
(b) Lingard.—Hume.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Hume.
(e) Hume.
(f) It forbad any to rob churches, or individuals, or to molest any one, or to take provisions without paying for them, on pain of death; or to lodge themselves, but as the king's officers directed, or to make any quarrel, or to impede the bringing of supplies to the army. Hearne, p. 210-211.
(g) Leland. IV.

(h) Lingard, l. c., t. II., p. 112.
(i) Polydore Virgil.
(j) Ibid.
(k) Ibid.

all those who, having property, had joined the rebel standard. (a) The insurgents ought to have been tried by the ordinary courts of justice, but as the law would kill or acquit, and as such a decision as that being contrary to the king's wish, he commanded the prisoners to be tried by a court-martial; sentence was immediately pronounced, and the condemned preserved their lives by the loss of their property, and were moreover, on leaving prison, compelled to laud the royal clemency in taking away their means of living, and yet leaving them eyes to weep and hands to beg. (b) The poets attached to Henry's court distinguished themselves on this occasion by a servile enthusiasm in their master's service; Bernard André and De Gigli exerted themselves in inventing terms of praise calculated to inflate Henry's pride, and fill their pockets with gold. It had been bruited abroad, previous to the battle at Stoke, that the royal army had been defeated; the persons who had circulated this false report were tried for "animosity" towards the monarch, a new crime, provided for by no statute even during the reign of the "crook-backed tyrant" Richard III., and its discovery gave Henry more than a ton of gold. The monarch, on being petitioned by the delinquents, relented, on condition of their paying a fine. Rich and poor were taxed to satisfy Henry's avarice: from the poor he took 20d., from the wealthy £200. (c) The Parliament was obedient to the royal will; such was the state of England at this period, that the king could, with impunity, violate the sacred rights of justice. These confiscations had the effect of impoverishing the nobility whom Henry VII. desired to weaken, and whom his son, Henry VIII., endeavoured to humble and ruin. The king imagined that he would, by demanding the abolition of "maintenance," be dealing a severe blow on the English aristocracy. "Maintenance" was an association of individuals under a leader, whose livery they wore, and whom they were compelled by oath to support in all private quarrels, and thus the jury were intimidated, crime allowed to go unpunished, and society always disturbed. In case of civil war breaking out, a baron was at liberty to arm his vassals against his sovereign, and thus favour the pretensions of any aspirant to the throne. Enrolled in the service of a powerful baron, these vassals were not unlike the German *Lansquenets*, who sold their services to the first comer, fought for him, and, if required, even perjured themselves in a court of justice on his behalf. (d) Parliament accordingly authorized (e) the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, or any two of them assisted by a bishop, a temporal peer, or one of the judges of the King's Bench or Common Pleas, to summon before them all persons accused of legal contentions, *emeutes*, and harbouring of vagabonds, murderers, felons, or outlaws. It further authorized them to examine such persons, and if found guilty to punish them in the same manner as if they had been convicted by the ordinary court. (f) Smith says that this act was far from breaking up the power of a large body of tyrants, or repressing the hauteur of the nobility and gentry, who, when at a distance from the royal eye, fought among themselves and obeyed no other law than that of physical force. (g) The Parliament, unfortunately, created an iniquitous tribunal, for under the pretext of repressing some odious abuses, it made the citizens subject to the mercy of the judges, who, for the most part, were creatures of the sovereign, from whom they held their office, and whom they were prepared to support at the sacrifice even of justice. Smith mentions the various new crimes, unheard of till now, which this new court discovered; for England, wearied out with civil wars, allowed herself to become a prey to despotism, provided she could thereby enjoy peace; thus did God doubly chastise a nation that neither knew how to preserve nor maintain her rights.

It is certain that, at the commencement, this statute only granted the court juris-

(a) Rot. Parl. VI., p. 386-400.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras.
(c) Hall.—Turner.

(d) Lingard—Turner—Hume—Mackintosh.
(e) Rot. Parl. Henrici VII. XII.
(f) Lingard.
(g) Thomæ Smithi de Republicâ Anglorum.

diction over the crimes therein named, but at last its power extended to the suppression of every libel and attack on royalty.(a) This court, at first called the Royal Council, was afterwards better known by that of the "Star Chamber," so designated from the decoration of the hall in which it held its sittings.(b) This was not a new name, as we find it mentioned in acts anterior to the time of Henry VII., but it had not been till now especially applied to any one court of judicature. We shall shortly see this court become an instrument of great cruelty and oppression in the hands of Henry VIII.(c)

The king had acquired the reputation of being a clever and prosperous monarch. Released from all fear respecting Ireland, he turned his attention to the continent. The European states were then fast advancing towards that political greatness to which they afterwards attained.(d) Spain had just rescued Granada from the Moors, and, proud of her conquest, and perhaps yet more of the marriage of Ferdinand with Isabella, which united Arragon with Castile she longed for a foreign war. Maximilian I., King of the Romans, son of the Emperor Frederick, had acquired a right over the Netherlands by his alliance with the House of Burgundy. France had, during the last fifty years, obtained possession of the great fiefs of Normandy, Champagne, Anjou, Dauphiny, Guienne Provence, and Burgundy, and seemed likely to threaten the equilibrium of Europe, had not the other powers resolved to maintain their personal independence. She had, for a length of time, coveted the rich duchy of Brittany. The administration of this great fief had been given by Francis II. to his favourite, Landais, a man of low parentage; the nobility, indignant at the insult thus offered them, rose in a body against the favourite, who was, in consequence, led to the scaffold, and France, under the specious pretext of taking care of the province, resolved to make it her own.

At the commencement of the spring of 1487, Charles VIII., who had ascended the throne of France in 1483, and was then about eighteen, invaded Brittany from four different quarters. The consternation of the court of Francis II. was so great, that none thought of opposing the French, and, consequently, Vannes, Ploërmel, Ancenis, and other towns, fell into the hands of the invaders. Francis II. died on 9th of September, and was soon followed to the grave by his youngest daughter, whereon Charles claimed the duchy, and hostilities recommenced. Henry now interfered.(e) England had protected the independence of Brittany, but, happily for Charles, Henry was more covetous of gold than of glory. Under the pretext of supporting his ally, he resolved to extort money from the nation, and accordingly, convoking the Parliament at Westminster, he obtained a subsidy of two shillings in the pound. This tax was quietly submitted to every where, save in Durham and York, where the Yorkists rebelled and expelled the tax-gatherers. The Duke of Northumberland, on receiving this intelligence, hastened to inform the king, who replied, that the tax must be paid, whereon the duke assembled the sheriffs, and communicated to them, in a blunt and soldier-like manner, the king's reply. The people, annoyed at this answer, took up arms and put the lieutenant to death; and then, urged on by one John Achamber, and headed by Sir J. Egremont, marched against London, but were met and completely routed by the Earl of Surrey. Achamber fell into the conqueror's hands, and was hanged, with twelve of his accomplices, before Henry, who hastened, by forced marches, to be present at the execution. Egremont was fortunate enough to escape to Flanders, where he took refuge

(a) Hallam.

(b) "They sit from nine o'clock till eleven, in a place called the Star Chamber, either from the multitude of windows, or from the stars which ornamented the ceiling."—Smith.

(c) "This court is of ancient origin, but its importance and authority dates from the chancellorship of Wolsey.

"The judges are the Lord High Chancellor, the Lord High Treasurer, all the Privy Councillors and barons.

"Sentences are passed by a majority of votes.

"The punishments inflicted are imprisonment, the pillory, fines, and often fine and imprisonment."—Ibid.

(d) Schimidt's Histoire des Allemands. V. 361.

(e) Lingard.

in the court of Henry's most implacable enemy, the Duchess of Burgundy.[a] Henry, on leaving for London, ordered Tonstal to enforce the payment of the tax,[b] for he was always in want of money, whether it were to carry on war, maintain peace, or negotiate with the continental powers to form a league against France, and the money once in his coffers, never left it. Although the various European sovereigns endeavoured to check Charles VIII. in his ambitious career, still all were actuated by the same vice. Maximilian I., King of the Romans, who, though continually speaking of the selfish policy pursued by France, was at the same time casting his eye wistfully on the ancient patrimony of his family, and hoping, with the hand of Anne, to obtain the duchy of Brittany. Ferdinand the Catholic was meditating a failure, and was endeavouring, without spending a farthing, to retake Roussillon, which he had pledged for 30,000 crowns; while Henry, on his side, promised to levy an army of 10,000 men, if the duchess would defray the expenses of the armament, and give him two maritime towns as security for his pecuniary advances.[c]

The hand of Anne, Duchess of Brittany, was promised to him that would defend the province against France. Her suitors were accordingly numerous. The Mareschal de Rieux supported the claims of the Seigneur d'Albret, whom the Chevalier de Montauban had succeeded in displacing, on the plea that so impoverished a prince would be unable to support her against the attack of Charles; and as Francis II., before his death, had accepted Maximilian as his son-in-law, Anne seemed destined to marry him; accordingly, the Prince of Orange, acting as proxy for the emperor, married Anne in April, 1491, when she assumed the title of Queen of the Romans, and Albret, out of revenge, delivered Nantes to the French.[d] This marriage would have been exceedingly injurious to France, for Maximilian, master of Flanders on the one side and Brittany on the other, would thus obtain an easy access into the interior of the kingdom. There was but one way of avoiding this evil; that was, the annulling of a marriage which had not yet been consummated, and the uniting of the duchess to Charles. But the French king was himself affianced to Margaret, Maximilian's daughter. Too young to be crowned, the young princess had been brought to Paris, where she had been for several years treated as the Queen of France. How, then, could he break off an engagement which might eventually prove of great utility to France, as Margaret, on her brother's death, would inherit the vast possessions of the House of Burgundy? But that was not certain, whereas Brittany was a jewel that might be immediately attached to the crown of France. Yet there were some serious difficulties in the way; two marriages were required to be broken off at the same time. Charles's advisers assured him that that between Anne and Maximilian could be easily dissolved, inasmuch as it had never been consummated; besides, as Brittany was a fief of the French crown, the heir could not marry without the consent of her soverign lord; next, that the marriage between Charles and Margaret was celebrated when the latter was too young to ratify her part of the contract. Anne, however, refused to dissolve the tie that bound her to Maximilian, for how could she possibly accept the hand of one whom she had been taught to regard as the author of the misfortunes which had befallen her family; however, her opposition was not of long duration, for Charles, acting on the advice of his Breton friends, marched at the head of a powerful army against Rennes, the ducal residence. Anne, having now no chance of escape, it only remained for her to decide whether she would be Charles's prisoner or his wife, and, of course, she preferred a crown to a dungeon.[e] She was married to Charles at Langey, a small town in Touraine, and was crowned at St. Denis, on 23rd of December, 1491, and a few days after, made her public entry into Paris, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of the

(a) Polydore Virgil.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras.
(c) Rot. Parl.—Rymer.—Lingard.—Hume.
(d) Hall.—Bacon.—Echard.

(e) Daniel Histoire de France. An. 1491.

citizens, who were delighted, as well at the annexation of so wealthy a province to Brittany, as at the marriage of their sovereign with a young woman so remarkable for her beauty (a)

It is not a little amusing to observe the conduct of the various European sovereigns on hearing of Charles's marriage. Charles d'Albret retired to his mountains, hoping thus to conceal his disappointment from his subjects; Maximilian expended his anger in curses and useless threats; Ferdinand did all in his power to embarrass the King of France; while Henry, without manifesting the slightest feeling, only dreamt of filling his coffers at the expense of his subjects. England resounded from one end to the other with cries of war, and Henry was solicitous in nurturing this warlike spirit in Parliament, for he well knew that money was the sinew of war; he therefore declared that Charles should suffer severely for his disloyalty, spoke of the battles of Agincourt, Poictiers, Crecy; of the French king being a prisoner in London, and the king of England being crowned at Paris, and accordingly made an appeal to the patriotism of his subjects. Commissioners(b) were appointed to levy a tax throughout the country known by the name of *benevolence*. This was the revival of an unjust tribute that had been abolished in the reign of Richard III. and which could only be collected by threats, being somewhat similar to that tax levied by the Turkish soldier on every Christian, with a club in his hands. It fell very heavily on the London merchants, who were called on to pay £10,000. His grace's commissioners (for the kings of England were not yet styled majesties) levied from rich and poor by means of a process of reasoning which was, *per se*, irrefutable. If the contributor was poor the commissioner would say: "Economy must have enriched you, therefore you can afford to give something." If wealthy, the pretext would be: "You must be well off since you live in such style, therefore give." This dilemma was invented by Archbishop Morton, the Lord Chancellor, and was called Morton's fork.(c) War was accordingly declared; the nation hailed with delight the prophetic promises of their sovereign, and in their visions of glory already saw him at the gates of Paris, seeking among the treasures of the conquered monarch the crown of France, which they imagined to be already on their sovereign's brow. Many of the gentry advanced large sums of money, and others sold their property to commence the campaign with great splendour.(d) The king, on obtaining fresh subsidies from Parliament, crossed the Channel, and landed at Calais, with an army of 25,000 infantry and 16,000 cavalry, under the command of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford. The nation, elated with joy, was awaiting the signal of hostilities, but the cannon was silent.

Henry's inactivity proceeded neither from cowardice nor unskilfulness, as he had ever been remarkable for his courage and skill, but his covetousness completely unhinged him for action. He had scarcely landed before he offered terms of peace to his adversary; the odium of this disgraceful treaty must be attached to the agents employed by Charles. These men, mostly officers of rank, brought Henry the draft of a treaty with France, and alleged as reasons for him to sign it, the advancement of the season, the inactivity of Maximilian and Ferdinand, the illness that was decimating his forces, the difficulty of obtaining possession of the enemy's strongholds, and the brilliant offers made by Charles.(e) The Bishop of Exeter and Lord Dawbeney (D'Aubigny) were sent to Etaples to draw up the preliminaries of the treaty, which was entirely in favour of Charles, who, for a sum of money, purchased the duchy of Brittany. He engaged to pay Henry 45,000 crowns, partly to reimburse money lent by England to the duchy, partly as arrears of a pension granted to Edward IV., and annually 25,000 crowns to Henry VII. and his heirs (f) Henry, like a clever merchant, was able to cheat his subjects by deluding them with the hope of a war which he never had the slightest intention

(a) Bacon.—Lingard.
(b) Bacon is deceived when he affirms that these gratuities were granted by Act of Parliament.—Hallam.
(c) Hume.—Hallam.
(d) Lingard.
(e) Lingard, XII., 490-508.
(f) Rymer, Fœdera, Rot. Parl. VI., 507.

of undertaking, and his enemies by selling them a peace, which he fully purposed to transgress should it be serviceable to his interest.(a) Charles, actuated by honourable motives, was willing to be excommunicated if he did not pay the stipulated sums (b) The Pope had no occasion to interfere, as Charles kept his part of the treaty.(c)

Henry was now at the acme of happiness. Every attempt to deprive him of the crown had met with a signal failure. Simnel, after having for a few days worn a mock crown, had been consigned to his kitchen as a scullion; his rivals' hopes had been thwarted by his marriage with Elizabeth, and by the birth of a second son, on the 28th June, 1491; his coffers were well stocked with money: his Parliament voted him subsidies when he desired, and the nobility were either humbled or were his slaves; the people were quiet; Warwick without hope of being cured; Edward IV.'s daughter a prisoner in a convent. What more could he have desired? Nothing, save the continued happiness which England had now so long enjoyed: this peace, however, was about to be seriously attacked, not that the prince had not foreseen it, but because he contemned danger while at a distance; skilful in foreseeing events, but indifferent in preventing them.(d) While Henry was at Calais, dreaming how he could make money, a merchant vessel from Lisbon cast anchor at Cork. Among her passengers was a young man about twenty, of a remarkable cast of countenance, and having a solitary turn of mind; he had made no acquaintance with his fellow-passengers,—his name was Perkin Warbeck.

Orbeck, or Warbeck, whose father was a converted Jew, on leaving Tournay established himself at London, where he was fortunate enough to render some service to Edward IV. This prince, from feelings of gratitude, condescended to become sponsor to the Jew's child, who received the name of Peter, at baptism, or, as he was called in Flanders, Peterkin or Perkin. When, as the child grew, a resemblance was observed between the royal sponsor and his godchild, it was rumoured about in court that Edward, well known for gallantry, had while in Holland, in 1470, been exceedingly attentive to Warbeck's wife. A few years after Perkin's birth, his father left London and returned to Flanders. Perkin was but sixteen when he commenced, after the manner of his former co-religionists, roving from country to country without any object in view.(e)

This vagabond sort of life developed the wonderful gifts with which this youth had been endowed by nature. At Cork, he gave out that he was Richard Plantagenet, and deceived the Mayor O'Water, and a number of others. The Earl of Desmond paid homage to the representative of "the white rose," who had been miraculously saved from death; the Earl of Kildare expressed no opinion but apparently awaited the result. Charles VIII., with a desire to further embarrass his enemy, invited Perkin to Paris; received him with all the pomp due to the Duke of York, and appointed him a guard of honour under the command of Lord Concressault. The exiled English, who had taken refuge in France, hastened to do homage to him whom they recognised as their sovereign. Henry, actuated by fear and avarice, hastened, as we have seen, to come to terms with his enemy; the treaty had scarcely been signed ere the pretender was ordered to quit France. He then returned to the court of Margaret, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy. Since Simnel's defeat, Margaret had succeeded in diffusing, by means of her emissaries, an assertion that Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had miraculously escaped the murderous designs of his uncle, thereby preparing her partizans to aid the first adventurer she should present to them. She received Perkin with every appearance of joy, gave him a guard of thirty hallebardiers, and called him the "White Rose of England."

A philosopher and historian, Lord Bacon, transformed the widow of Charles the Bold into an old witch, who, in her cavern, evoked the spirit of Richard, Duke

(a) Bacon.—Polydore Virgil.

(b) The treaty, dated 15th December, was signed at the Chateau of Amboise.

(c) Henry VII.'s receipts are to be seen still at the British Museum. The first is for £25,000, due 1st May, 1493.

(d) F. d'Orleans Histoire des Révolutions de Angleterre.

(e) Lingard.—Bacon.—Carte.

of York, and vested it with a body similar to that which he had while in the Tower, for the purpose of tormenting her enemy, Henry.(a) This "witch" was one of the most remarkable women of her day. The *literati* called her their good angel, and truly she deserved that appellation, for she kept them when in want of the necessaries of life, fed the lamp by which they studied at night, sent them books and clothes, and was wont to visit them while at their studies, and to console them as far as lay in her power.

Flanders, led astray by the authority of Margaret, believed in the existence of Richard Plantagenet. Henry was annoyed beyond measure at Margaret's conduct: the people of England were quiet, but the aristocracy, crushed under Henry's tyranny, openly prayed for the pretender's success. Some of them in a moment of weak credulity or imprudent anger, commenced a correspondence with Perkin; they were betrayed or denounced. Clifford and Barkly cowardly sold their fellow-conspirators. Henry had now some of the first of the English aristocracy in his power; Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Montford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, Robert Ratcliffe, William Daubeney, Thomas Cressemer and Thomas Atwood were arrested on the charge of high treason. To be tried, convicted, and beheaded was but the work of a few days. Montfort, Thwaites, and Ratcliffe were immediately executed; Lord Fitzwalter was imprisoned at Calais, where, three years after, he lost his life in trying to escape. This severity on Henry's part frightened many of Perkin's partizans, and some of them apprehending treachery, took refuge in a sanctuary;(b) but that was no longer inviolate; its guardian angel had been disarmed by the Sovereign Pontiff.

Clifford, he who had basely betrayed his fellow-conspirators, on his return from Flanders, was introduced at court, when, throwing himself at the feet of Henry, confessed his past unfaithfulness, and humbly craved for pardon, offering to undergo any punishment that the king might think proper to inflict on him; this scene had been previously arranged. Henry told the culprit that, as a ransom for his life, he must reveal the names of all his fellow-conspirators, and Clifford, on rising from his knees, muttered the name of Sir William Stanley. His majesty seemed greatly astonished; he looked at Stanley, his Chamberlain, who stood still, looking quite confused. Clifford again muttered his name. Stanley was one of the wealthiest nobleman in England, having more than £3,000 in annual rent, 4,000 marks of silver in plate, and jewels in abundance, all of which would fall to Henry were he convicted of treason. It was proved that he had said, that if Perkin Warbeck were the son of Edward IV. he would not, for one, fight against his sovereign; and was for this condemned to death. He further confessed having correesponded with Perkin.(c) This was the same Sir William Stanley that had warded off Richard's blow at Bosworth,(d) which would certainly have cleft Richmond's scull in two. Clifford is said to have received £500 as the reward of his treachery. None dared weep for the deceased nobleman, save his fool, who, meeting by chance the king's *cortége* at Warrington Bridge, shortly after the execution, cried out to Sir Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, brother to Sir William Stanley,—"Tom, remember Will."(e) The king, on hearing these words, immediately turned his horse's head as if he had seen Stanley's ghost.

Margaret, alarmed for herself, ordered her *protégé* to leave Flanders, and Perkin, by no means deficient in courage, resolved to make an attempt on England, sword in hand. Accordingly on the 3rd July, 1495, he sailed with a few thousand adventurers, and landed in the neighbourhood at Deal, fully expecting the peasantry to rise in his favour; but to his surprise, they attacked his followers, put 200 to the sword, and took 160 prisoners, who were hanged like common highwaymen, and Warbeck returned in despair to Flanders.(f) Success seemed to increase Henry's cupidity;

(a) Bacon.
(b) Rot. Parl., VI., 503.—Hall.—Lingard.

(c) MSS. Domit A. XVIII. Howel's State Trials, III., 306.
(d) Polydore Virgil describes Henry rightly, when he says:—"He remembered favours which he had conferred better than those which he had received."
(e) Song of Lady Bessy. Notes by Hayward.
(f) Rot. Parl., VI., 504. Stowe's Annals of England.

the nation paid dearly for each of his triumphs. In exchange for the peace she enjoyed, he required money. If a citizen, as Sir William Cappel, committed a fault, the king consented to his pardon on receiving a consideration for the same. Cappel prayed Henry to release him from a portion of his fine, which amounted to £2,740; Henry, as grand justiciary of the country, after much discussion, accepted £1,650. Perkin, on being repulsed from Kent, turned his attention to Ireland, whence he was soon made to fly by Poynings, the viceroy; he then betook himself to Scotland. James IV., deceived by Perkin, received him kindly, and gave him in marriage the hand of Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly. James was at that time but fifteen, and had been placed on the throne by his father's murderers, a faction hostile to England: he was accordingly menaced by certain of the Scotch nobility, in the pay of the English government, with the loss of his crown, and he therefore hoped that, in espousing Perkin's cause, he would revenge himself upon Henry.(a) Warbeck, with assistance, might prove a serious embarrassment to England, and perhaps overthrow Henry. James, therefore, resolved to espouse his cause, on condition that the town of Berwick should be surrendered to him, and 5,000 marks paid in the course of two years. Warbeck had mustered a force of 1,400 men, from all nations, and to these James added all his available strength. Perkin with these crossed the border to invade England.(b) During his march he dispersed a proclamation, calling on his faithful subjects to aid him in expelling Henry from a throne which he stained with blood, and promising to any one that should deliver to him, living or dead, "Henry Tydder, the tyrant," a reward of £1,000, and land to the yearly value of 100 marks for ever.(c)

Henry convoked Parliament on the 9th of February, 1497, more in the prospect of obtaining money from his subjects than of being revenged on Scotland: he was not deceived in his expectations, Parliament voted him £12,000 and three-fifteenths, and were then prorogued.(d) This tax met with no opposition, save in Cornwall, where it was refused on the plea that the money, instead of being employed for the purpose for which it had been levied, would serve only to fill the monarch's coffers. The ringleaders of this riot were Michael Joseph, a farrier, and Thomas Flammock, an attorney, whose loquaciousness was looked on as eloquence: excited by these individuals, the populace, to the number of 15,000, seized those arms which were nearest at hand, and marched on the county of Devon. Lord Audley joined them at Wells, when he was immediately declared their leader, and under his command, they marched through Salisbury and Winchester into Kent, halting to murder a tax gatherer, and rending the air with the cry of "Death to Archbishop Morton!" "Death to Sir Reginald Grey!" the supposed authors of this unjustifiable tax, and the most active instruments of the king's tyranny.(e) The rebels took up their position at Eltham, in the vicinity of London, but none of the citizens joined them. Henry, through Sir George Field, was fully acquainted with their movements, and on one Saturday evening, (the king superstitiously believed that Saturday was his lucky day), the Earl of Oxford suddenly attacked their rear-guard; the action lasted but two hours. The Cornish archers defended the bridge with great valour, but the moment it was forced, they fled in despair, leaving 2,000 on the field of battle, and 1,500 prisoners. Lord Audley was beheaded, after having been taken from Newgate to Tower Hill, covered with a paper mantle, on which his arms were painted reversed.(f) Flammock and Joseph were hanged, and the remainder pardoned. But the mutinous disposition of Cornwall was so apparent, that Perkin determined to try his fortune in that county. He had scarcely presented himself at Bodmin, ere the people flocked to his standard; 3,000 swore to die in his cause, and the adventurer, emboldened by success, called himself, for the first time, Richard IV., King of England. He selected as his ministers a bankrupt, (Herne), and a tailor, (Skelton), and as his secretary, a

(a) Pinkerton's History of Scotland.
(b) Rymer, XII., 440.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Rot. Parl., VI., 513, 519.
(e) Lingard.
(f) Tyndal. Rapin de Thoyras.

a swindler of the name of Astley. On his arrival at Exeter, Perkin found himself at the head of 6,000 men, whereon he besieged that city without being provided with ammunition or artillery; he was obliged to use cord ladders to scale the walls and torches to fire the gates. His attempts failed with a loss, according to Henry, of 400 of his followers.(a)

Henry was now about to meet Perkin Warbeck face to face, an opportunity he had in vain sought for three years; but no sooner had the pretender heard that the king was himself at the head of his army, than he raised the siege of Exeter and fled to Taunton. His soldiers resolved at the latter town to appeal to arms, but Perkin, on hearing the enemy's clarion, again fled and took shelter, (2nd September, 1498,) with 60 of his followers, in the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. On the following day the insurgents submitted to the royal mercy; their leaders were hanged, and the remainder led barefoot, with halters round their necks, to the royal tent, where, praying for mercy, they were pardoned. But as if Henry had repented of his clemency, he imposed such heavy fines on them that it was utterly out of their power to discharge them.(b)

Perkin's asylum at Beaulieu was completely surrounded. Some of Henry's advisers counselled him to arrest the criminal at once, notwithstanding his having claimed the shelter of a sanctuary, on the plea that its privileges did not extend to one guilty of high treason; others, on the contrary, were of opinion that it would be highly impolitic to run the risk of offending Innocent VIII., and that therefore it would be more prudent to guard the avenues of the abbey, so that Perkin might have no chance of escape. Finding himself closely watched, and urged by the solicitations of the abbot to throw himself on the royal mercy, Perkin, after a lengthened consultation with his fellow-refugees, obeyed. Henry had promised him his life, and he kept his word, but Warbeck was to grace the conqueror's triumphant entry into London. Mounted on a war-horse, he traversed the streets of the city amid a populace who revenged themselves for having so long listened to him, by insulting and jeering him now that he was in their power.(c) On hearing of her husband's defeat, Lady Katharine Gordon, who had retired to Mount St. Michael, surrendered herself. On being brought before the king, she blushed and burst into tears; but Henry relieved her from all apprehension by assuring her that she had nothing to fear, and sent her to the queen, one of whose ladies of honour she afterwards became, still retaining, on account of her beauty, the appellation of "the white rose," a name which she had originally given her on account of her husband's pretensions.(d)

Westminster Palace was assigned to Warbeck as his prison, the limits of which he was not to pass under pain of death. But Perkin wanted air and room to display his activity, and he consequently managed to escape the vigilance of his guard; the alarm was instantly given, and the fugitive, finding himself pursued, took refuge in the Carthusian Monastery of Shene,(e) the prior of which urged him to throw himself again on the mercy of Henry, who consented once more to pardon the culprit. Perkin was now condemned to remain a whole day in the stocks at Westminster Hall, and on the morrow at Cheapside, and there to read in public a confession drawn up by Henry

(a) Whereupon Perkin and his company went to the east gate and to the northern gate, and assaulted the same, but it was so defended (blessed be God) that Perkin lost above three or four hundred men of his company, and so failed of his intention.—King Henry to the Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Oliver King) MSS. Dodsw. Bib. Bodl. I. 89.

(b) Rapin de Thoyras. Rymer, Fœdera. XII. 696. The original *proces-verbal* of these fines, payable by the insurgents, or those who had aided them in the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Hants, and Devon, are still to be seen in the British Museum. The Abbot of Athelney was condemned to pay 100 marks; the Abbot of Cliff, £40; the Abbot of Ford, £60; the Abbot of Michelney, £60; Sir John Speke of Witlakyngton, £200; the inhabitants of Taunton, £44 6s. 8d.; one private was fined £100, and others £80, £40, £20, £15, and the remainder from 20s. to 30s. each. The town of Bridgewater, £166, and Thomas Champneys, Esq., of Frome, £66 16s. 4d.

(c) Bacon.

(d) Lady Katharine Gordon married, the second time, Sir Matthew Cradock, and was beried with him in the church at Swansea, in South Wales, where their tomb is still to be seen.—See Historical Notices of Sir Matthew Cradock by Rev. J. M. Traherne.

(e) Polydore Virgil.

and his ministers,(a) after which he was taken to the Tower. Warwick and Perkin met for the first time as fellow-captives; and as there is no tie which unites hearts more easily than misfortune, they soon became intimate, and shortly formed a plan for escaping from their confinement. Four of their guards, whom they had bribed, promised to assassinate the governor, Digby, and to conduct the prisoners safely to a place of security; but the plot was discovered. Perkin was tried as a foreigner guilty of high treason, since his residence in England, convicted, and condemned to be hanged. With his last breath he called God and man to witness that he was Richard Duke of York, and not an impostor, thus leaving future historians to solve a biographical problem, which will probably be ever shrouded in eternal obscurity.(b) O'Water, mayor of Cork, and his son, faithful adherents of Warbeck, suffered with him, confessing their crime and craving pardon, as about to appear in the Divine presence.(c) Before the condemnation of Perkin, the Earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the House of Lords, on the charge of high treason. Having been a prisoner for fifteen years, he was then but twenty-four; and so severely had he been confined that, according to Stowe, he did not know the difference between a duck and a fowl; the earl acknowledged that he had consented to Perkin's project, and was, in consequence, condemned to be executed; an iniquitous sentence, which will ever be a blot on Henry's character;(d) it was indeed purchasing a few years of repose dearly.

The queen was exceedingly affected on hearing of Warwick's death. To do away with the effect of the execution on the people, Henry circulated a report that Ferdinand, King of Arragon, had refused his consent to the marriage of his daughter, Katharine, as long as so near a relative of the House of York was in existence.(e) A singular justification, that might lead one to suppose even that the union of the House of Arragon with that of Tudor was an object of such vital importance to England that it was even to be purchased by blood; but Henry was to receive by this marriage 200,000 crowns as Katharine's dowry, and hence his eagerness in hastening the death of the Earl of Warwick. The marriage was solemnized at St. Paul's on the 14th of November, 1501. Arthur was just fifteen, and Katharine only a few months older;(f) the prince was beloved by all for his fine noble temper, and he had become a good scholar under the tuition of André: Katharine was remarkable for her beauty and modesty. The happy couple resided at Ludlow Castle, in Shropshire, where Arthur died suddenly of decline, about four months after his marriage, or rather from the effects of a severe winter on his delicate constitution. He left as his widow one who had been his *wife* in *name* only,(g) whom his physicians had ordered to treat rather as a sister than a wife;(h) and she was herself at a later period, when called on to defend her rights as a wife and a mother, obliged to appeal to Henry to prove her virginity, which he had the unblushing effrontery to contest, although he had said himself that she was a virgin when he had married her.(i) Arthur died on the

(a) Hall.—Stowe.

(b) Who was Perkin Warbeck? is a question which the English annals cannot resolve. Ellis' original letters of English History. The author of "Historic doubts," after a long and patient research in Flanders, at the various residences of the Duchess Margaret, was unable to find any solution as to the identity of Perkin Warbeck. The Earls of Desmond and Kildare seem to have been perfectly convinced of the authenticity of the proofs adduced by the impostor. Corte dares not assert that Perkin Warbeck was not the veritable Richard Plantagenet, while Lingard, and all modern historians have no hesitation in denouncing him as an impostor.

(c) Lingard.

(d) The most unjustifiable execution.—Miss Strickland, IV. 49.

(e) Hall, Bacon.

(f) Almost all historians have been mistaken in stating, that the age of the Infanta was nineteen at the time of her marriage. She was born at Alcala de Hénarès, December 15, 1485. Miss Strickland was the first to rectify this error by reference to a MS. by Andrew Bernaldes, entitled "Historia de los reyes Catolicos Fernando et Donna Isabel." See also Leland, Collectanea, V. 352-373.

(g) Est opinio sponsam primum, intactam, quia esset invalidus ætate non maturâ reliquisse.—Petrus Martyr, (1509.)

(h) He was in so great and dangerous a fit of sickness, as that, by the advice of physicians, he was altogether restrained from consummating the marriage by carnal copulation.—The History of the Church of England.

(i) Polydore Virgil.

2nd of April, 1502, and in June following, Henry, Duke of York, took the title of Prince of Wales;(a) whereas Richard II. had not taken it till four months after the death of his father Edward.(b)

Arthur's death had a great effect on Henry, who now found himself compelled either to send the Infanta back to Spain, and restore her dowry to Ferdinand, or to keep her in England as the Dowager Princess of Wales, with a third of the revenue of the Principality, the Duchy of Cornwall, and the Palatinate of Chester.(c) Henry was placed on the horns of a dilemma, but his usual good fortune extricated him from his embarrassment. Ferdinand, anxious to preserve the alliance of England, as a counter-balance to the enmity of France, proposed a marriage between Katharine and Henry Prince of Wales.(d) The English monarch seemed at first indifferent to this offer, hoping that another and more advantageous proposal might be made.(e) Ferdinand, however, was not to be deceived, and easily perceiving Henry's object, he summoned him either to restore the dowry or to consent to the marriage. Negotiations were accordingly entered into: the English king required that, as only one half of the dowry had been paid, the balance should be settled before the solemnization of the marriage. To this Ferdinand replied that Katharine's revenue, as the Dowager Princess of Wales, was a sufficient equivalent. Too avaricious to make a mutual sacrifice, too obstinate to yield, they consented to postpone the consideration of these pecuniary matters to a later period, and on 28th of June, 1503,(f) it was settled that the marriage should be solemnized two months after the arrival of the dispensation (g) Julius II., after consulting the Sacred College,(h) granted the Bull.(i) Honorious, in the most flourishing days of the Church, had married two sisters, and none of the Fathers had ever censured his second marriage. Innocent III., the most skilful canonist that had ever sat in the Chair of St. Peter, had authorized this sort of union at the time of the conversion of Livonia. Emanuel, King of Portugal, had done the same thing, with the consent of the Papal See, though he had had children by the first marriage; and in the fifteenth century, a dispensation similar to that now solicited by Henry, had been granted by Martin V. (j) Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, one of the greatest theologians of the day, was at first against this match, on two grounds; one deduced from the Levitical dispensation, and the other from the effect it would have on public morals; he opposed the opinion of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, in the royal presence, but submitted his judgment to the Papal See on the arrival of the Bull, for Rome had spoken, and it became him to be silent.(k)

Katharine herself, as if inspired by a presentiment of evil, was averse to her union with Henry; she had the appearance of one striving to conceal some great misgiving from the knowledge of her friends, and she earnestly besought them, ending

(a) Lord Bacon, in his "History of Henry VIII." says, that the Duke of York was not vested with his new title till February, 1503, but, according to Thoyras, this is wrong, as we find him styled Prince of Wales in the public acts of letters patent, dated 22nd June, 1502.—Rapin de Thoyras.

(b) Le Grand.—Histoire du Divorce de Henri VIII.

(c) Tyndal.—Rymer.

(d) Bernaldes.—Sir Harris Nicolas's Memoirs of Elizabeth of York.

(e) Lingard.

(f) Treaty of 24th September, 1503. British Museum, MSS. Cott. Vesp. Rymer XIII., 36.

(g) Le Grand.

(h) With the advice of the College of Cardinals and of the most learned divines and canonists.—The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

(i) See Appendix (A).

(j) In the reign of Henry VIII., (12 Henry VIII., c. 5 and 6), Christopher Thurland and others obtained the necessary permission from the Holy See to marry the daughter of George Westness, widow of his eldest brother, Henry Thurland.

(k) Which also he declared, not only in a contestation which he had with Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, who persuaded it, but in certain words to King Henry VII. himself, whom he told plainly that the marriage seemed to him neither honourable nor pleasing to God. Notwithstanding, when the Bull of dispensation was granted, that he, the said deponent, contradicted it no more.—Le Grand. As Burnet has endeavoured to wrest Warham's evidence in favour of the divorce, the reader will find the Archbishop of Canterbury's deposition, as given by Lord Herbert, in the Appendix (B), where he will see that Warham withdrew all opposition as soon as he heard of the granting of the dispensation.

her prayers with tears, not to persist in the matter.(a) What was then passing in her soul? Was she ashamed of being made the subject of debate between two powerful sovereigns? or was she of opinion that her marriage was contrary to the Divine law? An obedient daughter of holy Church and a good Christian, Katharine ceased complaining when informed that the Sovereign Pontiff had granted the necessary dispensation for her union with Henry Prince of Wales.(b) Henry and Katharine were betrothed at the Palace of the Bishop of Salisbury, in Fleet Street, on 27th of June, 1503.(c) Henry, on the eve of entering on his fifteenth year, (23rd June, 1505), the canonical age of puberty, was compelled formally to protest, in presence of the Privy Council at Richmond, against the validity of any contract entered into during his non-age. This protest was of no great importance, as Henry acted out of obedience to his father's will;(d) he did not even read the protest. The king was not present,(e) nor was it deemed necessary to mention it to Katharine. These facts are mentioned in detail by Fox, and we cannot reject so important a testimony as his.(f) If Henry VII. regarded this protest as the revocation of the contract entered into two years previously, Katharine ought to have been immediately sent back to Spain; but after this curious incident, of which she was kept in ignorance till a later period, she remained in England for the space of four years, tenderly beloved by the young Prince of Wales, who ardently longed for the day when he might call her his wife.(g) But how can we account for the conduct of Henry VII.? Lansdowne gives us the following explanation: "The king, whose health was daily becoming worse since Elisabeth's death, regarded his affliction as a punishment from God, for having given his consent to an incestuous marriage, and conscience-stricken, he desired to protest before his death against that union;"(h) as if the example of the clergy, who had unanimously accepted the decision of Julius II., were not sufficient to allay Henry's nocturnal fears.

Fox has furnished us with the genuine reasons of the protest. He states that Henry had no wish to renounce the projected union, but that it was only deferred on account of some misunderstanding with the princess's father respecting her dowry.(i) Neither age, sickness, nor the death of the queen could slacken his avarice; should the marriage be celebrated too soon, his brother of Spain would keep his doubloons, an evil which he desired to avoid by making Ferdinand believe that there would be no rupture, as Henry was still as determined as ever to marry *his* Katharine. It was but right that he should be tied by no engagement,(j) in order that Ferdinand might be induced to pay the whole of the dowry. This royal artificer succeeded beyond his most sanguine wishes; the doubloons arrived, a little late it is true, but Ferdinand was anxious that his daughter should be married, and yet that he should be able to keep his money. Henry, however, was inflexible; the dowry was the pledge of the contract: he wanted it, obtained his end, and compelled his son, now of age, to sign the receipt. There was another motive for the monarch's protest; he had shed a few tears on the death of his queen, but they were, however, soon dried up, when he was informed that the Queen of Naples had succeeded to her husband's dominions, an idea struck him that by his marriage with her, he would increase the patrimony of the House of Tudor; and Jane was still young and handsome. But the new King of Naples refused to execute his predecessor's will, and Henry turned his attention, discarding Jane, the Queen

(a) Mariana Historia de rebus Hispaniæ.
(b) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.
(c) Speed. For the contract see Collier's Ecclesiastical History of England.
(d) That he did not remember that Henry VIII., when he came to age, did expressly consent to, or dissent from, the intended marriage: yet that he believed that a protestation was made, in the name of Henry VIII., to that effect.
(e) Le Grand.
(f) See Appendix (G).
(g) Pole, Apologia Reg.

(h) Bp. Kennett.—Morison Apomaxis calumniarum.
(i) Furthermore, that upon conference held between Henry VII. and himself, he found it was the intention of that king that his son Henry should marry the said Lady Katharine, although he deferred the solemnization of the intended matrimony, by reason of some discord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of Spain, for the calling back of the dowry.
(j) Zurita VI., p. 193.—Lingard.

Dowager of Naples, to Margaret, Duchess of Savoy. In order, however, to be united with either of these widows, he felt that he could do nothing without the aid of Ferdinand, who would not refuse his assistance as long as the English crown was held in suspense over Katharine's head (a) Everything, whether it were conspiracies or revolts, attempts against his crown, peace or war, mercy or despair, punishments or rewards, treaties, marriages, or even deaths, became subjects of gain to Henry; and what his subjects called rapacity, he dignified by the title of policy; like those slaves, mentioned by Tacitus, who called repose the silence of the tomb. Two men, Empson and Dudley, were his instruments; the one vindictive and revengeful, the other hypocritical and cunning; both excellent lawyers, who employed their talent in persecuting innocence, and under their tuition the young Prince of Wales was to learn the art of oppressing the nation. Numerous spies, like birds of prey, destined for the royal amusement, formed a part of their staff. A citizen, on being arrested, was allowed to remain in prison unless he purchased his liberty by giving a large sum of money, called, in the language of the day, *a composition*.

At a later period, Empson and Dudley became themselves informers, for by virtue of a commission given them by their royal master, they summoned the accused to their residence, whom they there examined, and without jury or evidence, condemned to an enormous fine. Trial by jury was no security to the citizen, for the jury were liable to be imprisoned, did they dare acquit a prisoner that had been convicted beforehand by the court. In addition to the court of assizes, where Empson and Dudley disposed of the liberty and occasionally of the lives of the subjects, there was a *scrinium* where acts were fabricated, transforming private property into royal fiefs, and thus giving occasion to innumerable lawsuits which invariably terminated in favour of the crown.(b) The minor, who was a ward of the crown, could not, on attaining his majority, inherit his property without paying a heavy fine. Not in one single instance, during his long reign, did Henry grant a free pardon. Lord Bacon once saw Empson's account in which each article was thus signed by the sovereign: "Received of N——, five marks to obtain his pardon, which if not obtained, the money or an equivalent shall be returned to him;" the words "or an equivalent" being written by the king in the margin. A few grains of gold, adds the chancellor, which finished by becoming a mountain.(c) We have also seen the royal accounts, which must have made the chancellor blush, where the prince is proved to have unjustly extorted money from his subjects. The following is from his accounts: Carell and his sons are condemned—it is not said for what. If they pay £1,000, they shall be pardoned; if they have not the cash, Henry receives a bill for £900, and £100 in ready money. A Carthusian monastery, petitioning for the confirmation of its privileges, is required to pay £5,000 for it. The Bishop of Bath, on taking possession of his see, engages to pay £100 annually to the crown. The Chapter of York solicits a royal favour and obtains it for 1,000 marks. The Earl of Derby begs for pardon; the royal heart is touched, and his pardon granted for £6,000.(d)

We must not, like Lord Bacon, call down curses on the ministers, for Henry was the most culpable. When the Parliament or a jury was assembled to judge any great criminal case, Empson or the Attorney-General would interfere, by saying: "Go

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.—Hume.
(b) Lingard.

(c) Bacon. Reign of Henry VII.
(d) Dudley's account; Carell and his son, for their pardon, £1,000; recognizances, £900, and £100 in money. Pardon of Knosworth, £500; Shore, £500; Growe, £133 6s. 8d. An alderman of London, £200. Bishop of Durham, an indenture, for which he was to pay the king £200. The Abbot of the Cistercians, for confirmation of their franchises and privilege, and the freedom of election, £5,000. Cardinal B. Bath, according to agreement, £500. P.C., for his pardon, 300 marks; obligation, £1,000. Bishop of Bath, £100 per annum. so long as he shall be bishop. Discharge for buying certain allows, contrary to restraint, £200. For the king's favour in the deanery of York, 1,000 marks. Pardon for an alderman, 1,000 marks. Earl of Derby's pardon, £6,000.—Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS., N. 1877.

away; the matter is in the king's hand;" (a) in other words, "William Harper is accused of felony, or treason, but he is in treaty with the king; he has offered him 300 marks, but the king wants 400; the matter, will, however, be managed."(b) Or again, such a one has committed fratricide, but the murder must not be avenged by the culprit's death; there is no *lex talionis*; the murderer is about to purchase his liberty; he has only £25 to offer, being a poor man, in order to efface the brand of Cain from his forehead, and the king has agreed to accept it. Well might we ask what had become of that beautiful adage of Magna Charta: "Nulli vendemus rectum aut justiciam." An end to such iniquities at length arrived. A prey to a disease of the chest, which became worse every winter, Henry turned his eyes towards eternity. Warnings were not wanting to the monarch; he was not cut off by Providence without notice, as he himself had cut off poor Warwick. Preachers admonished him from the pulpit, and exhorted him to prepare for death, whilst he had yet time, by acts of restitution to the innocent sufferers. To calm his conscience, and to be reconciled to Heaven, he pardoned all offences against the crown, and paid the creditors, from the privy purse, of all that were confined for debts under 40s.(c) He also desired Henry to make restitution for all the wrongs his officers had committed, but his last wishes were never complied with. A father's vices, like organic maladies, are transmitted with the blood; the Prince of Wales showed himself to be a worthy son of the Earl of Richmond, by disobeying his father's dying exhortation. Who knows, had he been eighteen previous to his father's death, whether he would have waited for that event to succeed to the crown? We should, perhaps, have seen him setting up the claims of his mother, as heir of the House of York, revolting against his father, as the king *de facto*, and not *de jure*. Empson and Dudley would doubtless have acted the part of Tyrrell, and with the first bolster have suffocated the asthmatic sovereign. If success form the providential splendour of equity, as some historians of the materialist school teach, Henry deserved the name of a great king, for never was prince more prosperous; but he loses all claim to that title when we consider the horrible oppression which he exercised over his subjects during a reign of twenty-four years. Whilst his remains were being transported to that chapel at Westminster, liberty was dying on the highway, with its cloak transpierced by the sword of royalty.

M. Guizot has truthfully described the first period of the reign of the Tudors.(d) Power, under Henry VII., the founder of this house, had become systematic in its absolutism. Henry broke those laws that he had sworn to maintain, and by terror and corruption succeeded in perverting his subjects. Under the Plantagenets, the Commons had gloriously defended their private rights, the houses of private citizens, and individual liberty; under Henry VII., they willingly laid aside their popular mission, and became the instruments of a tyrant. It was Parliament that permitted, sometimes by its silence, and sometimes by its co-operation, the violation of the rights of liberty, property, and conscience. The people petitioned their representatives in vain, for such was the terror with which Henry had inspired them, that they actually elected Dudley as their Speaker. The sheriffs were transformed into inquisitors to collect fines for the royal exchequer; the kingdom was overrun with spies and informers who were munificently rewarded.(e) The king was perfectly regardless as to the law being in conformity with the principles of justice, his only object being to amass money; what matter if his coffers were filled with money extracted from the sufferings of the people? It was his delight at night, when all were asleep, to open his chest secretly, and gaze on his treasures. He was the wealthiest monarch

(a) The king took the matter into his own hands, and the prisoner was discharged, upon the king's attorney certifying that fact to the court.—Lansdowne, MSS. 160. p. 307.

(b) For the pardon of William Harper, for treasons, felon's escapes, and other offences, 400 marks.

(c) Bacon.—Lingard.

(d) M. Guizot's Histoire de la Civilization, p. 345.

(e) Hume.

in Europe (a) His legacy to his son was despotism, avarice, and tyranny; and yet strange to say, he found a celebrated architect, Torrigiano, to erect to his memory one of the most splendid monuments that Christian art has ever beheld, in the Chapel of our Lady at Westminster Abbey;(b) a Latin poet to celebrate his fame,(c) a bishop to preach his funeral sermon,(d) and Lord Bacon, as an historian.

(a) Hume.—Henry.

(b) Among the MSS. in the Harleian Library is an account of the expenses incurred for the chapel; we there see that under Torrigiano there worked "Lawrence, timber kerver, for making the patrons in timber; Humphrey Walker, founder; Nicholas Ewer, coppersmith and gilder; John Bell and John Maynard, painters; Robert Jennings and John Lebens, master-masons. Torrigiano received £1000 for the tomb, (£6000 of the present coinage.)—Henry's History of Great Britain.

(c) The following were André's verses on Henry VII.:—

Princeps, ingenio nitente præstans
Famâ, religione, comitate,
Sensu, sanguine, gratiâ, decore.

—Brit. Mus. MSS., Cott. Domit., A. XVIII.

(d) We shall quote a few lines from the funeral sermon preached by the Bishop of Rochester: he thus alludes to Henry VII.:—"That justice from thenceforward might be truly and indifferently executed in all causes; that the promotions of the church, which were in his disposal, should be thenceforward given to able men, who were virtuous and well learned, that as to those who were in jeopardy from his laws for things formerly done, he would grant pardon generally to all"—Harls MSS., n. 209. See Turner in his History of England during the Middle Ages: he has given an analysis of his principal statutes passed in the reign of Henry VII., and the regulations respecting commerce and navigation."

CHAPTER II.

CORONATION OF HENRY VIII.—1509-1511

Accession of Henry VIII.—His character.—The Royal Family.—Henry's Ministers.—Warham.—Fox.—Howard.—Ruthal.—Herbert.—Poynings.—The King's marriage.—His letter to the Cardinal de la Rovère.—Coronation.—Alteration of the royal oath by Henry.—Festivities at Westminster Hall.—Arrest and execution of Empson and Dudley.—The King's amusements.—His favourites.—Wolsey.—Literature in England at the time of Henry's accession.—Erasmus.—Thomas More.—Linacre.—Collet.—The Monks.—The King patronises literature.

To a king worn out by age and anxiety, there succeeded, on the 25th of April, 1509, a young prince of eighteen, whose accession was hailed with joy by all parties. Mountjoy wrote to Erasmus a description of the popular feelings: "I do not for a moment doubt, beloved Erasmus, that your sorrow will be suddenly changed into joy on hearing that Henry Octavus, or rather Octavius, has succeeded his father. Oh! if you could but witness the happiness of the people you would weep for joy. Heaven smiles, the earth leaps with gladness, every thing seems redolent with milk, honey, and nectar."

Henry, whom England thus welcomed, was one of the handsomest young men of his day.(a) His figure might be truly called Anglo-Saxon; he had a smooth forehead, arched eyebrows, an eye of tender blue, his chin ornamented with down in lieu of a beard, large shoulders, and a mien altogether feminine. He seemed to be one that lavished much time on himself; his velvet cap, with a plume of ostrich feathers, was placed in a coquettish manner over his ear, and his mantle fell, *à l'espagnole*, over his shoulders. He was cop-

(a) Sanderus de Schismate.

sidered one of the best horsemen in England, and when out with his young courtiers it was impossible for a stranger not to be struck by his healthy and manly appearance. He was styled King by the women, before his accession.(a) But if observed rather closely, an impatient liveliness was observable in his manner; like his father, he could look no one in the face; his eyes blinked incessantly, and he was so eccentric, that he was wont to give short and curt replies when a more detailed answer was expected. There are extant in England old ballads, in which the poet represents the Prince of Wales leaving the palace in disguise(b) to study the wants of his future subjects, but he was invariably discovered. His grace and affability of manners, and a certain indescribable something about him, not only betrayed the sovereign, but won for him the admiration of the people.(c) Justus Lipsius said, that if the names of all the princes that had merited the title of "The Good," were placed within a circle, Henry's would have held a conspicuous place among them, if, resembling the portrait drawn of him by some of his contemporaries, he had died after a reign of two years. The people, intoxicated with hope and joy, pressed round the young prince, whom they accompanied to the palace. Henry lost no occasion of showing off to advantage his noble and manly figure. He was passionately fond of all active exercises, generally tired eight or ten horses in hunting;(d) he was a good bowler,(e) played balls well, and was an excellent marksman with the bow. Born with impetuous passions, Henry, the son of Elizabeth of York, might have one day proved a source of great uneasiness to his father, by putting forth his pretensions to the throne, and would have been a more formidable opponent than either Simnel or Perkin Warbeck. He was, therefore, destined for the ecclesiastical state, so that there was every probability that he would one day be Primate of England and Archbishop of Canterbury; his education was in consequence entirely clerical.(f) He commenced chanting at seven, at ten, he had his part assigned him in the choir of the chapel royal, and at twelve composed masses. One of his anthems is still sung at Christ Church, Oxford, composed while he was Duke of York:(g) "O Lord, the Maker."(h)

Henry displayed great aptitude for his theological studies. He had given to him the "Summa" of St. Thomas, which was studied with much avidity in the sixteenth century. The "Angel of the Schools" has solved in this some of the most profound mysteries of psychology with such clearness, as to cause the student to hesitate respecting its being a Divine revelation. St. Thomas is the great type of the middle ages, as he was the life and soul of the theologian of the sixteenth century. During the religious discussions of that period, it was invariably found that none of the priests who apostatized had been students of St. Thomas. Henry was one of his most ardent admirers, and yet he fell; we shall, in the course of this history, be made acquainted with the secret of his fall. Like Luther, Henry, when fatigued with his studies, used to amuse himself by playing the flute. It was remarked that he had a very high opinion of his attainments, and could not brook the least contradiction. We shall shortly find him engaged in a controversy with

(a) Moryson's Apomaxis.
(b) Strype's Memorial.
(c) Chaloner.—Strype's Memorial.
(d) An admirable horseman: he is uncommonly fond of the chase, and never indulges in this diversion without fatiguing eight or ten horses.—Giustiniano, translated by Turner, in his History of Henry VIII.
(e) He takes great delight in bowling.—Id.
(f) Herbert.—Rapin de Thoyras.
(g) One of his anthems is still performed at Christ Church, Oxford.—Seward.
(h) Appendix (D.) "In the first book of selected music, collected by John Bernard," published in 1621, the anthem is ascribed to William Munday, but it has been proved by Dr. Aldrich to have been composed by Henry. In a collection of anthems and motets by John Baldwin, of the choir at Windsor, himself a composer, finished in 1591, is one for three voices, thus headed: "*Quod* quoth *Henricus Octavus:*" at the commencement of the anthem, "*Quam pulchra et decora,*" are read the words, "*Quod Henricus Octavus.*"—In the Harl. MSS., 1419, p. 200, is a list of the numerous musical instruments left at Westminster by Henry after his death.

Luther, and endeavouring, like Eck of Ingolstadt, to defeat his adversary with quotations from the Fathers. The reader, if unacquainted with Henry's attainments, will not be a little astonished at his theological knowledge, and perhaps be inclined to believe that his work was written by his almoner, or some other bishop; however, such was not the case.

Literature had been aroused from its lengthened slumber, during the latter portion of the reign of Henry VII., by the genial heat of the Italian sun. Divinity and humanity had at that period as their representatives, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Thomas More, William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, Richard Pace, and Cuthbert Tonstal, of whose characters and works we shall presently speak. They had all been cordially received by Henry VII. Erasmus, then in England, had been presented at court, and we have a lively description of the royal family in his correspondence.(a) The old king, with his hair grown gray through grief; the young Duke of York, then only nine by his side, expressing himself with great ease and grace in Latin; near him Margaret, who was about eleven and who was afterwards married to James IV., King of Scotland; and at a little distance Mary, their younger sister, playing with her doll. He was introduced by Mountjoy to our Henry, who received him as one who had an European reputation, and begged, as a favour, to be allowed to correspond with him. This proposal from the young prince Erasmus accepted with ill-concealed pride. The child did not forget his promise, and a year after Erasmus showed Richard Pace,(b) with feelings expressive of sincere joy, a letter from the Prince of Wales, written in elegant Latin.(c)

It was delightful to see the royal family at Greenwich: Henry VII. might then be seen in his natural character. Instead of the austere monarch, he was the kind indulgent father, delighting to play with his children. The Countess of Richmond was one of the ornaments of the court and of her sex; she was accustomed to rise at six and spend an hour in prayer; before dinner it was her custom to read a book of meditation.(d) She fed and clothed several poor families, and though the king's mother, prepared their medicines with her own hand: she was a great patroness of literature. She established two professorships of religious instruction at the universities, and founded two colleges (St. John's and Christ's) at Cambridge. Erasmus composed a beautiful epitaph to her memory.(e) Katharine, Dowager Princess of Wales, and the affianced bride of Henry, was highly accomplished and a model of every feminine virtue. She rose at midnight to assist at the divine office, wore the habit of the Third Order of St. Francis, fasted every

(a) Jortin's Life of Erasmus: Erasmus Johanni Botzhemo.

(b) Erasmi Epist., Card. Mogunt, p. 141. —Knight, Das Leben Erasmi.

(c) Princeps Henricus, Desid. Erasmo viro undecunquè doctissimo, S.

Tuis plurimum sum literis affectus, disertissime Erasme, quippe quæ et venustiores sunt quàm ut raptim videantur exaratæ, et lucidæ simplicesque magis quàm quæ ab ingenio tam solerti præmeditatæ judicentur. Fit enim, nescio quo pacto, ut quæ ab ingeniosis elaborata, deditiore deprimuntur operâ, plus pariter affectatæ secum afferant difficultatis. Num dum tersiori studemus eloquio, subterfugit nos clanculùm apertus ille, clarusque dicendi modus. Sed tua ist hæc epistola quantùm venustate pollet, tantum etiam suâ perspicacitate liquet, ut prorsus omne punctum tulisse videaris. Sed quid ego tuam laudare paro facundiam, cujus per totum terrarum orbem est nobilitata scientia? Nihil queo equidem in tuam laudem effingere, quod tam consummata isthâc eruditione satis dignum sit. Quare tuas laudes omitto, de quibus silere satius puto quàm nimis parcè dicere.—Rumorem illum de morte principis Castellani regis (Philippi) mei fratris, penitus penitusque desideratissimi, longè antequàm ex tuis literis oppido invitus acceperam: sed eum utinam aut serius multò aut minus verum ad nos fama tulisset? Nunquam enim, post charissimæ genetricis mortem, nuncius huc venit invisior. Et parcius, ut verum fatear, huic literarum parti favebam, quàm earum singularis postulabat elegantia, quod cicatricem, cui callum tempus obduxerat, refricare vise est. Verum quæ superis sunt visa, mortalibus rata haberi fas est. Tu vero perge, eaque nobis literis significa si qua sunt istic nova, sed jucundiora. Deus fortunet quæcunque memoratu digna acciderint. Vale. Ex Richemundiâ. 17 Januarii.—Erasmi Epist. Pars. II. Epis. 451.

(d) Tytler's Life of Henry VIII.

(e) Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

Friday and Saturday, and eat only bread and water on the vigils of the festivals of our Lady. She received the sacrament of penance twice a week, and the adorable sacrament of the eucharist every Sunday. She daily recited the little office of the Blessed Virgin, spent several hours at church, and after dinner, made one of her ladies-in-waiting read aloud the "Lives of the Saints," after which she returned to church, where she staid till supper-time.(a) In addition to these Christian virtues, Katharine was a good scholar, if Erasmus is to be credited.(b) After having read his Latin treatise on "Free Will," she requested Vives to express to the author her great delight in the work.(c)

Henry VII. selected John Skelton, descended from an ancient Cumberland family, as tutor to the young prince.(d) Skelton was the Rabelais of Great Britain, as eccentric as the curé of Meudon, and a most unmerciful satirist. According to the tutor's account, Henry was highly accomplished and the idol of England;(e) he is also praised by Sir Thomas Chaloner, who is, however, candid enough to acknowledge that the young man occasionally committed venial sins.(f)

The new king's first acts tended to confirm the hopes of the nation, for Henry, acting according to the advice of his grandmother, called to his council men beloved by the country; Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, was nominated Chancellor; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Secretary of the Seals; the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer; the Earl of Shrewsbury, Grand Master of the King's Household; Sir Thomas Lovel, Governor of the Tower; and Sir Edward Poynings, Comptroller.(g) Erasmus has vaunted much the abilities of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was well versed in canon law and the Fathers. At table he was nothing, never drinking wine, and saying mass daily.(h) Affable to his inferiors, kind to his servants, austere in his morals, a diplomatist of considerable skill, he was still a man of the world. The archbishop's letters are written in a lively manner: "Of what benefit are those stones to you? What do you do with them? I send you thirty nobles to get rid of them.(i) Erasmus used to write in the same tone to his Mæcenas: "I have received the horse with which your grace has presented me; he is by no means handsome, but he is good, and he is inclined to no mortal sin, save it be gluttony; however, he possesses all the virtues of a good confessor; he is prudent, humble, and mild, and neither kicks nor bites."(j) Erasmus dedicated several of his works to the archbishop, viz., his "St. Jerome," and the translations of "Lucian," the "Hecuba and the Iphigenia of Euripides." Warham, at a loss how to express his gratitude, laughingly accepted the immortality thus proffered him, on condition that Erasmus, in his turn, accepted, as a mark of his protector's munificence, some money which he gave him.(k)

Richard Fox, Guardian of the Privy Seal under Henry VII., afterwards successively Bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester, had been employed on some important embassies and negotiations.(l) He was much beloved in France as well as in Scotland, Germany as well as in Spain. In proportion to Warham's love for simplicity, was Fox's taste evinced for grandeur. He was a man of polished manners, but inclined to avarice; of tried fidelity, a sincere friend to the prince, jealous of his

(a) Sanders, De Schismate Anglicano.
(b) Eleganter docta.—Eras. Ep. 5th Sept., 1522.
(c) Vives, Epist. Nov. 1525.
(d) Monstrante fonteis Skeltone sacras.—Chaloner. He was (Skelton) only a graduated rhetorician employed in the service of the king.—Warton's History of English poetry.—See also the ode of Erasmus, entitled De laudibus Brittaniæ, regisque Henrici VII. ac regiorum liberorum.
(e) 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's blood
With him in all distress.
Duke of Albany.—Chaloner.
(f) Strype's Ecc. Mem.
(g) Hume.
(h) Jortin's Life of Erasmus.
(i) Knight.
(j) Erasmi Epis. XLIV., l. 20.
(k) Erasmi Epis. VIII., l. 11.
(l) Rapin de Thoyras.

country's glory, and fond of literature, of which he would have been a more ardent patron, had he not been so mixed much up with the politics of the day.(a)

Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was the son of the Duke of Norfolk, who fell at Bosworth while fighting for Richard III. The earl was taken prisoner, and on his being asked by the Earl of Richmond why he had carried arms in favour of a usurper, he replied, "Prince, he was my king; the Parliament had crowned him, therefore I served him faithfully. Should the Parliament recognise you, I shall do as much."(b) Thomas Ruthal, LL.D., was regarded as one of the most profound professors of canon law in England, and is praised exceedingly by Erasmus. "How comes it" wrote he to him, "that I am dedicating the misanthrope to you, who are a philanthropist, *par excellence*?"(c)

Lord Herbert Somerset, had studied the historians, and, previous to his elevation to power, had learned in the school of Tacitus and Livy how kings and empires fall. He felt persuaded that it behoved the minister not to conceal the truth from his sovereign, and had often acted candidly with the late monarch, without being listened to. Sir Edward Poynings, an old servant of the crown, was as adroit in defending a citadel as in governing a province. He had governed Ireland during the late reign, and an act was passed through his influence, prohibiting bills being presented to the Irish Parliament ere they had received the approbation of the king in council,(d) an important measure, calculated to suppress rebellion in that province. Like all veterans who have spent their lives in the camp, he was more attached to his master than to his country. Such were the men whom the young prince called to his council; it was an excellent selection, and the people augured prosperous days, provided the king followed their advice.

(a) Ammonius Erasmo. Knight.
(b) Nott's Life of Surrey. Memoirs of the Court of Henry VIII., by Mrs. Thomson.
(c) Erasmi op.
(d) That before any Irish Parliament should be holden, copies of the acts proposed to be passed should be sent over to England, for the approbation of the king and council.

Henry, immediately after his [illegible] death, lost no time in informing the Spanish ambassador, Fuensalida, of his attachment to the Infanta, and prayed the Privy Council to hurry on his union with Katharine,(e) to which objections were still made, on the ground of their relationship; but to this the princess's advocate replied by the dispensation of Julius II., the oath of the princess,(f) the declaration of the king,(g) and the affirmation of certain matrons that the marriage of Prince Arthur had never been consummated. The council accordingly gave their unanimous consent to the king's marriage with Katharine.(h) It was accordingly solemnized on the festival of St. Barnabas (11th June), at Greenwich.(i) The bride was dressed in white, as a virgin.(j) Henry lost no time in announcing his marriage to the Cardinal de la Rovera in a letter, of which a copy is still preserved at the Vatican. He speaks in a commendatory manner of the virtues of the King of Arragon's daughter, whom he had selected as his wife, but says not a word respecting the decision of his council. It seems throughout to have been dictated by the exuberant heart of a loving and youthful husband.(k)

(e) Pole Epis. regi.
(f) Polyd. Virgil.
(g) "You yourself confessed that she was a virgin when you married her; and this you said to the emperor, the very last person in the world to whom you would have mentioned it, had you then thought of the divorce." Pro unitate ecclesiasticæ defensione.
(h) Lingard.
(i) Bernaldes, as quoted by Miss Strickland, IV., 85.
(j) Sanders.
(k) "That your most reverend lordship might be informed of what has happened since the death of our most gracious sovereign and father, we have to tell you that considering the great excellencies of the most illustrious Princess Katharine, daughter of the King of Arragon, we considered her worthy to become our wife. Wherefore we have been espoused and married to her, and have been crowned together with her, according to custom, to the great joy, exultation, and applause of the whole of our kingdom. Of which we have thought it meet to write to your most reverend lordship, who, being a dear friend, will be pleased to hear of our happiness." From our palace at Greenwich, July 8th, 1509, in the first year of our reign.—Codex. Vat. 6210.

coronation took place a few days after the marriage. On 21st of June, Henry and Katharine embarked at Greenwich,(a) and arrived at the Tower, where their apartments had been prepared. They remained there till the 29th, when the *cortège* proceeded through the narrow streets of the city, which were carpeted to Westminster. Cornhill was adorned as if it had been a day of festivity; the road from Cornhill to Old Change was lined with maidens holding bouquets in their hands; the queen's carriage was drawn by a pair of white horses.(b) Few women, says Herbert, could have contested the prize of beauty with her.(c) "Henry took the coronation oath at Westminster Abbey.(d) He knelt for the ceremony. "You swear," demanded the Archbishop of Canterbury, "to defend the privileges and liberties that Edward the Confessor and the kings his ancestors granted to the Church, as well as to the clergy of England?"(e) "I swear," replied Henry. The archbishop then read aloud the formula of the oath, the prince repeating it after him, with his hand resting on the altar. His grace, after having placed the crown on his head, the ring on his finger, and the sceptre in his hand, said: "Rise, and keep your word faithfully, and accept not the crown unless you are determined to keep the oath you have just taken."(f) But the ceremony was scarcely terminated before Henry commanded the copy of the coronation oath to be brought to him; then, closeted in his room, he altered the sacramental formula. He had sworn to "maintain the liberties of Holy Church, granted by the ancient Christian kings of England;"(g) he added "as far as they will not be prejudicial to his jurisdiction and royal dignity.(h) He had sworn to "maintain peace between Holy Church, the clergy, and the people;"(i) for this he substituted that he should "endeavour to work with the people and clergy under the royal dominion."(j) He had sworn to "maintain justice and equity, and yet to be merciful;" (k) this he altered into a promise to "grant mercy to him who, according to his conscience, should merit it."(l) He had sworn to "maintain the laws of the kingdom and the customs of the nation;"(m) "without prejudice," he wrote, "to the rights of the crown, or his imperial dignity."(n) Henry, after making these alterations, closed the book and said not a word of what he had done. The reader may well ask what has become of that candour of which Skelton used to vaunt so much, as apparent in his pupil; while with his mouth, in the presence of Almighty God at the altar, he was repeating the oath of Edward the Confessor, he was committing perjury in his heart.

The festivities commenced at the conclusion of the ceremony. The king and queen were placed on an elevated dais in Westminster Hall. Opposite the throne, was a fountain ejecting red and white wine.

(a) Middlehill MSS., 163.

(b) Strickland. Queens of England, IV. 85.

(c) There were few women who could compete with Queen Katharine when in her prime.

(d) This oath was not the same as that taken by King John, who declared that he held the kingdom as a fief from the Holy See. "And of his own free will, and by the common consent of his barons, he confers and freely grants to, God and His Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and the Holy Roman Church, his mother, and to our lord Pope Innocent and his successors all the kingdom of England, and all the kingdom of Ireland with their rights and appurtenances; which he receives and holds from the Pope and the Roman Church as a vassal."—Holinshed.—Fox.

(e) Holinshed.

(f) Holinshed.

(g) That he shall kepe and mayntene the right and the liberties of holie Church of old tyme, graunted by the rightuous Christen kings of England.

(h) Not prejudyciall to hys jurisdiction and dignite ryall. See Appendix (K.).

(i) That he shall kepe the peax of the holie Churche and of the clergye, and of the people, with good accorde.

(j) That he shall indevore himself to kepe unite in his clergye, and temporall subjects.

(k) That he shall do in his judgements equytie and right justice, with discretion and mercie.

(l) That he shall do, according to his consciens, in all his mynystere, equity, right and justice, shewing mercie where is to be shewed mercie.

(m) That he shall graunte to holde the laws and customes of the realme.

(n) That he shall graunte to hold the lawes, and approwyd customs of the realm and lawfull and not prejudiciall to hys crown or imperial duty.

The trumpet sounded an alarm, and several young men, sumptuously clad and well-mounted, entered the arena. The trumpet again sounded. There then appeared on a tower, covered with gold cloth, a woman holding a crystal shield in her hand: she was to represent Minerva. The goddess descended the steps of her palace, approached the king, and presented to him six champions, who offered, with their sovereign's permission, to defend the honour of their celestial mistress against any rival. A body of knights then galloped into the arena amidst a flourish of trumpets and drums; on their heads were gold caps, ornamented with plumes of white feathers. Eight of them advanced towards Katharine, and besought her to grant them permission to dispute the possession of the crystal shield with Minerva's champions. The tournament then commenced, lasted till night, and was adjourned till the following morning. On the morrow, as the combatants were entering the lists, the trumpet sounded the arrival of the foresters, who brought with them a triumphal car carrying a cage of wild beasts, the door of which was opened at a given signal, and the animals, on entering the circus, were killed with darts, and expired at the feet of the queen and her ladies of honour.(a) The people, to whom the king had courteously opened the gates of Westminster Hall, clapped their hands and rent the air with their shouts; but there were certain individuals among the lookers on who moved not their scowling eyes from the royal pair. After the festivities, they met to concoct their nefarious plot. Their attention had been principally called to the different attitudes observed by the king and his consort.

Katharine, whose white satin dress showed yet more her paleness, was melancholy and pensive, not even so much as exchanging a casual word with her ladies in attendance; it might have been said that God had vouchsafed to give her a glimpse of the futurity; while Henry, whose restless eye was engaged in scanning the bevy of women that filled the boxes of the amphitheatre, hardly noticed his young and lovely bride. Our philosophical dreamers seemed ill at rest, and foresaw that, sooner or later, his licentiousness of life would be a source of great uneasiness to Katharine. To win the affections of his subjects, Henry confirmed the amnesty that his father on his death had granted; and a proclamation, affixed to the walls of the churches, called on all those who had been ruined by the late government to send in their complaints, promising them justice and restitution.(b) This supposed act of good feeling and sympathy towards oppressed innocence contained a snare; the king never intended to act up to the proclamation, but desired to obtain evidence against his late father's instruments.

The people were clamouring loudly for the punishment of Empson and Dudley; their blood alone could wash away the crimes of the deceased monarch. The accused were arrested and tried simultaneously with the promulgation of the proclamation.(c) Empson, after hearing the indictment, defended himself with great eloquence; showed that both he and his colleague had only executed the laws of the country; that if they had disobeyed the king, they would have been guilty of treason; in a word, that they had only been the docile instruments of a cruel and perhaps unjust tyrant; that they had only been the executors of the royal will, approved of by Parliament, as it behoved them as loyal subjects; that their condemnation would be an insult to the memory of the deceased monarch; and that instead of being sent to the scaffold for having obeyed without murmuring statutes which they had no right to judge as long as they were in force, they ought to be rewarded.(d) Empson was right; the principal culprit was reposing quietly in his tomb at Westminster: who was there sufficiently hardy to venture to disturb his ashes? Still the people clamoured for their blood. They were not satisfied with having exposed in the pillory, with having paraded

(a) Turner's Hist. of Henry VIII.

(b) Lingard.
(c) Hume.—Lingard.
(d) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII. Anderson's Reports.

through the streets of London on horseback, riding backwards, the king's subaltern agents, known by the name of *promoters*;(a) but blood for blood, tears for tears, is the law of the people. Could Empson and Dudley, protected and encouraged as they had been by the late monarch, be condemned? The commission soon came to a decision; they were accused of high treason, in endeavouring, on his father's death, to seize the king's person and to take possession of the executive government.

London and England had been threatened, without their knowledge, with two dictators; the one (Empson) the son of a miller, the other (Dudley) the son of a lawyer. Witnesses were easily found, who swore that the prisoners had engaged their vassals to accompany them to London. They were convicted. Dudley was condemned at Guildhall, on the 16th of July, 1509, and Empson at Northampton, on the 1st of October, but their execution was delayed at the prayer of the queen, who was yet too lovely for her tears not to have some effect on Henry.(b) It is said that Dudley, while in prison, wrote a political pamphlet entitled the "Tree of the Republic," which he addressed to the king, with a view to obtain mercy, but it never appears to have reached the monarch.(c) Would he have looked at it? The prisoners, on the assembling of Parliament at Easter, (15th April, 1510,) were tried for an imaginary crime(d) and convicted. Henry would have been satisfied with the confiscation of their property, but having been importuned during one of his summer excursions with complaints and remonstrances, he signed the order for their execution, and they were accordingly hanged at Tower Hill. The people were quieted, the witnesses received their pay, and the judges continued to occupy their perjured seats. The blood shed at the Tower afforded a plea for not making any restitution to those who had been the unfortunate dupes and victims of the criminals (e) Their property was confiscated, and a portion of that belonging to Empson bestowed on Sir Henry Wyatt (f).

The peace which England enjoyed at this period permitted the monarch to indulge his passion for pleasure. For the first two years of his reign, the history of Henry VIII. only presents one continued series of balls, tournaments and festivities; while Katharine was reciting her hours or kneeling at her *prie Dieu*, Henry was up and on horseback, armed with a battle-axe, or double-edged sword, to combat for the prize awarded to strength or agility. After a few passes, his adversary would lower his arms and acknowledge himself conquered, the trumpet would sound a flourish, and the conqueror be saluted by the crowd. On his return to the palace, after having been cheered by the people, he would find a poetic epistle, written by a poet in distress, celebrating his triumphs. Henry was generous and dispensed his alms plentifully; and in the evening it would be read aloud by one of his secretaries.

Fox, on seeing the money which his deceased master had taken such pains in amassing spent so heedlessly, would remonstrate with the young prince, but Henry only laughed at the old man, and in this he was aided by his favourites. His most intimate friend was the Earl of Surrey, who had been regarded in the last reign as the very incarnation of avarice, owing to his unwillingness to pay the crown debts.(g) The earl had become extravagant, and indulged the fancies of his young master, gave him money when he required, and, like a shadow, never left him.

The king was greatly annoyed with

(a) "Promoters," because they promoted many honest men's vexations.—Arch Brit., XXV., p. 372.

(b) Stowe's Annals.

(c) Biog. Brit., V., p 425.

(d) In the eye of the law their efforts to enforce the law did not constitute a crime. To please the people a groundless and ridiculous pretence of treasonable conspiracy was preferred against them; there was no difficulty in finding juries to convict them of any offence, and even the Parliament did not scruple to join in the general hue and cry.—Archæ. XXV., p. 378.

(e) Herbert.—Register XIV., Lord's Journal I. Stat. Henry VIII., 4, 8, 12, 15.

(f) Nott's Life of Wyatt.—Memoirs of the Court of Henry VIII., by Mrs. Thomson.

(g) Rapin de Thoyras.

Fox, who was ever finding fault, and the good old man, perceiving that his reign would not be of long duration, appointed, as Almoner of the Royal Household, Thomas Wolsey, the son (it was said) of a butcher at Ipswich;(a) a student of Oxford, where at fourteen he had taken his B.A. degree, afterwards fellow of Magdalen College, and then M.A. He had been entrusted with the education of the three sons of the Marquis of Dorset, who presented him with the living of Lymington, in Hampshire. Having been appointed, through the interest of Sir Amias Pawlett, Almoner to Henry VII., he attracted the attention of Fox and Sir Thomas Lovel. At a later period, commissioned to negotiate the marriage of the king with Margaret, Duchess of Savoy, he was sent to the emperor, that princess's father, and, as a reward for showing such great tact and policy in the fulfilment of his embassy, he was created Dean of Lincoln, and shortly after Prebendary of Walton Brimhold.(b) Wolsey felt his patron's death severely, and when his body was conveyed to the chapel which still bears his name, the bachelor took part in the *cortège*, with his Breviary in his hand, praying devoutly for the repose of Henry's soul.(c) His prayers and tears were soon to cease. Henry VIII. gave his Almoner a sumptuous palace, formerly belonging to Empson, near Bridewell, a truly princely abode, surrounded with trees, and situated on the banks of the Thames. Wolsey built for himself a yet more magnificent palace, for he aspired to the Vatican.

The poets had every reason to sing the praises of Henry VIII. The prince courted them with as much assiduity as he did the fair sex. His palace was ever open to them. Henry sought to distinguish himself in the arena of theological controversy, as he had done in that of tournaments, but he met not with such easy disputants in the lists of the former as he had done in the latter. He was one of the most zealous champions of his master, St. Thomas. Henry's hospitality to the literati must indeed have exercised a happy influence over the development of literature.

England was now on the point of flinging aside those fetters of ignorance by which she alone, of all the nations of Europe, had been so long enslaved. For nearly half a century she had been indebted to Italy for her literature. In 1446, we find William Gray, Robert Fleming, Bishop of Ely, John Free, John Gunthorpe, and John Tiptoft crossing the Alps, to study at Ferrara, under Guarini, junior.(d) In 1442, England had but two schools, that of Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, where Latin was taught, and a few of the poets. In the Paston Letters are two Latin verses, written by an Eton scholar; and Leland, in the IV. volume of his "Collectanea," has given a catalogue of works belonging to the monasteries and colleges in which mention is made of some translations recently published in Italy.(e) This intellectual movement made but little progress in the reign of Richard III. All that was taught in the schools, says Wood,(f) was tarnished and ineffectual, and Greek was nearly forgotten. But literature revived at the close of Henry VII., and England seemed to comprehend the necessity of associating with Italy in the task of a literary regeneration. Some of her prelates opened a correspondence with the literati of Florence and Rome. Erasmus was delighted at the movement. Cambridge studied Homer, and Oxford commented on Aristophanes; an acquaintance with ancient authors was required from all aspirants to ecclesiastical dignities; and before Henry VII. had descended into the tomb, England was able to boast of some of her sons being versed in profane and sacred literature; and of these not a few were guests of Henry VIII. Skelton's pupil was delighted beyond measure at the arrival of those English humanists, who had been present at Florence, at the opening of the Platonician Academy, founded by Lawrence de Medicis, in their island home. The veil that had concealed antiquity from their gaze had been withdrawn. Until then, antiquity had appeared to them as well as

(a) Cavendish tells us that Wolsey was "the son of a poor honest man at Ipswich," but Grove calls him "a grazier."

(b) Wolsey, the Cardinal by George Howard.

(c) Walking in the procession and praying all the way.—Howard.

(d) Hallam's History of Literature.

(e) Hallam.

(f) Wood's Annals of Oxford.

to all their countrymen, covered with dust, and clothed in the dialect of Scott and Durandus; but at Florence, when attending the assemblies presided over by Careggio and Politian, they had seen it in all its radiant beauty, proceeding from a bright cloud surrounded by a circle of poets, historians, philosophers, and statuaries. The fable of Pygmalion appeared to have been repeated for these noble pilgrims; antiquity was revived, it lived, it moved, it spoke. Henry was much pleased with this result, as we learn from Erasmus, who was then in England. Nearly all of them had, on repassing the Alps, brought over with them some manuscripts, and amongst others they had not forgotten Plato, whose philosophy they had studied under the Florentine priests.

For the last ten centuries, Aristotle had reigned alone in the schools; his kingdom was now menaced by the introduction of Plato, not only in England but in France also. It was the epoch of a new philosophy, addressed to the imagination, and which, admitting the *cultus* of form, arrived at the acme of power in the soul by seducing the senses. We have not forgotten the letter written by Mountjoy to Erasmus shortly after the accession of Henry, inviting him to come and reside in England, promising him the patronage of the crown and a rich benefice from the Archbishop of Canterbury.(a) Sir Thomas More, aware of the philosopher's love of money, enclosed in Mountjoy's letter a cheque for a large sum which he advanced in conjunction with the archbishop(b) and other friends, and besought Erasmus, in the name of the muses, to come to England for the advancement of literature.(c) The philosopher yielded, dreaming of the vast fortune he would accumulate on the promised land,(d) and started. He crossed the Grisons,(e) called on his old friends at Louvain and Antwerp, resisted the earnest prayers of Adolphus of Burgundy, who wished to detain him, and arrived at London, where he remained with More, and to whom he dedicated, as a mark of gratitude, his "Eulogy on Folly."(f) Poor man! soon did he begin to regret the genial warmth of Rome, the wine of Orvieto, which he had drunk at the table of the Cardinals Germani and Raphael di St. Georgio, the promenades at the Esquilino, and the beech trees of the Pincio.(g) Erasmus has left us the following description of Sir Thomas More, in a letter addressed to the poet Hutten:—"Figure to yourself a young man of ordinary height, but slight and well built, of delicate complexion, blue eyes, without beard, a smiling countenance, gay without malice, careless in his dress, a bitter enemy to foppery, never restless for the morrow, always thinking of others, and so full of conversation that it is impossible to be tired with him. He knows Greek thoroughly, and though his father threatened to disown him, has commenced the study of philosophy; he is well acquainted with the fathers, and although so young, has lectured on the "De Civitate Dei" of St. Augustine."(h) While crossing the Appenines, on a sure-footed mule, Erasmus determined to write a desultory epistle to his friend More. He deemed it but right that a work, wherein he ridiculed those follies common to the human race, should be placed under the patronage of him who endeavoured to avoid all worldly distinction in the same proportion as others desired to acquire it.

Henry VIII. did all in his power to attract Sir Thomas More to the court, but in vain, as he was happy with his books; for like Machiavelli, in his villa in the vicinity of Florence, at a distance from the world, he conversed with ancient writers. Linacre in no way resembled Sir Thomas More; he flattered Henry, and as he was not a little ambitious of praise, would not brook contradiction. He had dedicated his translation of "Proclus" to his patron Henry VII., but one of Prince Arthur's tutors, André, of Toulouse, had succeeded in persuading the monarch that the work was not original, and, therefore, when Linacre appeared at court, he found in the king a severe and morose judge.(i)

(a) Eras. Ep. IV., ep. 4.
(b) Vie d'Erasme, par De Burigni.
(c) Compendium vitæ.
(d) Epis. Curtio.
(e) Epis. Rhenani. De Burigni.

(f) Μωρίας Ἐγκώμιον — Knight.
(g) Eras. Ep. XI. 11.
(h) Eras. Ep. XXX. 10.
(i) Eras. Ep. Germ. Brixio. Edit. Leid. p. 1263.

Linacre was not a stoic like Sir Thomas More: although at work the whole night, he was generally dissatisfied with his compositions, and would, in the morning, throw away his lucubrations of the preceding night into the fire. His friends, truly estimating his abilities, pressed him, but in vain, to publish. Erasmus was better pleased with him as a physician than as a man of science.(a) Our philosopher was always imagining himself ill, and invariably called in Linacre for advice whenever attacked with illness. On his way from London to Paris, he caught a severe cold, and while lying in bed he happened to put up his hand to his neck, when feeling the glands a little swollen, and fancying that he felt a tingling sensation in the ear, he believed himself to be dangerously ill, and exclaimed, in a fit of despair,—"And there is no Linacre to cure me!(b) Linacre, on his return from Italy, had, for a short period, given lessons in Latin to the young Prince of Wales. At Florence, he had attended Politian's lectures on Horace and Virgil, and was perfectly enamoured with the Roman poets, a branch of study scarcely known in England.

A little later, *i.e.*, a few years before Henry's coronation, Colet had also returned from Italy and founded Jesus College, London, the first school at which Greek was taught in England. Colet was one of the most remarkable men of his day: his father had amassed a large fortune in trade, and his mother, a woman of truly angelic piety, had lost twenty children; John alone remained heir to a property, called by Erasmus "*luctuosæ hereditas.*"(c) After spending seven years at Oxford, he went to France, where he made the acquaintance of Budæus, and then left for the land of serious studies. He met several of his countrymen at Florence, among others Grocyn and Lylie, who were studying Greek with great earnestness; after spending a short time at Rome, Pisa, and Ferrara, he recrossed the Alps and returned to his beloved island home, his own happy England, where the sun of literature was just commencing to dawn. Gifted with high spirits, he was at table a merry guest, who never allowed his glass to remain empty; fond of women's society, and, as he himself acknowledged, a true epicure. Colet seemed destined rather to shine in the world than to mount the pulpit; he was, however, proof against every temptation. After a lengthened study of St. Paul, he commenced a series of lectures on his Epistles, which were frequented by the dignitaries of the Church, and often by Henry himself. On one occasion, however, it was thought that there would be a rupture between the theologian and the monarch:—Warham had selected Colet as the court preacher for Good Friday, and he took as his subject the victory gained by Jesus over death and the grave, a peaceful victory to be won by prayer only. It was well known that Henry purposed war against France, but the preacher, notwithstanding this, carried off by his subject, bewailed the loss of a soul crowned with a diadem, who passed from the field of battle to the tribunal of the Sovereign Judge. This sermon was directly in collision with the belligerent ideas of the sovereign, and the preacher had scarcely descended from the pulpit ere the king sent for him to the garden of the Franciscan Monastery. On his obeying, the attendants withdrew, and Henry, calling him aside, thus addressed him:—"Your sermon was indeed beautiful, but, *entre nous*, I fear you over-reached the mark, and, as my conscience is ill at ease, I wish you to help me. All that you said on charity was admirable, never did any one speak with greater clearness or preciseness on the love that should unite princes redeemed by the blood of Jesus, and indeed you have all but reconciled me with France; but you must acknowledge that the gospel nowhere prohibits the repelling of an unjust aggression. Doubtless, to attack an inoffensive neighbour is an offence, and a great offence against the law of love laid down by Christ: but if you are yourself attacked, does the gospel bid you be quiet?—No; on the contrary it behoves you to repel your adversary for the sake of public peace. Is it not so? Therefore you must again ascend the pulpit, and preach, as you so well know how to

(a) Erasm. Ep. ad Linacrum.
(b) Ep. Eras. Linacre.
(c) Tytler.

so, on the legitimacy of a defensive war, undertaken for the independence and honour of the crown."(a) Colet, amazed at being thus taken to task by so skilful a logician, muttered a few words and promised to amend his fault; and, accordingly, on Easter Sunday, he again appeared in the pulpit, and commented on the royal theme: he now said, that a prince who died on the field of battle went direct to heaven, provided his life was lost in a defensive war; the soul threatened with damnation was the one that had taken up arms to disturb the public peace. For such a one, eternal damnation was destined in the other world; while the prince, who, actuated by patriotism, repelled force by force for the honour of his crown and the liberty of his people, would attain to eternal life. None could be deceived as to the characters here pourtrayed. It was evident that the ambitious soul dwelt in the body of Louis XII., King of France, and that the soul according to the heart of God, was that which then governed England in the body of Henry VIII. The prince, who was delighted with the sermon, said:—"Let every man choose his own doctor, Colet shall be mine in preference to the whole world,"(b) and, calling for a cup, pledged his health. The congregation looked in amazement upon the poor preacher, who was not himself a little abashed at the honour he had gained by a miserable *distinguo*.

The reader may, perhaps, consider that so trivial an anecdote as the one just related ought not to have a place in our history of Henry VIII., but we regard it in the light of a prophetic revelation of the future prospect of England. Henry trembled at the allegory, and compelled the orator to retract his words. Why did Colet dread the royal anger? The readiness evinced by Colet, one of the most learned members of the priesthood, to yield to the monarch's wish, only proved how easily they would hereafter fall into his snare. Colet was determined to take his revenge on the religious, and attacked them accordingly; they complained, but the preacher, confiding in the royal protection, continued his attacks,—a melancholy war, which lasted a long time, and in which Colet displayed more wit than reason. If Erasmus, no good authority by the way, is to be credited, the English monks, with but few exceptions, deserved the castigation inflicted on them by his friend. According to his representations, they were disinherited by heaven, plunged into the depth of ignorance and luxury, and were wont to sign themselves with the holy sign when they met with any one having a knowledge of the Greek tongue. To hear him speak, one would have imagined that Satan wished to banish the Greek language for the ruin of the Church. Erasmus gives the following anecdote of two Franciscan monks:—While Henry was at Woodstock,(c) a monk, attached to the church of St. Mary, ascended the pulpit, and, like one possessed, commenced declaiming against the Greek language and all those who studied it. The scholars, who were present, annoyed at this attack, assembled under the window of his cell and began groaning. As a consequence of this *exposé*, the king addressed letters to the University of Oxford, ordering the authorities to compel the students to study the beautiful language of Homer, inasmuch as it was adapted, in conjunction with the Latin, to civilize the world,(d) and the monk of St. Mary was silenced. But his place was quickly supplied: his successor, bolder than his predecessor, had the audacity to attack the Greek language and its students in the royal presence. Richard Pace was compelled, during the sermon, to cover his face with his hands lest he should be seen to be laughing; while Henry, by the working of his countenance, was evidently full of indignation and contempt for the preacher. The king was determined to be revenged, but as a scholar; accordingly, sending for the monk, he bade him produce his charges against the Greek tongue, while Sir Thomas More was retained for the defence. The advocate was eloquent; when it came to the monk's turn to reply, he became confused, and kneeling down, with tears in his eyes, attributed all that he had said against the Greek

(a) Translation of the Life of Erasmus, published in a collection of scarce tracts, entitled "The Phœnix." Vol. II, p. 25-26. London, 1707, 1708.
(b) Tytler.
(c) Eras. Epist. VII., 12; VI., 2.
(d) Tytler.

tongue to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. "Of the Holy Spirit!" remarked Henry, "beware how you calumniate Him from whom proceeds all light, and who has surely no motive to rail against one of the finest languages that has ever been spoken. But tell me," added Henry, smiling, "have you ever read any of Erasmus's works, against whom you spoke so severely?" "Alas! no," replied the penitent, in piteous accents. "Then how came you to venture to speak of works that you have never read?" "Oh, yes;" replied the monk, "I have glanced over one of his works entitled 'The Eulogy of Folly.'" "I really believe," remarked Pace, "that that work was especially written for your reverence." The monk ended the discussion by acknowledging himself reconciled with the Greek tongue, inasmuch as he was now convinced that it was derived from Hebrew, and left the royal presence amidst the laughter of the bystanders.(a)

Perhaps these anecdotes, notwithstanding the circumstantial manner in which they are related, may not be true. The "Eulogy of Folly," moreover, was not only denounced by "idle, lazy, and ignorant monks," but the Sorbonne condemned the work as being impious, insulting to God, the Blessed Virgin, the saints, the Church and tradition.(b) We ought then to pardon the poor brother of St. Francis for railing against a work condemned by the mother and nurse of Catholic literature.

However, we are bound to acknowledge that important reformations were required in the system of education then pursued in England, and this Henry knew, and therefore favoured the movement. The majority of schools were then in the hands of the monks of the orders of St. Dominick, St. Augustine, and St. Francis, their grand object being to form the students for the ecclesiastical state. In these monasteries, grammar was studied for two or three months, and then Aristotle was placed in the hands of the student. After a slight initiation into the pedantic *formulæ* of hypotheses, restrictions, expositions and equivocations, the scholar entered the portico of theology. He had no knowledge of the Greek and Latin orators; Cicero and Demosthenes were unknown to him. Colet agreed with Henry that, to regenerate the human understanding, a knowledge of Pagan antiquity was highly necessary; for art had scarcely sprung up in Italy, ere it was acknowledged that it was incumbent for the statuary to be acquainted with Praxiteles and Phidias. Before initiating his pupils into the mysteries of theology, Colet obliged them to go through a regular course of grammar, and employed, as his assistants, skilful and trustworthy workmen. He nominated, as head schoolmaster of St. Paul's, William Lylie, who had studied Greek for five years at Rhodes, under the rhetoricians of Constantinople. Lylie merited the confidence of the dean as well as that of the king. He was a zealous professor, but fortunately he regarded corporal punishment as a forcible motive power for securing the progress of his pupils. Erasmus, whose mind was beyond his age, has left us an amusing account of the method adopted by Colet, and carried out with great zeal by Lylie in the application of the rod.(c)

But war was soon to separate Erasmus from Sir Thomas More, Colet from his grammar, Linacre from his Hippocrates, Warham from his literary *réunions*, and Henry from his studies and his mistresses, for the prince had not long remained faithful to Katharine.(d)

(a) Tytler.

(b) De Burigni, La Vie d'Erasme.

(c) De Pueris instituendis. Eras. Opera. VIII., p. 441.

(d) Erasmus's correspondence contains some curious information respecting Henry, pages 129, 140, 249, 423, 597, 727, 732, and 747;—Katharine of Arragon, p. 646; Colet, pp. 187, 219, 248, 351, 352, 355, 358, 416; Warham, pp. 423, 424, 453, 464, 588 634, 701, 729; Sir Thomas More, pp. 248, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 357, 441, 450, 489, 497, 1022; Linacre, pp. 350, 651; Tonstal Bishop of London, pp. 123, 432, 596, 836, 1042; Mountjoy, pp. 202, 204, 220, 248, 258, 285, 314, 315, 425, 560, 1021, 1042; Latimer, pp. 360, 415; Polydore Virgil, pp. 532, 730, 741, 789, 809; Pace, pp. 129, 281, 361, 374, 427, 442, 454, 461, 645, 1449. —Epist. Eras. Basileæ 1538.

CHAPTER III.

EUROPE AT THE ACCESSION OF HENRY VIII.—1509-1512.

Ambition of Venice.—Julius II. determines to reduce that Republic.—Defeat of the Vénetians.—The Pope's plan to expel all Foreigners from Italy.—Julius unites with Henry VIII. against Louis XII.—Designs of the King of England against France.—Dorset sent to Navarre.—Deceived by Ferdinand of Arragon.—The Arms of England unsuccessful by Land and at Sea.—Naval Engagement off Brest.

THE termination of the fifteenth century was marked by great revolutions, which tended completely to change the face of affairs in Europe. It was at this period that the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon were united, and the Moors expelled from Spain; that the wars of the roses were brought to a close by the death of Richard III., and the conqueror, Henry VII., compelled, for the peace of his newly acquired kingdom, to marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.; that Louis XI., King of France, accused Charles the Bold of treason, and seized on the Duchy of Burgundy, and the earldom of Artois.

Peace reigned in Europe. Great monarchies, whose powers were on a level, were fast rising. The ocean defended England from foreign invasion. Formed of various states united under the same sceptre, Spain obeyed Ferdinand the Catholic, a prudent but artful man. Louis XII. had, by his marriage with Anne, Duchess of Brittany, annexed that valuable province, so necessary for the prosperity of his kingdom, to the crown of France. Maximilian I., Emperor of Germany, had despatched an embassy to Henry VIII., congratulating him on his accession, and praying for the confirmation of the treaty he had entered into with Henry VII. in 1502.(a) After having had his right over the hereditary states of Austria acknowledged, Maximilian had succeeded in founding a sort of German nationality of the numerous Electorates of an empire, shortly destined to tremble at the words of an Augustine monk—Martin Luther. Charles, Prince of Castile, grandson of Maximilian and Ferdinand, had succeeded to the possessions of the House of Burgundy, but too young yet to govern his people, he was studying royalty under a Thomist, destined at a future period to wear the tiara,—Florentius of Utrecht. The Netherlands, during his minority, were governed by his aunt, Margaret of Savoy, whose name is still venerated in Germany.(b)

Julius II. succeeded Pius III. As long as the Kings of Spain and France respected the Italian peninsula, so long was the Sovereign Pontiff her master; but on Louis XII. taking possession of the duchy of Milan, and Ferdinand of Naples, the influence of the papacy was considerably weakened. Julius II., in consequence, formed the project of expelling these foreigners, whom he contemptuously called Barbarians.(c) He charged them with coveting the patrimony of St. Peter, of covering with ruins and blood countries that were the refuge of the arts and sciences, of retarding the intellectual movement that the papacy directed, and which bid fair, if not arrested in its progress, to extend throughout the

(a) Rymer Fœdera. XIII., 257.

(b) Ranke, deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation.

(c) The motto of Julius II.: "Lord deliver us from the Barbarians," is well known. - Guicciardini, Paolo Giovia.

whole world. Ambitious of glory, a soldier without fear, a bishop and a captain, Julius conceived the idea, for the accomplishment of the spiritual redemption of Italy, of erecting an empire under the sceptre of one master, defended by the threefold girdle of rocks, snow, and sea, and that master to be no other than the Pope.(a) But ere they were expelled from Italy, Julius felt that he ought first to humble the Venetian republic, daily increasing in power and menacing Rome by sending her aid to the European monarchs alternately, for the purpose of destroying the temporal power of the Sovereign Pontiff. Venice, the advanced bulwark of Christendom against the Turks, ranked amongst the principal nations of the continent. Friuli, Treviso, Verona, Vicenza, Paudua, Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, Rovigo, Polesina, Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini, had submitted to the yoke of the Queen of the Adriatic. No nation in Europe was so rich as Venice, no state could boast of such prosperous finances. Her numerous vessels covered the Mediterranean and the ocean. Her naval and military strength was formidable. She had a valliant soldiery, and leaders who, like Alviano, after having nobly served their country, spent the remainder of their days in deciphering old manuscripts. Venice loved the arts, and, thanks to the press of Aldus Manucius, diffused light into the German and Latin worlds. She had acquired all her possessions either by force of arms or money; still it was impossible for their former masters to see, without feeling some little regret, in the hands of their rival, cities which they once possessed. Maximilian coveted Treviso, Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, which had formerly belonged to the German empire. Friuli had been taken from the church of Aquileia, to which it had been given by Otho I. Rovigo and Polesina had been conquered from the duchy of Ferrara; Cremona and Ghiaradadda had depended on the duchy of Milan, to which state they had been ceded by Louis XII. Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini were claimed by Julius II., as belonging to the patrimony of St. Peter, and accordingly, Venice was called on to restore them to the Holy See. She replied, that she had not wrested them from St. Peter, but from Cæsar Borgia.(b) The Pontiff threatened to excommunicate the republic: the menace was treated with silent contempt. Julius then called on the enemies of the republic to aid him in regaining possession of these fiefs of Rome.(c) The Sovereign Pontiff could rely on the assistance of his allies, as each imagined he would thereby be enabled to re-annex to his dominions those dependances which he believed to have been lost for ever.

Such was the plea brought forward by the league, formed at Cambray, against Venice, and of which the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France were the principal promoters. At Cambray, the division of the already defeated republic had been made. Ravenna, Faenza, and Rimini, were to be allotted to the Pope; to Maximilian, Vicenza, Verona, and Padua; to Louis XII., the contested duchy of Milan, Cremona, Ghiaradadda, Brescia, Crema, and Bergamo; to the King of Spain, Manfredoni, Trani, Brindisi, and Otranto. In April, 1509, the King of France, according to agreement, invaded Italy with an army of 4,000 men; the Papal forces entered Romagno, under the command of Francesco Maria de la Rovera, Duke of Urbino; Raimundo del Cardena entered Lombardy at the head of the Neapolitan army; the Duke of Ferrara invested Polesina; and the emperor occupied Trent, whence he was able to watch the proceedings of the confederates.(d) The Pope also about this time excommunicated Venice, charging the citizens with being only Christians in name, of denying the gospel, and of always having evinced a disobedient spirit towards the Holy See.

(a) "You do not understand why I exert myself so much at such an advanced period of life. I do it to unite the whole of our common country under one master, who ought to be the Roman Pontiff."—Letter from the unpublished journal of Paride Grassi, No. 13, pp. 75—79, Barberini MSS.

(b) Schmidt. Histoire des Allemands.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Mezerai. Histoire de France.—Sardi, Historia di Ferrara.

On the 11th of May, the Venetians, under the command of two veteran generals, the Count di Pitigliana and Bartolomeo d'Alviano, advanced, by forced marches, against the French army. Pitigliano desired to watch the enemy, without risking an engagement, but the rash advice of d'Alviano was followed, and the Venetians, raising their war cry of "Marco! Marco!" commenced the engagement, which was of a short duration; they were defeated at Ghiaradadda, and d'Alviano taken prisoner.(a) Disconcerted at their defeat, the citizens lost courage, and retired in perfect confusion to their ships.(b) Louis was master, in less than a fortnight, of Cremona, Peschiera, Crema, Brescia, Bergamo, and all the cities, formerly dependant on Milan. The cities, once vassals to the empire, threw open their gates to Maximilian. The Duke of Urbino, at the head of the Pontifical army, had taken possession of Ravenna, Cervia, Faenza, and Rimini. The Duke of Ferrara had made himself master of Rovigo, and the Marquis of Mantua had forced a few citadels.(c) It was a critical period, and had Maximilian, instead of waiting at Trent to receive the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Giustiniani, who craved for pardon on his knees, marched on Venice, the republic must have fallen. The emperor's inaction saved her, for she was aware that a state with such resources as hers might recover from the check received at Ghiaradadda, and completely defeat the league of Cambray, if not by force of arms, at least by diplomacy.(d)

Louis XII., after his victory, had returned to France, leaving a remnant of his forces incorporated with Maximilian's army. The departure of the French monarch was a propitious circumstance for the republic, and consequently, taking advantage of it to levy fresh troops, she surprised Padua, and threw into Friuli sufficient men to keep the imperialists in check. Venice purchased the alliance of Ferdinand by the sacrifice of a few cities,(e) and by a continual protestation of repentance, appeased the Sovereign Pontiff, who took off the interdict under which it lay.

Julius II. had triumphed; he had humbled the pride of Venice, and had obtained the restitution of the ancient domains of St Peter's patrimony; but his work was not completed. Two powerful monarchs, the King of France and the Emperor of Germany, if united, threatened the independence of Italy; the one by occupying the duchy of Milan, the other by encamping before the walls of Verona and Vicenca. It was reported that it was their intention to seize on the peninsula, and consequently the Pope clearly saw that it was his interest to be reconciled with Venice, to detach Ferdinand from the league, to induce Maximilian to quarrel with Louis, to invite the Swiss into Italy, and, lastly, to draw the King of England into a war with France. These plans required great activity of mind and body, a courage incapable of yielding to difficulty, firmness in danger, ambition and enthusiasm, and, lastly, the ardour of a young man, conjointly with the mature judgment of an old diplomatist. Julius II. possessed all these qualities.(f) In the course of a few weeks, Julius's policy succeeded beyond his most ardent expectations. Venice, by desisting from all pretensions to the cities of Romagna, permitted the subjects of the Church to navigate the gulf. She also further conceded the right of being represented at Ferrara by the *Bisdominio*; Ferdinand promised to abandon the league, on condition that he should be permitted by the Holy See to receive the investiture of the kingdom of Naples; Schinner, Bishop of Sion, left for Switzerland, and, by the sound of his horn, invited the mountaineer peasants of Uri and Unterwalden to march to the aid of the Church; and Henry, on receiving from Warham the gold rose,(g) sent from Rome,

(a) Schmidt.—Raynaldus, Eccl. Annals.
(b) Seissel, Hist. de Louis XII.—Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, lib. VIII.
(c) Petrus Martyr, Ep. 418.
(d) Mariana de rebus Hispaniæ, XXIX. 19.
(e) Bembo, Hist. Venet. VIII.

(f) Machiavelli, at that time deputy of the Republic, felt great delight in rendering justice to the abilities of Julius (see his despatches in Vol. VIII. of his works, Biblioteca scelta di opere Italiane.) This war, of which Italy was the theatre, is well described by Sharon Turner, in his "View of the State of Europe at the accession of Henry VIII."

(g) Alexander III., on sending the rose to Louis VII. King of France, thus wrote to him:

declared himself ready to aid the papal policy, as far as lay in his power. Julius, in a letter to Henry, (a) had skilfully flattered the young prince's vanity by styling him the head of the holy league, which, under the auspices of the representatives of Catholicity, was to put an end to the ambition of Louis XII., and deliver Italy.(b) Wolsey, who was fast progressing in the royal favour, won over by the wishes of the Vatican, was eager in the interests of Julius, and it was no easy matter for Henry to listen unmoved to the flattery of his Almoner, who was his continual companion, partaking in his amusements even in such as were prohibited by the Church.(c)

If any credit can be given to the chronicles of this period, Wolsey exercised an irresistible power over the mind of his young master, for he was a proficient in poetry, painting, music, and sculpture; and it was for a short while imagined that he had persuaded Raphael to leave the Vatican and to come and reside in England.(d) Wolsey is accused of having been extravagant, because he had in his palace some valuable objects. Colet, on seeing him pass by St. Paul's daily on his way to Greenwich, prophesied to Erasmus that he would one day be premier of England. The philosopher believed his friend, wrote and dedicated a work to Wolsey as the king's Almoner, but while the volume was traversing the Channel, Wolsey had been created canon of Windsor.(e) Erasmus again set to work and dedicated another volume to Wolsey, as canon of Windsor, but the post was not so rapid as Wolsey's promotions; in less than a week, the canon had been metamorphosed into a dean, and Erasmus in a pet flung down his pen, at a loss to know by what title to address a favourite who every week changed his habit and dignity.(f)

Ferdinand co-operated with Julius in detaching Henry from the league of Cambray, for he apprehended that Louis XII. would not be willing that he should take possession of Naples, which had been guaranteed to him by his marriage with Isabella. The King of Spain acted in an underhand and clandestine manner, not wishing to take an open part in the matter. On the 6th of January, he ordered Louis de Carrara de Villaragod, his ambassador at London, to treat with Henry VIII. respecting an alliance between the crowns of England and Spain. The treaty was signed on the 24th of May following,(g) and stipulated that mutual assistance should be granted in case of foreign invasion: *ergo*, if one of the contracting powers was attacked, the other bound itself to declare war against the aggressor.(h) Julius, desirous of putting his plans into execution, ordered the Duke of Ferrara to join the papal forces, who, although one of his vassals, refused to quarrel with Louis, and Alphonso's dominions were accordingly invaded. (i) Louis, aware that the duke's real crime was his attachment to France, resolved to succour at every hazard so faithful an ally.

Chaumont accordingly left Milan, and, by an unexpected movement, surprised Julius at Bologna. His Holiness was ill in bed but not yet conquered; if he consented to negociate with the French general at his cardinals' request, it was only to gain time. He was waiting for Colonna, who was advancing to his succour at the head of some veteran troops. Chaumont, instead of taking the Sovereign Pontiff prisoner, lost time in treating with the commissioners of the Holy See, and found himself at last compelled to retreat; he was taken ill and died, imploring the papal mercy and pardon for having been guilty of carrying arms against the Church. Julius II. lost no time in acquainting Henry with Louis's insolence in having, during peace, presumed to insult the Vicar of Jesus

"Whence we, following the custom of our predecessors, have found no one so worthy to receive this flower as Your Excellence."—Nota in L. III. Guillelmi Neubrigensis, De rebus Anglicis, a Joanne Picardo, Bellov. Canonico.

(a) Burnet's History of the Reformation.

(b) Could the King of France overcome the Pope, he might hope to possess the whole of Italy, and to dictate his own terms to all the princes of Christendom.—P. Martyr, Ep.

(c) Polydore Virgil.

(d) Howard.

(e) Rymer. XIII., p. 298.

(f) Howard.

(g) Rymer. XIII., 281.

(h) Rymer.

(i) Lingard.

Christ, by endeavouring to take him prisoner at Bologna, an attempt which he fully intended to punish by excommunicating the French general. His Holiness' manifesto caused no little sensation in France. Anne, the queen, at that time *enceinte*, besought the king not to go to war with the Pope, inasmuch as it would assuredly draw down a curse on France.(a) But Louis XII. was inflexible; he convoked the bishops of his kingdom at Tours, to consult them as to how he should act. They were of opinion that the king should first offer terms of peace to the Holy See, but in case of their rejection, Louis might securely attack Julius even in the pontifical states. The struggle went on, and Louis, in a spirit of opposition, after having gained over a few cardinals, convoked a council at Pisa. He stated that it was his object to reform the Church in her head as well as her members. The fathers assembled, but meeting with much opposition from the people, fled from the banks of the Arno to Milan,(b) where they were pelted by all the children. They then crossed the Alps, and were received with great ridicule on their arrival at Lyons, that Rome of Gaul; the women when they met them signed themselves with the sign of the cross, and the clergy shut the door of the cathedral, whence it was evident that the sympathies of the people were with the Holy See.(c) Julius II. evinced no fear; in opposition to this schismatic council, he summoned the bishops of Christendom to assemble on a certain day at the Basilica of the Lateran; the prelates, submissive to the summons of the Vicar of Christ, obeyed, and arrived at Rome from all parts of the world. Julius, then, in the name of Almighty God, excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who had countenanced by their presence the schismatical Council of Pisa, who, on their part, did penance for their sin.(d) Shortly after, another manifesto from the Vatican proclaimed to all Europe the ambition of a prince, who, not content with his own fair dominions of France, had taken possession of Milan, attempted to invade the states of the Church, and made known, through impious medals, his intention to annihilate the very name of Rome, which he treated as Babylon.(e)

Once master of the Eternal City, Louis would soon have overcome the whole of Italy, and the European equilibrium would have been thus utterly destroyed. We can therefore well understand the apprehension into which the European powers were plunged; they were united by sentiments of fear, and used religion as a cloak to conceal their ambition. One only, and that was Julius, acted with candour and frankness, as he candidly acknowledged, that the object he had in view in expelling the French, was the perfect liberation of Italy. A noble thought, which, if we are not much mistaken, ought to be a sufficient apology for his martial acts. Under the armour which Julius wore at the seige of Mirandola, beat the heart of a patriot and a Christian: his country

(a) Bembo, Hist. Ven., IX.
(b) Machiavelli Legazione alla Corte di Francia.
(c) Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia. X.
(d) Audin's Hist. de Leon X.

(e) Joannis Harduini Explicatio nummi sub Ludovico Francorum rege cusi inscriptique: *Perdam Babylonis nomen*, p. 405. Leblanc (Monnaies de France) thus describes the medal: the head crowned with a lily, and the device, "*Ludo. Franc. regnique Neapol. R.*" on the reverse three *fleurs de-lis* placed under a crown, with the inscription: "*Nomen perdam Babylonis.* De Thou (Historia sui temporis) regards it in the light of a threat against Rome, and as referring to Isaiah xiv. 22, where it is said of Babylon in Chaldea: "*Perdam Babylonis nomen.*" Hardouin is of a different opinion. The medal was struck while Louis was King of Naples, as the inscription states, "*Ludovicus Francorum regnique Neapolitani rex.*" Louis XII. ceased (after 1503) to use the title of King of Naples. The kings of Naples had been called since the time of the Emperor Frederick II., kings of Jerusalem: this title Louis XII. took *procuratione parliamenti provinciæ, anno* 1501: REX FRANCIÆ, *Neapolis et Jerusalem.* As King of Jerusalem, Louis hoped to recover the Holy Land by ravaging Egypt as far as Cairo, commonly called *Babylo, pro Babilone*, its ancient name. The sultans reigned there at that time. But we have a slight knowledge of the paradoxical language generally used by Hardouin. His view, although supported by Du Cange, has been opposed by several learned Italians.—Roscoe's Life of Leo X.

once delivered, it was his intention to call on his allies to unite against the infidels, who, leaving Constantinople, had marched into Germany to level the cross of the Redeemer to the ground. We can scarcely believe the European monarchs to have been actuated by sincerity; they expressed their determination to undertake a war of extermination against the Turks, to destroy the schism with which Louis threatened the Church, and to defend the Church from which certain rebellious cardinals had seceded: mere pretexts by which they sought to cloak over their league against France.

A treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was signed between the Pope, Ferdinand of Spain, and the Republic of Venice.(a) Maximilian hesitated to break with Louis XII.; he had just complained bitterly of Julius's conduct in a letter to the inhabitants of Gelnhausen. "The Emperor and the King of France," said he, "have generously accorded subsidies to the Holy See to repel the infidels; but instead of using their money for the triumph of the gospel, the Pope has employed it to ruin Italy. I have, as King of the Romans, the right to watch over the Church of Christ, and have, therefore, resolved to convoke a council in which all Christendom shall be represented."(b) Julius treated the emperor's threats with silent contempt, and Ferdinand was commissioned to point out to Maximilian that their common interest required them to oppose the progress of the French in Italy; Maximilian was convinced, and Henry offered no resistance to the prayers of the league, as the Holy See, recompensing him for his prompt obedience, had promised him the title of "Most Christian king," which Louis XII. had forfeited by his schism.(c) Wolsey also was not backward in pointing out to his royal master those portions of France which once appertained to the English crown. Young was despatched as an ambassador to France, to demand the termination of the war against the Holy See, the restoration of Bologna to the Church, the dissolution of the assembly at Pisa, the acknowledgement of the Council of Lateran, and the desertion of Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara. Louis returned an evasive answer to these demands of the English sovereign; and accordingly a new treaty was signed between the kings of England and Spain, on the 17th of November, 1511.(d) After having invoked the aid of Almighty God, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and the Celestial Court of the protectors and avengers of the Holy Church, they declared war against the King of France, whom they purposed to pursue not only in Italy, but even in his own kingdom;—at first in Guienne, a province stolen from England, and which they resolved to restore to its legitimate owner (e)

To reconquer a province that had formerly belonged to England, was calculated to flatter Henry's vanity and ambition; he was too young and too fond of distinction not to be caught by it. Perhaps also he was a little grieved at seeing the aged Roman Pontiff, whom one of Louis XII.'s soldiers had nearly made prisoner, deserted by some of his brethren, and implore the aid of his allies. The supplications of the noble and fine-spirited old man were likely to touch so young a heart; for at twenty-two we are inclined to obey the first impulse; and we must not forget that Henry's mother was remarkable for her piety. He was about to make war against France in obedience to the Church, and as her champion, to defend her rights. (f) While Maximilian and Ferdinand were secretly plotting the subjugation of France, Henry acted a candid and honourable part. By his orders a new ambassador had been sent, as king-at-arms, to demand from the French monarch the restitution of Guienne, inasmuch as it had formerly appertained to the crown of England. To this insolent message Louis XII. replied as became a sovereign, and accordingly war was declared. (g) Parliament assembled the 4th of February, 1512, to receive a royal message. Henry, in communicating

(a) Lingard.
(b) Schmidt, quoting Lunig.
(c) Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.
(d) Raphi de Thoyras. Rymer, XIII., 311.
(e) Rayin de Thoyras.
(f) That it was according to his duty and to the Church, that for God's quarrels as for recovering his own right, he would pursue and continue the war.—To Sir David Owen.—Strype.
(g) Lingard.

his intention of declaring war against France, protested that the sole object he had in view was the deliverance of the Pope and the dissolution of the schismatical council of Pisa. Subsidies of two-tenths and two-fifteenths were voted.(a) It had been agreed upon between Henry and Ferdinand, that the former sovereign should, in April, have an army of 6,000 men ready, commanded by a skilful officer, while the King of Naples was on his part to raise an army of 300 men-at-arms, 1,500 light cavalry, 4,000 infantry, and a fleet manned by 3000 men for the invasion of Guienne. Henry, confiding in his allies, imagined that he would easily conquer this province; but he was deceived by his father-in-law, whose sole object was to conquer Navarre by the aid of the English troops and the spiritual interference of Julius.(b)

At the period fixed on by the treaty, the Marquis of Dorset appeared at the head of the English forces on the coast of Guipuscoa, whilst Edward Lord Howard cruised between England and Spain.(c) Dorset soon perceived that Ferdinand's generosity towards his son in-law was dictated by feelings of pure selfishness; the English general proposed at once marching on Bayonne, and thus opening the road to Guienne, but Ferdinand objected on the score that it was highly necessary to secure John d'Albret, King of Navarre, who had it in his power, if so disposed, to intercept all communication between Spain and the combined armies.(d) Ferdinand stated that in his opinion their road to Guienne lay through Navarre, of which they might take possession of three or four of the most important cities; the crafty monarch therefore ordered Dorset to act in conjunction with the Duke of Alva, who had marched against the King of Navarre. The English general, after consulting with his council, replied, that such conduct would not be in compliance with his instructions; but Ferdinand insisted on being obeyed, promising him in return assistance in reducing Bayonne after the capitulation of Pampeluna. Pampeluna capitulated after a brief siege, on the 25th July, 1512, yet Ferdinand delayed joining Dorset. Were there not other important cities in Navarre to be reduced, lest they might intercept their march, and thus compromise the success of their expedition?(e)

The Duke of Alva continued his operations in Navarre, while Dorset lay idle in his camp. But this inactivity was by no means grateful to the English general, who complained to his sovereign of Ferdinand's conduct, but he had been anticipated in this step by the Spanish monarch, who had despatched an ambassador (Martini d'Ampiosto) to London to complain of Dorset's systematic inactivity. Henry, deceived by Ferdinand's representations, despatched a herald-at-arms to the marquis of Dorset, commanding him to obey the Spanish monarch; secure of Dorset's co-operation, the king stated that he purposed marching immediately if followed by his ally.(f)

The French army occupied a strong position. Encamped between Bayonne and Salvatierra, it had in front the Bidassoa, which the enemy could not cross without risk; besides, Ferdinand's plan was perfectly impracticable, and Dorset, unable to cope with his adversary at the head of an army, weakened by sickness and famine, requested the loan of some vessels to return to England. At this juncture, the Windsor herald-at-arms arrived with Henry's message, which caused the English army to mutiny, and as Dorset found himself unable to keep them in subjection, he sailed for England, where he landed on the 1st of November. Ferdinand had triumphed: he had deceived Henry, and was master of Navarre, which Louis tried in vain to regain. His conquest must be preserved; and accordingly Ferdinand begged Julius II. to promulgate a bull of excommunication against John d'Albret, which was willingly accorded. By this bull, the authenticity of which we must acknowledge is exceeding dubious, d'Albret was deposed on the plea of his attachment to schismatics, and the King of Naples

(a) Lingard.
(b) Campbell's Lives of the Brit. Admirals.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Gabriel Chappuy, Histoire du royaume de Navarre.
(e) Mariana XXX. Campbell.—Hall.
(f) Lingard, Herbert, Petri Martyris, Epis.

exhorted to make good his claim to the crown of Navarre.(a) England was also unsuccessful at sea. Henry had entrusted the command of the fleet to Edward Lord Howard, eldest son of the Earl of Surrey. Sir Thomas Knevett had placed his flag on the Regent, and Sir Charles Brandon, (afterwards created Duke of Suffolk,) attacked, without orders, the Cordelier, commanded by Primauguet, manned by a crew of 1,600, in the Brest Roads, on the 10th August, 1512. But his ship was immediately dismasted by the enemy's fire, and he was compelled to retreat. The Regent now slowly advanced under the command of Sir Thomas Knevett to take its place. A terrible contest ensued between these two giants of the sea; the fight had continued for more than an hour, when Knevett received assistance. Primauguet seeing that all was lost set fire to the Cordelier, and then boarding the Regent communicated the flames to that vessel. Both immediately sank, amid the shrieks and groans of the crews,(b) while Lord Howard, kneeling on the deck, vowed that he would not again see Henry's face until he had revenged Sir Thomas Knevett's death.(c)

(a) Notice de MSS. du roi, II., 570.

(b) Polydore Virgil.

(c) The following English vessels took part in this naval engagement:—

The Regent, 1,000 tons; The Mary Rose, 500; The Peter Pomegranate, 400; John Hopton's ship, 400; The Nicholas Reede, 400; The Mary John, 240; The Anne of Greenwich, 160; The Mary George, 300; The Dragon, 100; The Lyon, 120; The Barbara, 140; The George of Falmouth, 140; The Peter of Fowey, 120; The Nicholas of Hampton, 200; The Martinet, 180; The Genet, 70; The Christopher Davy, 160; The Sabyen, 120.—Archæologia. VI., 201.

The battle was claimed by both sides, and gave rise to a literary dispute between Brice and Sir Thomas More. Brice, Bris, or Brixius, private secretary to the Queen of France (Epis. Mori Erasmo, Grenvici, 1520) composed a Latin poem of 350 hexameter verses, to celebrate the naval victory won by the French, entitled "*Herveus, sive Chordigeræ navis conflagratio*," Paris, 1513.—Panzer, Ann. typ. IX., p. 364. Sir Thomas More, who had already composed a Latin poem at Henry's coronation, entitled "*In suscepti diadematis diem Henrici VIII., carmen gratulatorium*," imagined that Brice meant to insult England, and accordingly wrote a poem in honour of Howard, (Thomæ Mori Opera.) But not satisfied with this he attacked Brice in various epigrams (*In Brixium Germanum falsæ scribentem de Chordigerâ navi Gallorum et Herveo ejus duce.*) Erasmus, their mutual friend, desired Brice to be silent (*Epist. Brixii Lovan.* 1518;) but Brice having picked up the gauntlet thrown down by More, replied, (*Germani Brixii Antissiodorensis Antimorus, Erasmi ad eum et ipsius Brixii verbosa ad hunc epistola. Venundatur apud Conrad Resch[ ] Lutetiæ, ex officina Petri, Vidovei,* 1509.) Their quarrel did not terminate here. The following appeared in rapid succession:—"*In Chordigeram navem et Antimorum Sylvam Germani Brixii Galli.—In hunc hendecasyllabum, imo tredecim syllabarum versum Germani Brixii Galli, ex Antimoro sumptum.* Erasmus again interfered, and thus wrote to Brice: "Postremò nolim eos inter se dissentire quorum utrumque pari complector amore," and recommended silence to More, but in vain, as the contest still went on. Scœvola in his *Elogia doctorum in Galliâ virorum*, (Jenæ, 1696,) thus speaks of this discussion:—

"Having been fiercely and unjustly attacked by a very learned English writer, Thomas More, he carried off the victory in the opinion of all learned men. His triumph, however, was not very great, as neither of the disputants equalled the poets then flourishing in Italy."

It is certain that in this battle the English ships outnumbered the French. The English had forty-five of different sizes.—Campbell.

CHAPTER IV.

WAR WITH FRANCE.—1510.-1512.

Henry continues to be deceived by his allies.—Letter from Leo X. to Henry, soliciting him to enter into a league against France.—Preparations for War in England.—Henry lands at Calais.—Battle of the Spurs.—Siege and capture of Tournay.—War with Scotland.—Battle of Flodden Field, and death of James IV.—Skelton.—Katharine.

THIS engagement, in the Brest Roads, between forty-five of England's best ships and thirty-five French vessels, some of which were scarcely sea-worthy, was indeed a lasting stain on the British flag. The loss of the Regent was regarded in London as a public calamity; and Wolsey, on learning this melancholy event, thus wrote to Fox: "I beseech you, my lord, to keep this news a secret, for none, save the king and myself are yet acquainted with it."(a)

Henry continued to be the dupe of his confederates who, after the French, had retreated from Italy, encouraged him to pursue his hostilities against Louis XII. by offering to place all their available troops at his disposal for the invasion of France. Guienne would now fall into the hands of England. In the letter,(b) in which Maximilian makes mention of the grievances he had received from the King of France, he showed feelings of such intense hatred that Henry imagined himself secure of his aid. Ferdinand had conquered Navarre, and therefore would also assist him: and could Julius, after the liberation of Italy, pardon one who had issued a medal with the legend, "Perdam Babylonis nomen?" Henry, therefore, had every reason to confide in the alliance of the Holy See. But he was again doomed to become the dupe of his allies. Ferdinand only wished to make use of the name of England as a check-string whereby he might keep Navarre in awe, being assured that were Louis attacked by Henry, he would be obliged to yield that province. Maximilian's object in fomenting war was to enrich his coffers with the subsidies received from his allies, for the maintenance of forces that he never meant to levy.

Julius, contented with having established the houses of Sforza at Milan and Medicis at Florence, and recovered the ancient fiefs of the Church, had no longer any interest in prolonging a quarrel with France: besides, he was dying. Louis had not been disheartened by his reverses; for at the time of the accession of Leo X. to the Pontifical throne, the King of France was thinking of reconquering Milan, which had been for the last fifteen years the cause of so much bloodshed.(c) The Venetian Republic, ever forgetful of her allies, signed a treaty at Blois on the 13th of March, wherein she promised to assist Louis in recovering Milan, Cremona, and Ghiaradadda for France, while Bergama, Brescia, and Crema were again to become tributaries of the republic.(d) These preparations for war in France and Venice were a source of great affliction to Leo X., who hoped to have been able to inaugurate his Pontificate by the reconciliation of Christendom; thus the Holy See was for the second time menaced with the deprivation of Parma and Piacenza. Leo, being resolved to oppose the claims of Louis, applied to England for assistance.

Of all the European monarchs, with the

(a) Fiddes, Collec.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras

(c) Guicciardini XI.
(d) Codex dip. Lunig.—Du Mont, Traités.

exception of Leo X., Henry was the most distinguished for his learning, and in order to win him over to his cause the Pontiff addressed to him a Latin letter, extolling him to the skies, mentioning his devotion to the Holy See as one of his best qualifications, and renewing the promise made by his predecessor of bestowing on him the title of "Most Christian king."(a) His Latin phraseology, his harmonious style, and his prudent choice of words and expressions, completely won the young prince's heart. The vessel conveying this letter and some presents for Henry, sailed up the Thames, and anchored amidst royal salutes off Greenwich.(b) Henry felt no hesitation in signing the treaty of Mechlin, whereby the contracting parties bound themselves to defend the independence of the Holy See. Maximilian, however, refused to sign until Henry bribed him by promising him £3,000, payable in three equal instalments.(c) Cardinal Bambridge, the English ambassador at Rome, made no secret of his master's intention of going to war with France.(d) The people believed the cardinal, and Parliament granted the sovereign a subsidy and a poll-tax, to carry on the war against Louis XII.(e) Lord Howard sailed from England in the course of April, 1513, with a fleet of thirty-two vessels for the accomplishment of his vow. He was brave even to rashness, it being his maxim that "a sailor was good for nothing unless his courage amounted to a degree of madness," and to this idea he fell a victim.(f) The French fleet, at anchor in Brest harbour, was waiting for a reinforcement, promised them by Prégent, and which Lord Howard had determined on intercepting. The English admiral felt so sure of success, that he wrote to Henry begging him to come and witness the enemy's defeat; but he was ordered on no account to attack the French while they remained in harbour;(g) this order Howard obeyed. In the meanwhile, Prégent arrived with his reinforcement, and anchored in the bay of Conquet, near Brest, between two rocks well planted with cannon. Howard advanced on the enemy with two vessels, one carrying his own flag as admiral, and the other that of Lord Ferrers, and boarded Prégent's vessels. Unfortunately the grappling iron gave way, and Lord Howard, after performing prodigies of valour, fell into the sea, wounded by a sailor. On perceiving his vessel at a distance, the brave admiral plucked off his chain of knighthood and all the insignia of his rank, and plunging into the depths of the ocean was no more seen.(h) Prégent gave chase to the English fleet as far as the coast of Sussex, when Thomas Lord Howard, who had succeeded his brother as admiral,(i) compelled the French fleet to

(a) Bembo, Epist. 23.

(b) Andrew's Hist. of Great Britain.

(c) Appunctuamento cum Leone, Papa, pro defensione Ecclesiæ.—Du Mont.

(d) His correspondence is at the British Museum, MSS. Cott., Vitell., B. 2.

(e) The subsidy was levied on the property of every private individual, but it depended on the value of each fortune. The poll-tax was regulated in the following scale:—Registers XXVI, XXVII.—A duke, £6 13s. 4d.; a marquis or earl, £4; their ladies, £4; baron, baronet, or baroness, £2; knights, not lords of Parliament, £1 10s.; landed proprietor of an annual revenue above £40, £1 10s., from £20 to £40, 10s., from £10 to £20, 5s., from £2 to £10, 2s., below £2, 1s.; persons possessed of personal property above £800, £2 13s. 4d., from £400 to £800, £2, from £200 to £400, £1 6s. 8d., from £100 to £200, 13s. 4d., from £40 to £100, 6s. 8d., from £20 to £40, 3s. 4d., from £10 to £20, 1s. 8d., from £2 to £10, 1s.; labourers and servants with wages above £2 per annum, 1s., from £1 to £2, 6d.; the rest 4d.

(f) It was a favourite maxim of this brave man, that no sailor was good for anything unless his courage amounted to a degree of madness; and to this startling axiom he now fell a victim.—Tytler.

(g) Campbell.

(h) Ellis presents his readers with an interesting letter written by Howard shortly before his death. Howard, in 1512, received as his pay 10s. *per diem*, including everything. The captain had 1s. 6d. *per diem*, and the sailors 5s. *per mensem*, a month reckoning but twenty-eight days.—(Lediard, *Histoire Navale d'Angleterre.*) There had not been since the conquest any permament fleet in England; the ports and harbours supplied their quota of vessels, when required. Henry was the first sovereign that established a regular fleet, and instituted an admiralty.

(i) Edward Lord Howard had served at the siege of Granada as a volunteer. He bequeathed as a keepsake to Katharine the cup belonging to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and which is now in the possession of P. H. Howard, Esq., M.P., of Corby Castle.—Life of Eleanora of Aquitaine.

retreat to Brest, and then made sail for Dover to act as an escort to the English army while crossing the channel to Calais.

Henry entrusted all the necessary preparations for the expedition to his Almoner, which the priest discharged as well as if he had been brought up in the camp; for Wolsey was one of that class of men whose genius equal their ambition, and are able to execute all that they undertake. The favourite's fortune was rising rapidly. In the course of a few weeks, he had been appointed canon of York, and St. Peter's, Westminster, prebendary of Bugthorpe, and rector of Torrington, in the diocess of Exeter.(a) Henry was charmed with him. Never had there been such formidable preparations for war; for during the last ten years, France had met in deadly strife the mountaineers of Uri and Unterwalden, the lancers of the empire, the cavalry of Ferdinand, and the Papal archers, and she had everywhere shown herself worthy of her name and position. Up to this period, she had acted on the offensive; she was now called on the defensive. Fifty vessels sailed from Dover, having on board 25,000 men in three divisions, two of which were under the command of the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert, while the third was headed by the king himself.(b) The Earl of Suffolk, who had been condemned during the last reign, suffered before Henry embarked for Calais.

He had thus fallen into the hands of Henry VII. Philip, Archduke of Austria, happening to be wrecked on the shores of England, regained his liberty by promising to deliver up to the king the Earl of Suffolk, one of the most ardent partizans of the House of York, and brother to John Earl of Lincoln, who had perished at the battle of Stoke, provided his life was spared. Henry religiously kept his promise, and sent him to the Tower, but among the legacies he left his son was the head of Suffolk, who was now executed.(c) To palliate Henry's conduct, Suffolk was arraigned on the charge of corresponding with his brother Richard de la Pole, an officer in the French service.(d) The king left Greenwich on the 15th of June, 1513, with a numerous suite, composed of the Duke of Buckingham, Marquis of Dorset, Earls of Northumberland, Essex, Kent, and Wiltshire, Lords Audley, De la Warre, and Curson, his Almoner, Wolsey, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and many others of the aristocracy. On the 30th, he sailed from Dover to Calais,(e) where he landed on the 31st.(f) A few hours after his arrival, he went in great pomp to the church of St. Nicholas to assist at the *Te Deum*, chanted as thanksgiving by the clergy; he lodged at the Staple Inn,(g) where apartments had been prepared for him. He had in interview on the morrow of his arrival with Margaret's and Maximilian's ambassadors, and afterwards heard Mass at the Cathedral. The Herald-at-arms, for whom we are indebted for this description of the monarch's residence at Calais, has not forgotten to mention the number of masses Henry heard, being sometimes three a day.

At Calais, Henry amused himself like a child, in arraying his troops in line of battle-order, reviewing them, seeing his cavalry defile; after which came the tournaments, when the monarch would condescend to break a lance with some of his noblemen in the presence of the ladies of Calais, who would applaud his prowess. Henry left as soon as he was informed that the Duke of Longueville had arrived with Bayard and Bussy d'Amboise to the succour of Terouanne, at that time besieged by Lord Herbert and the Earl of Shrewsbury, both members of the Privy Council, at the head of an army of 9,000 men. The vanguard was led by Sir Charles Brandon, who had lately been created Viscount Lisle, and the archers by the Earl of Essex.

(a) Howard.
(b) Rymer, XIII., 370, 372.
(c) Speed.—Hall.—Fabian.

(d) Guicciardini XII.
(e) Wolsey, the Cardinal, by George Howard.
(f) Dr. John Tyler, who accompanied him, has left an account (*Diarium*) of the expedition in Latin.—Brit. Mus., MSS. Cott., Cleop. C. V.
(g) He proceeded to St. Nicholas's Church, and made his offering and had *Te Deum* sung, and went to his lodgings at the Staple Inn.—Herald's MSS., Lansdowne, No. 818.

The king was in the centre, mounted on his finest steed; on the right was Buckingham, at the head of 600 chosen infantry, and on the left Sir Edward Poynings, with an equal number of lancers; the royal standard was borne by Sir Henry Guilford. The rear-guard, in which were the Almoner (Wolsey) and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, was commanded by Sir William Compton.(a)

The soldiers' arms sparkled in the sun's rays, so that they looked like a luminous cloud traversing the country.(b) As the vanguard drew near to Ardres, the sky suddenly became overcast, and at a distance through the fog could be perceived a squadron of the French cavalry.(c) On hearing the trumpet sound the alarm, Henry leaped into his saddle and placed himself at the head of the archers. Bayard counselled that the engagement should commence at once, while De Piennes, satisfied with having reconnoitred the enemy, sounded a retreat.(d) A magnificent tent had been erected for Henry's use at Terouanne.(e) Maximilian had not yet arrived, but, after a short delay, made his appearance at the head of a few hundred cavalry; never was there any contrast so remarkable as the dresses of the two sovereigns; the one (Henry's) made the eye dazzle with its splendour, while the other was simplicity itself; the same remark also applies to their retainers. (f) Maximilian, to flatter the young monarch's vanity, wore the red rose and the Cross of St. George, and accepted, as a volunteer, the daily stipend of 100 crowns.(g)

The siege of Terouanne commenced. Baynam, the commander of the English pioneers, expected great success from a mine that he had skilfully contrived, but his designs were frustrated. The Duke de Valois, afterwards Francis I., King of France, had just arrived at head quarters, and wherever he was present, sword in hand, he did the work of a soldier. Henry's splendid tent was not long in falling a prey to the flames, and he himself compelled to seek refuge in a peasant's cot.(h) The siege lasted for six weeks, when the enemy, harassed by continual sorties from the garrison, became careless and off their guard, in consequence of which, the French general, Fontenailles, was enabled, at the head of 800 Albanian horse, crossing the river, to break through the English lines, and introduce a small quantity of powder and provisions into Terouanne, then wheeling round, he reached a place of safety ere the enemy could interrupt his retreat. A second attempt was afterwards made by the Dukes de Longueville and d'Alençon,(i) but Henry discovering their manœuvre, crossed the Lis on the 16th of August, 1513, and met them on the banks. Maximilian also, notwithstanding his advanced age, displayed great intrepidity. Scarcely had the enemy been perceived, ere he charged them, and was followed by Henry, who was dressed in a ball costume. The French *gens d'armes*, panic-struck at the attack, yielded, and were completely routed. (j) Then might have been seen a body of 12,000 cavalry, distinguished for their heroic exploits in Italy, flying before a few hundred German lancers and British archers; and they would have been completely annihilated had not Bayard succeeded in rallying them. La Palice and Imbercourt, though taken, had the good fortune to make their escape, but Bussy d'Amboise, Clermont and La Fayette were prisoners. Thus terminated this melancholy engagement, called by the English the Battle of Guinegate, but by the French the Battle of the Spurs, *(la bataille des éperons,)* as they had been in greater requisition than arms on that day (k) Bayard was the last on the field. While the enemy were endeavouring to make prisoners, this brave knight, perceiving an English gentle-

(a) Tytler.
(b) Herbert.
(c) Tytler.
(d) Ib.
(e) John Tyler, MSS., p. 72.
(f) Hall.
(g) Rapin de Thoyras.—Mrs. Thomson.
(h) Tytler.
(i) Lingard.
(j) Mem. de Bayard.
(k) Carte, Herbert, Rymer.—There is to be seen in one of the galleries of Hampton Court a picture of the battle of Guinegate, by Holbein.

man resting after the heat of combat under the shade of a tree, rode up to him, exclaiming, "Surrender, man-at-arms, or you are dead." Imagining that the day had been lost, the gentleman exclaimed:—"I surrender! but who are you?" "I am the Chevalier Bayard, who surrenders himself to you: take my sword, but give it back to me in case of being attacked."

The arrangement was accepted, and the captor and the captive arrived at the camp. He was immediately sent for by Maximilian, who thus addressed him:—"Chevalier Bayard, I am but too happy in seeing you. Would to God I had many such men as you in my service, as I should then be very soon revenged on Louis," and then added, laughing: "I believe, Monseigneur de Bayard, we have met before, and that I was then informed that Bayard never fled;" to which the Chevalier replied: "Had I fled I should not have been here." The King of England, on entering the room, recognized the knight, and behaved to him with his usual courtesy. They commenced speaking of the defeat and flight of the French army, whereon the king remarked that he had never heard of so brave and numerous an army flying before 400 or 500 horsemen. "On my soul," rejoined Bayard, "the French *gens d'armes* are not to be blamed, as they were expressly ordered by their officers not to fight, it being uncertain whether, in case of an engagement, you would bring the whole of your forces into play, and we had neither infantry nor artillery. You must be aware of the valour of the French *noblesse*, though I do not say that I deserve to be one of their number." "If all had been like you, Monsigneur Bayard, the seige of Terouanne would have been soon raised; but how came you to be taken prisoner?" "Sire, I do not acknowledge myself one, and would beg to refer the subject to you. Ask that gentleman how the matter occurred." On hearing the circumstances, Henry and Maximilian were unanimous that Bayard was not a prisoner, and was at perfect liberty to return, provided that he gave his parole that he would not engage in the war during a period of six weeks. This having been acceded to, he was allowed to take his departure.(a) Henry should have taken advantage of this victory, and gained possession of Picardy. Paris was panic stricken; Louis had been defeated at Novarra, and the victorious Swiss, after having crossed the Alps, had penetrated into Burgundy, and encamped themselves under the walls of Dijon, and there was no other town between them and the capital.(b) Henry unfortunately was not gifted with any of those characteristics adapted for a warrior. He was a young man with the ordinary qualities and defects of his age. He had adopted no fixed plan of invasion, but was completely guided by circumstances; if able to display his skill in riding before his soldiers, he was delighted. He had no fear of danger, but courted it rather as a private than a leader. The chiming of bells on his entry into a town was grateful music to his ears; he was charmed with gay tents and rich ornaments.

In England the queen regent wrote to Wolsey, on the 26th of July, 1513, expressing her earnest hopes that the king would soon return home crowned with laurels,(c) while Henry was losing his time before Terouanne. Katharine had made a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Walsingham to supplicate the protection of heaven in his behalf, the people uniting with the queen regent, sang a hymn in chorus praying Jesus, Mary, St. George and all the saints, to watch continually over the red rose of England,(d) that sweet flower which

(a) Symphorien Champier, Histore du Chevalier Bayard.

(b) Tytler.

(c) I trust that the king shall come home shortly with as grete a victorye as any prince in the worlde; and this I pray God sende hym without nede of any other prince.—MSS. Cott. Cal. D. VI., p. 92.

(d) To satisfy our readers' curiosity we have transcribed this curious ballad:—

The rosse wolle in to Frawnse spring,
Almythy God hym thyder bring
And save this flowr wyche ys our king.
Thys rosse, thys rosse, this ryall rosse
Wyche ys callyd a nobyll thing,
The flowr of England and soydour king.
Thys Apryll showyrs wyche are ful swet
Hat bownd thys rosse not zet ful blowne;
In France he woll his levys schote
Hys ryzth to conquer, hys henmys to knowe.
Thys rosse, that is of color rede,
Wyll seke hys henmys both far and wyde.

was to blossom in France in the ensuing year. Terouanne despairing of aid, capitulated on the 23rd of August, 1512. It had been a dangerous neighbour to the citizens of Aire and St. Omer, and Henry permitted them, at Maximilian's request, to raze the walls of the newly conquered city to the ground (a) Henry, immediately after the capitulation of Terouanne, should have marched on Boulogne, which, with Calais(b) already in his power, would have made him master of all Picardy, but he proceeded to Tournay.

Tournay, an independent city, distinguished from time immemorial for its attachment to France, contained a population of about 80,000 souls. On its gates was written in large characters: "TU N' AS JAMAIS PERDU TA VIRGINITÉ." In reply to Henry's summons to surrender, the citizens pointed to these words, saying that they had no intention of falsifying them, but that, on the contrary, they were ready to lay down their lives in defence of their city. Their courage, however, soon flagged; for on the 24th of September, Henry effected an entrance into the city through the gate *Sans Tâche*; and the citizens consented, provided they were allowed to preserve their liberty, to pay to England 50,000 livres tournois more at stated intervals.(c) One of the citizens alone, the bishop, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the conqueror. Wolsey was aware that the prelate would refuse to take the oath, and that he would consequently lose his mitre: the favourite obtained from Henry the Archbishopric of Tournay, the annual revenue of which was 80,000 francs. It is probable, says an historian, that Wolsey's desire to obtain the bishopric was the sole motive for besieging the town.(d)

And with his bemys he woll Fransse lyth,
Sent Jorge Protector be hys good gyd.
God sent this flower wer he would be,
To spreyd hys flowrs to hys rejoysing,
In France to have the vyctory;
All Hyngiond for hym schal pray and syng.
Jhesu and Mary, full of myzth,
God be hys gyde in all his ryzth.
Swet Sent Jorge owr laydes knyte
Save King Hary both by day and nyzth.

(a) Lingard.—Peter Martyr.
(b) Herbert.—Rymer.—Du Bellay.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) Howard.

While the *Te Deum* was being chanted in the cathedral in honour of this victory, Henry was being menaced in another quarter,—Scotland. A herald had arrived from James IV., who had married Henry's eldest sister, Margaret,(e) summoning him to quit Picardy. James's letter (f) was dated 16th of July, 1513. In this communication, the Scotch monarch set forth his grievances, and threatened to declare war in case of Henry demurring. Henry, deeply wounded by the contents of James's letter, replied that no action perpetrated by the King of Scotland would cause him any surprise, since, imitating the example of his predecessors, he was breaking a sacred treaty of alliance, but that he must on no account expect to gain an easy victory, as before sailing from England, Henry had adopted every precaution, which, with God's assistance, would frustrate the projects of all schismatics excommunicated by the Sovereign Pontiff and the Council of Lateran. James had surely not reflected on the example afforded by the King of Navarre, who had lost his crown in consequence of his having aided Louis? On what ground did the King of Scotland presume to interfere in the quarrels of the King of England? The King of England was afraid of no one, and he would continue, with the aid of God and St. George, his war with France. The herald left with this reply, after having been presented with 100 angels by Henry.(g) Without, however, waiting for an answer from the King of England, James had taken the field against Henry. On the 22nd of August, he had crossed the Tweed, and made himself master of Wark, Etwall, Ford, and Norham, and it was reported that he was at the head of an army 60,000 strong.(h) The Earl of Surrey, then in Yorkshire, at the head of 26,000 men, marched against the enemy, and on the 3rd of September,

(e) It was in honour of this marriage that Dunbar composed the poem entitled, *The Rose and the Thistle*.—Warton's History of English Poetry.
(f) The reader will find James's letter and Henry's reply in Hall's "Union of the twoo noble and illustre families of Lancastre and York.
(g) Hall.
(h) Pinkerton's History of Scotland.

despatched Rouge Croix, pursuivant-at-arms, challenging James to engage on the Friday following.(a)

The enemy occupied a strong position on the Cheviot hills, and Surrey, seeing the perfect inutility of attacking them, endeavoured to draw them down to the plain. The Scotch monarch did not make his appearance at the rendezvous, having been persuaded by one of his chieftains to retrace his steps, and not to listen to the French ambassador,(b) whose only object was to deliver Louis from the danger by which he was threatened. The king squeezed the hand of the Highlander, but haughtily replied that he would fight even if opposed by 100,000 English troops. Surrey, still hoping to entice the enemy into the plain, threatened, by marching along the Till which separated the two armies, to affect an entrance into Scotland, through Berwick. James, on hearing of this movement, set fire to his camp, and advanced towards the river, but unfortunately the smoke of the encampment, which had been fired by the Scotch, concealed from his view the English army, who had managed to cross the river at Twissel Bridge. James halted on the heights of Flodden, where he prepared for an engagement.(c) The English vanguard was commanded by Thomas Lord Howard and his brother, Edmund Howard, sons of the Earl of Surrey. The earl himself commanded the centre, while the rear was under the command of Sir Edward Stanley, and Lord Dacre formed the reserve with the cavalry. The Scotch army descended from Flodden Heights in perfect order, and took up their position opposite to the English forces.(d) James was in the centre; the left wing was led by the Earl of Lennox and the Earl of Argyle, and the right by Lord Hume, with the reserve under Lord Bothwell. The right wing of the English vanguard retreated at the attack of Lord Hume; their ranks were broken, their leader unhorsed, and while lying on the ground, expecting to be put to death or taken prisoner, the scale of the victory turned, by the timely appearance of the bastard Heron. A firmer and more doubtful struggle now ensued, until Lord Dacre, with his 1,500 cavalry, charged and completely routed the enemy.(e) A long and sanguinary contest was being carried on in another part of the field between the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, and the Lord Admiral. Errol and Crawford at length fell covered with wounds, and their men, disheartened by the death of their leaders, were completely routed. But the battle was not yet over. James fought on foot, surrounded by several of his chosen chieftains, who, animated by their monarch's example, were rapidly gaining ground, and had all but reached the royal standard, when Stanley, after having defeated the Earls of Argyle and Lennox, charged the king in rank, who fell, slain by an unknown hand, about a spear's length from Surrey. At that moment, the sun set behind the mountains, and the combatants ceased their mortal strife without knowing to whom God had vouchsafed the victory.(f)

At daybreak, it was easy to perceive who had had the advantage the day before. The Scotch had retreated under cover of the night, leaving 60,000 on the field of battle, among whom were James's natural son, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, two abbots, two bishops, twelve earls, thirty barons, four eldest sons of barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction; six thousand horses were captured, and the park of artillery amounting to seventy pieces,(g) "which," said the Lord Admiral, "are the best that I have ever seen."(h) The English lost 5,000 men, but no officers of note. Lord Dacre recognised the king's body among the slain, and had it deposited in a lead coffin, without venturing to bury it, inasmuch as James had died under the sentence of excommunication, to which he had rendered himself amenable as an ally of the schismatic Louis XII.

Henry wrote to Leo demanding permission to bury the deceased King of Scotland at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, which

(a) Ellis's Letters. MSS. Cott. B. XI.
(b) Hume.—Turner.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) Pinkerton.
(e) Lingard.
(f) Lingard, Giovio.—Lord Howard's official account of this battle is preserved in the Herald's Office, and has been published by Pinkerton.—Galt's Appendix to the Life of Wolsey.
(g) Lingard.—Herbert.
(h) Pinkerton.

was graciously granted by the Holy See, inasmuch as James had shown signs of repentance before his death.(a) The Scotch, unwilling to credit the report of their sovereign's death, therein imitating the ancient Britons, who could never be persuaded that King Arthur had fallen at Camelot, circulated a report that James had gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in accomplishment of a vow taken before the battle of Flodden. Buchanan(b) affirms that one Telfair, a man of known probity, and who was present at the engagement, saw James cross the Tweed on horseback; others stated that he had been slain by some of Lord Hume's retainers(c) Scotland mourned for the death of her unfortunate monarch, who had, however, been favoured with several warnings from Heaven. It is said that the saintly patron of Scotland appeared to him while at his devotion in Linlithgow Church, and predicted to him the unhappy issue of his contest with Henry; a voice was also heard at midnight near the cross in Edinburgh, summoning the first lords of the kingdom to appear before the infernal tribunal. James was perfectly heedless of these celestial warnings, the remonstrances of his councillors, and the prayers and entreaties of his wife (d) An English monk, Skelton, had the heart to insult the Scotch who fell at the battle of Flodden Field: he spared not in his gibes and sneers even the fallen monarch,(e) whom he accused of cowardice.(f) Henry would have acted honourably had he expelled this maligner from his court, but he allowed him to continue his petty and hateful trade; while the poet-laureate was thus prostituting the God-like harmony of poesy, a mountaineer of Ben Lomond was sitting on the banks of the Clyde, and, like to the daughter of Zion, weeping over Caledonia and her loss.(g) Katharine showed great skill in the manner in which she governed England during the king's absence. The queen regent was exceedingly guarded with her correspondence with Wolsey, yet at the same time displaying the energy of her Spanish blood. Was Henry indisposed, she was ill at rest and could not sleep. Henry was her pride, and without him there was no longer any happiness for her in the world.(h) She was delighted on hearing of the defeat of the Scotch at Flodden, and in her enthusiasm wrote to Henry, boasting that this victory had gained him more credit than if he had won the crown of France.(i) This intimate acquaintance with the queen's manner is essentially necessary for the reader, to give him an insight into Katharine's character. She is no longer the person described by Protestant historians, one absorbed in the ecstasy of prayer, she is the Christian wife and queen. Henry, however, had completely forgotton her. He had met with Lady Talbois, at Calais, wife of Sir Gilbert Tailbois, to whom he showed marked attention. This lady left her husband's residence, and took up her abode at Jericho, in the vicinity of New Hall, Essex, one of the royal country residences.(j) All, save Katharine, who pretended to be ignorant of her husband's gallantry, spoke of the king's frequent visits to Lady Tailbois.

(a) Leo's letter is to be found in Rymer. His Holiness moreover wrote to Henry, congratulating him on the victory his arms had gained at Flodden Field.—Bembi Ep.

(b) "Probus et doctus."—Buchanan, Hist. Rer. Scot. XIII., 41.

(c) Hume.

(d) Vide Galt, who in his Appendix to the "Life of Wolsey," has given us an exact account of this battle from a contemporary. The best description of the battle of Flodden Field is to be met with in Hall.—Pinkerton's History of Scotland. Polydore Virgil gives the number of Scotch that fell in this engagement as about 10,000; Buchanan, 5,000. Galt estimates the loss of the English to have been about 1,200.

(e) Skelton thus speaks of James:—
Ye were stark mad to make a fray
His grace being then out of the way.
Ye wanted wit, sir, at a word,
Ye lost your spurs, ye lost your sword.
Ye might have bidde to Huntley Branks,
Your pride was peevish to play such pranks.

(f) James's sword was picked up by the Earl of Surrey, and was for a length of time preserved in the family of the Howards. It is now at the Heralds' College.

(g) This beautiful song is entitled "The Flowers of the Forest."

(h) With his life and health there is nothing in the world that shall come amiss; and without that, I can see no manner of good thing, &c., &c.—Ellis, MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VI.

(i) That the victory was more honour than if he should win all the crown of France.—Ellis.

(j) Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens of England. IV., 95.

CHAPTER V.

PEACE WITH FRANCE.—1513-1515.

Rome separates from the league.—Henry deserted by his allies.—Wolsey endeavours to disconcert their plans.—Offers, through the medium of the Duke de Longueville, the hand of the Princess Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., to Louis XII., King of France.—Their marriage.—Death of Louis XII.—The Queen's return into England.—Her marriage with the Duke of Suffolk.—Wolsey nominated Archbishop of York.—Legate *à latere*.—Lord High Chancellor.—Some of his acts.—Erasmus' opinion of Wolsey.

HENRY was not long in discovering that his success was owing to Louis' best troops being engaged in Italy. Abandoned by the Sovereign Pontiff, deceived by the emperor, betrayed by Ferdinand, how could he, with only 25,000 men, retain his position in an enemy's country? He was indebted rather to chance for his success than either to the skill or bravery displayed by his forces, and being unable to reckon further on the sincere co-operation of his allies, he felt a desire to come to favourable terms with his rival. He had been spending his time, on his return to London, in levying troops, training them in for war, praying for subsidies to Parliament, which granted him £160,000, and generously rewarding those who had distinguished themselves during the late campaign. The Earl of Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk, his eldest son, Earl of Surrey; Brandon, Duke of Suffolk; Lord Herbert, Earl of Somerset; and Sir Edward Stanley, Viscount Monteagle. If the assembling of a schismatic council was a stain on the escutcheon of Louis XII., yet we must in candour acknowledge, that he evinced no little courage in opposing the allied powers for the space of ten years. Excommunicated by Rome, harassed by the mountaineers of Switzerland, deserted by Venice, pursued from north to south by England, Spain, and Germany, he never flinched for a moment; for while England was expecting the downfall of France, Louis, buoyed up with the hope of reconquering the duchy of Milan, was beyond the Alps, though Europe was filled with daily accounts that Henry was marching upon Paris. Louis was compelled at last to yield, but in so doing he borrowed the Fox's skin, and succeeded in dissolving the league.(a) On the dissolution of the Council of Pisa, Leo X. besought the allies to forego all hostilities with France, and removed the ban of excommunication fulminated by his predecessor: thus Rome detached herself from the league, the other powers were only waiting for a favourable opportunity to follow her example. Ferdinand, who was advancing in years, made peace with Louis XII., on the proviso that he guaranteed him the possession of Navarre. Louis, knowing how to flatter the vanity of the Spanish sovereign, offered his second daughter Renée in marriage either to the Infant Don Carlos or his brother Don Ferdinand, both grandsons of the reigning sovereign. The dowry of the princess was to be the duchy of Milan, which had been so long a bone of contention between the Pope, the emperor, and Louis. Ferdinand made no objection to this proposition, and promised to exert his influence with the emperor to withdraw from the league.(b)

(a) Louis, says Macchiavelli, committed five faults in Italy, which ought to have led to his utter defeat. He increased the strength of a great by destroying the minor states. He appealed to a powerful foreign aid; did not remain in Italy, and founded no colony.

(b) Peter Martyr.—Audin's Histoire de Calvin.

Godwin has thus briefly pourtrayed Maximilian's character: "This emperor, better adapted for the council chamber than the field of battle, was ever imagining plans, but no one could be more feeble in action. Whether in contending against calamities or in any other matter, he was sure to allow the most favourable opportunity to elapse."(a) We can imagine the anger of the conqueror of Terouanne, who was buoying himself up with the hope that he was master of France. On seeing his prey thus snatched out of his grasp, owing to the policy of the Vatican, the weakness of Ferdinand, and the fickleness of Maximilian, Henry would in all probability have yielded to his anger, had not Wolsey with a master-mind discovered a method whereby he could disconcert this powerful rival with whom England was called on to contend. Among the prisoners taken at the battle of Guinegate was Louis d'Orleans, Duke de Longueville, the confidential adviser of the French sovereign. To him Wolsey confided his plan. Anne, Queen of France, had just died without issue. Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., was to be the peace offering.(b) Flattered by the confidence reposed in him by the almoner, the Duke de Longueville willingly promised to use his interest with his sovereign, and accordingly wrote on the subject to Louis, who immediately authorised him to carry on the negotiation. Louis, who perceived no disparity of age between a girl of fifteen and a man of fifty-three, worn out with the fatigue of war, imagined himself the father of a numerous posterity. The conditions of the treaty were drawn up in a few weeks between Wolsey and the Duke de Longueville. Louis, in exchange for Mary's hand, was to leave Tournay in possession of England, to banish Richard de la Pole, one of the pretenders to the English crown, from France, to pay a million of crowns due for arrears from Charles VIII., by virtue of an ancient treaty,(c) and to accept, in exchange for a dowry of 40,000 crowns promised by Henry, the diamonds and precious stones which composed the Princess Mary's *trousseau*.(d)

Mary, on her part, by a public act, refused to ratify the contract made during her minority with Charles of Spain,(e) whom she had never loved, as she acnowledged with perfect simplicity,(f) and was married on the 13th of August, 1513, to Louis at Greenwich, where the Duke de Longueville acted as proxy for his sovereign. The duke on receiving the princess's hand pronounced the usual vow.(g) Henry promised in writing to send Mary to her husband within two months after the ceremony.(h) Louis was anxious that the time should be abridged, and wrote to his good friend the Archbishop of York, in the style of an amorous youth of twenty, urging that he wanted Mary as soon as possible.(i) Wolsey was equally anxious for the departure of the young queen, knowing that he would then receive his recompense; but he had two powerful opponents to contend with. Henry, who was unwilling to be separated from one whom he had always loved with great affection, and the young bride herself who felt great reluctance in leaving one (the Duke of Suffolk) to whom she had plighted her hand and heart. Louis, unacquainted with these obstacles,

(a) Godwin's Annals of England.
(b) Hume.
(c) Obligatio pro solutione summæ.—Rymer, XIII., 439.

(d) Rymer XIII., 424.
(e) Rymer, XIII., 411.
(f) Rymer XIII., 407. Mary had been affianced to Charles, Prince of Castille, in 1507, when only ten years of age. Among the presents which she had received from him was a jewel in the shape of a K, (Karolus,) with a device commemorative of a wedding.—Ellis, I., 113.
(g) Rymer XIII., 423.
(h) Commissio pro traductione Mariæ francorum reginæ.—Rymer XIII., 449.
(i) Monsieur d'Yorci.—Pour ce que jay seu retour de ce porteur par delà, je n'ay voulu lasser partir sans vous porter lettres de moy.—Et par icelles vous prier et affectueusement que vous veuillez faire mes bonnes et cordialles recommandations aux Roy et Royne mes bons frere et sœur, et aussy à la Royne ma femme.—En vous priant, en outtre, tenir main à ce que ma femme parte de la plus tost que faire se pourra.—Car il ny a chose en ce monde que tant je desire de la veoir et me trover avecques elle. Et, en ce faist, vous me ferez plaisir et mobligerez de plus en plus à vous.—Priant dieu, Monsieur d'Yorci, quil vous ait en sa sainte garde. Escript a Estampes, le second jour Septembre, 1514. (Signèe) Loys.—British Museum, MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VI.

continued to complain to Wolsey. (a) Henry had acted against the usual policy of England in marrying his sister to the King of France; but he was influenced by the hope that he would himself have a family, as Katharine was at that time *enceinte*,(b) and the old age of Louis which seemed to promise barrenness in his sister.(c) At length, the preparations for her departure were completed and Mary sailed from England. Henry, to alleviate her sorrow, had given her several presents, and had put her under the care of the Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Ely, and Sir Thomas Boleyn. Anne Boleyn also accompanied her father as maid of honour to the queen, whose suite was in every way appropriate to the rank she was about to fill. There were also several lords and gentlemen, who conducted her as far as Abbeville, where she was married on the the 9th of October, 1514.(d) On the morrow, Lady Guildford, whom Mary loved as her mother, and all her English attendants, excepting Anne Boleyn, were commanded to return to England. This order deeply affected the queen, as she would be alone in a foreign land, without a friend to whom she could confide her secret thoughts. In vain did she complain to Wolsey of Louis' conduct;(e) but his reply was, that she was of an age to take care of herself, and did not stand in need of a governess. Mary, however, soon forgot her isolation amid the gaiety of the French court. She was crowned on the 5th of November, at St. Denis, and on the following day made a triumphant entry into Paris.(f) The young bride was delighted with the reception given her by the citizens.(g) as also at the

(a) Vous priant continuer et l'abreger le plus que vous pourrez, car le plus grand desyr que j'aye pour le present est de la veoyr deca la mer, et me trouver avecques elles, pourquoy en ce faisant et n'y perdent tems, comme vous me l'escripvez vous me ferez singulier plaisir et tel quil ne sera jamais que jen aye souvenance et obligacions avec vous.—September, 1514.—Rymer XIII., 456.—An autograph letter from Mary to Louis is preserved in the British Museum (MSS. Cott. Vitell., C. XI.), which we now give to the reader:—"Monsieur bien humblement a vostre grace me recommende. Monsieur jay par Monseigneur levesque de Lencoln recu les tres affectueuses lettres quil vous a pleu de naguaires mescripre qui mont este a tres grant joye et confort. Vous asseurant Monsieur quil nya riens que tant je desire que de vous veoir. Et le Roy Monsieur, et frere fait toute extreme diligence pour mon aler de la la mer qui au plaisir de Dieu sera bresve, vous suppliant Monsieur me vouloir cependent pour ma tres singuliere consolacion souvent faire scavoir de vos nouvelles ensemble voz bons et agreables plaisirs pour vous y obeir et complair aidant nostre createur qui vous doibt Monsieur bonne vie et longuement bien prospére. De la main de votre bien humble compaigne Marie."

(b) Miss Strickland, IV., 96.

(c) M. de Genoude. Histoire de France, XI., 230.

(d) Notice historique sur Anne Boleyn, en tête des lettres de Henri VIII. à Anne de Boleyn, par M. Crapelet.

(e) The original is in the British Museum —MSS. Cott., Calig. D. VI., 143.

(f) The entry of Mary into Paris is represented in a beautiful MSS. in the British Museum. Vespas., No. II.

(g) The following is one of the songs composed on the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary of England:—

CHANÇON FAICTE EN L'HONNEUR DE MADAME MARIE.

1.

Reveillez vous cuers endormis
Qui des Anglois estes amys
Chantons *Ave* MARIA.
La Thoison d'Or et le pourpris
Des chasteaulx, Aigles, et des litz
Joyra Dame Maria.
Reveillez vous, etc.

2.

Marie fille du vray litz
Henry Septiesme Roy de pris
Prince sur tous les Princes.
Reveillez vous, etc.

3.

Delyvrera de grans ennuys
Tout Flandres de ses ennemys
Remontant les Eglises.
Reveillez vous, etc.

4.

Rejoissez vous je vous diz, Chantez
Bourgunynons tous unis
A ce hault mariage.
Reveillez vous, etc.

5.

Car dicy a nulle foiz dix
Ne fera ny fut au pais
Tel paix, tel lignaige.
Reveillez vous, etc

6

Nous pryerons, grans et petits,
Que les Roys soient tous bons amys
Et paix par tout le monde.
Reveillez vous, etc.

7

Et que en la fin en Paradis
Noel chantons tous rejouys
De voix et de cueur munde.
Reveillez vous, etc.

affection of her spouse. To please his wife, the good king changed his manner of living, for instead of dining at eight, he dined at twelve, and in lieu of going to bed at ten, it was often midnight before he retired to rest.(a) Louis turned a deaf ear to the remonstrances of his physicians, and in consequence of his obstinacy, he breathed his last three months after his marriage (b)

A few days after the monarch's death, the Duke of Suffolk, Mary's first lover, was sent to France by her brother, to condole with her on her loss. Mary, who had already dried up her tears, felt her former love rekindle for one of the handsomest young men in Great Britain. There was a two-fold danger to be apprehended from Mary's remaining in France. She might prove *enceinte*, and give birth to a son who would one day dispute the throne with Francis I, or, being yet quite young, might captivate the heart of a youthful monarch. It was well known at Rome that Mary desired to return to England after a few weeks' widowhood. Henry also had advised her, in his letter of condolence, not to contract another engagement without his royal consent and approbation. The queen replied, that she had, in accordance with her brother's wish, married the King of France, but that should he again desire to thwart her inclination, she should enter a religious house. Henry feeling apprehensive of her putting her threat into execution, consented to her returning to England, and Sir Richard Wingfield and Dr. West were sent as ambassadors to congratulate Francis on his accession, and to escort the queen back to London. It was not long ere Suffolk discovered that he was still loved, as Mary in a private interview with the duke expressed her feelings on the happiness of those who are united in heart and soul in the married life. Suffolk was quiet; but the queen had sufficient candour to tell Francis that in case of her again marrying, her choice would fall on the duke. This intelligence the French monarch immediately conveyed to that nobleman, who, in return, informed Francis of his unchanged affection for Mary, and besought him to plead their common cause with Henry, to which Francis courteously acceded, saying: "I promise to be your advocate, and I hope I shall succeed."(c) Suffolk, either impatient at Francis' delay, or imagining that Wolsey's influence would be greater with Henry, wrote to him on the subject of his marriage with Queen Mary. The almoner took the earliest opportunity of mentioning the matter to his royal master, who was at first quite indignant at that nobleman's presumption, but became calmer after a while. Wolsey then counselled the duke to write himself to the king; his letter was very graciously received. Mary also addressed her brother: and thus concluded her note: "Your grace is aware that I gave my hand to Louis to please you, and I now trust that you will permit me to bestow it on him whom I love." (d) Henry willingly gave his consent to their marriage.

Wolsey's nomination to the see of York was approved of by the Pope; and Leo X. announced the intelligence to the favourite in a letter which must have flattered that prelate not a little, as his Holiness speaks of the ability which the Almighty had condescended to bestow on him. On the day of his consecration, Wolsey took the oath of allegiance to the Holy See. Before putting on the mitre, he swore to defend the privileges of the Holy Roman Church, to reveal to the Sovereign Pontiff all machinations that should come to his knowledge against his authority or person. The new archbishop did not, as Henry had done, retire to the ante-chamber and alter the oath.(e) The

(a) Henault, Histoire de Bayard.
(b) Godwin.

(c) Let that alone to me; for I and the queen shall so solicit your master, that he shall be content.— Howard.

(d) Your grace well knows what I did, as to my first marriage, was for your pleasure; and now, I trust, you will suffer me to do what I like.— Howard.

(e) To the Roman Papacy and the rights of St. Peter I will give aid, and will defend them against all men.

I will treat honourably, and assist in cases of necessity, the legates of the Apostolic see in going and returning. I will take care to preserve, defend, increase, and promote the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Roman Church, of our lord the Pope, and of his successors. Nor will I be engaged in any council

historian must, if impartial, while condemning this statesman's insatiable ambition, give him credit for his loyalty to both his masters. Wolsey, though continually grasping after fresh dignities and honours, was faithful as well to the Pope as to the king. Had his life been spared a little longer, Henry would never have abjured Catholicity, and England would not have to answer for the blood of so many martyrs. We know not whether we should most admire Leo's conduct in evincing on every occasion his affection for Henry, or that monarch's submissive obedience to the Pontiff. Under Wolsey, the King of England, was a pattern of devotion to the Holy See, and an example to all good Christians, and there was not a prince in Christendom whom Leo loved with such affection. His Holiness openly acknowledged it; and in writing to Henry, said: "You know, indeed, that of all Christian sovereigns we love you the most ardently in the Lord; you in whom reposes our dearest affection and our firmest hope: you whose wishes we have ever studied to gratify."(a) Leo was always ready to serve Henry.

Adrian, Cardinal di Corneto, had for some time filled the station of collector of the royal taxes which the crown had annually paid to Rome. His Eminence naturally of a morose disposition, but a most excellent man, had somehow or other displeased Henry, who consequently demanded his office for Ammonius, an excellent scholar. The prince's letter to the Sovereign Pontiff is couched in polite terms, and Leo felt no hesitation in recalling the Cardinal di Corneto to Rome.(b) Henry manifested his gratitude in a letter of thanks, wherein he addressed the Sovereign Pontiff as an unfailing source of kindness, a God whom he never addressed in vain, and whom he would always invoke and glorify.(c) Wolsey continued increasing in power and wealth. He had left Empson's house to live at York-place, a royal dwelling. After having exchanged the title of almoner and private secretary for that of Lord High Chancellor, which post Henry gave him on Warham's resignation of the great seal,(d) Wolsey received other favours through his royal master's interest from Rome; for by the arrival of a bull, shortly after his elevation to the chancellorship, Leo nominated him Cardinal of St. Cæcilia and legate *à latere*. He was invested with the insignia appertaining to his new rank at St. Peter's Abbey, Westminster, and never was there a more magnificent ceremony, for the minister was vested rather as an emperor of Rome than an humble servant and minister of Christ. The bishops of England assisted rather as slaves at the triumph of the ambitious prelate.(e) The ancient abbey was resplendent with gold and lights. The abbot who had been despatched by the Vatican with the scarlet hat, was so poorly clad, that on his landing at Dover he was hooted at by the populace; but Wolsey sent him rich vestments, and had him escorted to London by bishops, mitred abbots, and gentlemen. Owing to this circumstance, the Papal nuncio entered the abbey, decked out in the splendour of true magnificence.(f)

Wolsey did not confine this puerile ostentation to the sacred precincts alone, but he was invariably accompanied by a guard of abbots, earls, barons, bishops and knights, who were attached to his suite; he was known at a distance by his

or treaty, in which anything unfavourable or prejudicial to the person, rights, honours, or estates of the said Pope, or of the Roman Church, is attempted.

If it shall come to my knowledge that any such attempts are devised or set on foot I will hinder it as far as lies in my power, and will give information thereof to our said lord the Pope, or to some one who may report the same to him.

I will diligently observe and cause others to observe the rules of the holy fathers, the apostolic decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and mandates.

I will pursue (*persequar*) and attack (*impugnabo*) heretics, schismatics, and rebels against our Lord and his successors aforesaid, to the utmost of my power.

So help me God and these holy gospels. 1514.

(a) Rymer, XIII., 493.

(b) Rymer, XIII.

(c) Brit. Mus. Cott., Vitell. B. II., 158.

(d) Epist Mori Erasmo, 1518.—Ammonius Erasmo, Feb. 17, 1517.—Stapleton, Vita Mori.

(e) Howard.

(f) Howard.—Tyndal.

long *cortège*. Who would have then ventured to prophesy that his glory would one day pass away like the morning cloud before the rays of the meridian sun? A long equipage of mules followed him when he travelled, with velvet bags, in which were his plate, &c. Some of his cups had been manufactured at Florence, and were presents from crowned heads. When he entered a town, the bells commenced ringing, and the magistrates and clergy waited on him with addresses. His apartments, decorated in the oriental style, were magnificently furnished, being ornamented with sculpture, paintings, and mosaics, the works of native and foreign artists, whom he remunerated like a nabob. At this period, in Italy as well as in England, any branch of science, which was not thoroughly understood, was regarded as heterodox. In Italy, it was sheltered by the white cassock of Leo X.; and in England, in the palaces of Henry VIII. and Wolsey, where, secure from every attack, it braved the persecution of its enemies. Thus it was that Colet, the founder of the School of St. Paul's, whom the Bishop of London, deceived by false reports, prosecuted as a heretic, found in the king, and especially in the cardinal, protectors, who defended him as a scientific person, without inquiring into his orthodoxy.(a)

Ferdinand annually paid the minister £300 (Flanders money) as a remuneration for the pains he had taken in drawing up, and concluding the good, firm, and favourable friendship, consideration, and intelligence between the very high and puissant princes, the Kings of England and Castille.(b) From the archiepiscopal see of York he received more than 100,000 fr. (£4,000 sterling). He farmed the revenues of the sees of Hereford and Worcester at a high price, held the abbey of St. Alban's and the bishopric of Bath *in commendam*, and exchanged the latter see for that of Durham, one of the wealthiest bishoprics in England, and Durham, a little after, for the administration of the still wealthier diocese of Winchester.(c) It would perhaps be a difficult task to mention a monarch as wealthy as Wolsey. Maximilian could scarcely pay his Swiss soldiery; Louis found himself obliged to crave for terms to pay his ally of England a small sum. We must, however, acknowledge that his Eminence spent his princely fortune nobly. Sculptors, poets, artists, in a word, all who were in distress, were sure to find a friend in Wolsey. In vain would have been sought around his palace a single instance of destitute poverty; he always took care that misery should be banished from his domains. He allowed pensions to a great number of superannuated clergymen, and had current accounts with all the apothecaries in London, for the purpose of enabling the poor to obtain medicine in cases of sickness.

Erasmus, the incarnate spirit of slander, in praising the qualities of this minister, says that he was one of those privileged characters whose fortune enables them to obtain grace in the eyes of the world, inasmuch as he was pardoned the high position he occupied in consequence of his noble generosity.(d) He calls the cardinal the glory of the court of the kingdom,(e) another king of England, (f) his virtue, his science, his talent, being his crown. Erasmus, who, if we are to judge from the following passage, was always fond of flattering, thanks the statesman that Britain has been cleared of those highwaymen who have so long infested her. One can travel securely without fear of being molested by those wild beasts in human form. He is Alexander the Great in a scarlet cassock, who has cut the Gordian knot of those interminable lawsuits that perplexed the English bar. He has brought the quarrels which divided noble families to an end; he has restored to the monasteries the discipline of the primitive ages of the Church; he has relit the lamp of study, which was on the point of being extinguished; he has aroused literature from her lethargic slumbers. Ptolemy Philadelphus evinced not more zeal than Wolsey in collecting a library. Are we not indebted to him for the revival of those

(a) Howard.
(b) Rymer, XIII., 591.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Epis. Eras. III., 31.
(e) Epist. Erasm. XXIX., 56.
(f) Ep. Eras. XXX., 23.

languages without which science would be incomplete? A glorious minister, whose services to literature posterity will always celebrate.(a) Wolsey was wont to interfere personally in the disputes to which Erasmus refers. He acted as an arbitrator, and invariably succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the disputants, his decision being accepted, as both parties well knew that he had carefully examined every tittle of evidence *pro et con*, and, if required, had even taken advice. He founded the Court of Requests, where the rights of the poor were gratuitously defended. Godwin speaks highly of these institutions, and their regulations and equity in the administration of justice.(b) The poor had now advocates to defend their rights and privileges; and woe to him who oppressed the widow and the orphan, for he had in Wolsey a stern and inexorable judge.

On his nomination to the chancellorship, the poor from all parts of the kingdom applied to him for relief; so that Henry found himself compelled to create four new courts, which existed for some time under the presidency of the Keeper of the Archives, whose office it was to examine into every complaint brought before him, and to administer quick and prompt justice.(c) The country felt that Henry had but acted justly in entrusting the seal to Wolsey. On the 22nd of December, 1515, the Archbishop of Canterbury remitted the great seal enclosed in a leathern case to the king, and sealed in five places with his own signet,(d) and on the 24th, after vespers, Wolsey took the customary oath as Lord High Chancellor of England.(e) This new dignity required fresh duties from the minister, who, while discharging its functions, thought more of his master than his own conscience. Wolsey was the first that regarded diplomacy as a *science*. He had paid agents in the various courts of Europe, who kept him *au courant* with every turn in political matters. He bestowed pensions on all those who acted as spies on the courtiers; and to more than one woman was he indebted for the disclosure of diplomatic secrets. Erasmus, to whom he often remitted cheques on the bankers at Nuremburg and Basle, was one of the Chancellor's most faithful and docile agents. Connected with the cleverest men in Germany, the philosopher was *au courant* with the religious movement then commencing to harass Saxony and Wittemberg. Had any one been told that Erasmus was enacting the spy for Wolsey, he would have been astonished. The Chancellor's chief object, as Raynaldi remarks, was to maintain the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria. He might be justly accused of versatility, were he to be judged by his fickleness of conduct towards Francis and Charles V., but his principal object was, as events afterwards showed, and as the reader will perceive in course of this history, to make England the supreme arbitrator of European destinies.

(a) Epis. Eras. II., 1.
(b) Godwin.
(c) The first court was established at Whitehall, the second in Dr. Stokesley's chapel, the third in the chamber of the Lord Treasurer, and the fourth in the Rolls' office.
(d) Rymer, XIII., 529.
(e) Ye shall swere that well and truly ye shall serve our sovereyn lord the kyng and his people in the office of Chancellor:

And ye shall do right to all maner of people, pore and riche, after the lawes and usages of this realme;

And truly ye shall counceill the king, and his counceill ye shall leyne and kepe;

And ye shall not knowe, nor suffer the hurt, nor disheretyng of the king, nor that the right is of the crowne be discresed by any mean, as for forth as ye may lett.

And, if ye may not lett it, ye shall make it clerely and expresly to be knowne to the king with yous true advice and counsell;

And ye shall doo and purchase the kinges profite in all that ye maye.

As God helps you and the holy Evangeliez.
—Rymer, XIII., 529.

CHAPTER VI.

MARIGNAN.—1515-1517.

Accession of Francis I. to the throne of France.—His character.—He prepares to invade Italy.—Schinner preaches a crusade in England against France.—England refuses to listen to him.—Policy of Wolsey.—Treaty of alliance between England and France.—Expedition of Francis I. into Italy.—Passage of the Alps.—Arrival of the Swiss.—Battle of Marignano.

The Duke de Valois, who had succeeded Louis XII. as Francis I., was just of age, and was one of the handsomest men of his day; of a majestic figure, an agreeable address, a generosity thoroughly liberal, and endowed with great feeling.(a) His accession to the throne was hailed with great joy by the people; the students recalled the day when the prince had taken his gold collar from his neck at Orleans, and placed it on that of Alciati.(b) The soldiers spoke of his bravery on the field of battle, and the tears he shed when informed of the exploits of Gaston de Nemours;(c) the magistrates of his sympathy for the literati,(d) the women of his chivalric conduct to Mary of England, who threatened, by her marriage with Louis XII., to put an end to his claims to the crown of France; the learned, of his self-government in refusing to listen to his passions for the young and beautiful widow;(e) and the courtiers of his gallantry. On his accession to the throne, it was predicted that he would be the king of the people, the hero of the soldiery, and the prince of the ladies.(f) But none felt greater joy than his mother Louisa. Not long before, he had been thrown from his horse near Amboise. "The Lord had pity on the poor widow," remarked Louisa; "pity on her tears and prayers, and took not from her maternal embraces an orphan son." She had lost her husband when Francis was an infant; and recalling to mind that in 1511, he had been nearly carried off by a fever, she thanked God, and said: "Now, indeed, am I rewarded, in living to hear of his being anointed with the holy oil of Rheims; notwithstanding all my anxiety and sorrow, heaven be praised, I never yet distrusted Divine Providence."(g) Louisa of Savoy, entirely wrapt up in her son, had no thought of the future; nor did she seem alarmed at his age and disposition. Francis ascended the throne at twenty-one. The King of Scotland was but a child, and Henry was then in his 24th year. Not a single gray hair had yet appeared on the heads of those sovereigns to whom heaven had confided the destiny of the world.(h) France was preparing for war. Three hundred cannon, two feet long,(i) were ordered to be cast and conveyed by mules across the Alps. Leo, on being apprised of this circumstance, appealed to Switzerland, ever ready to fly to the aid of the Church when in danger. Again was the terrible cry of war against the barbarian heard amidst the mountains of Unterwalden. Francis could not reconquer Milan without the aid of England. Would Henry consent to the renewal of the treaty which he had made with France? This was a question requiring immediate solution.

England was, at this time, much dis-

(a) Mezerai, Histoire de France.
(b) Audin.—Histoire de Calvin.
(c) Hume.
(d) Brantôme, Captaines François, à l'art. François I.
(e) Gaillard, Histoire de François I.
(f) Gregorio Leti, Storia di Carlo Quinto.
(g) Lettres de Louise, 12th Sept., 1494.—Journal.
(h) Sharon Turner.
(i) Mem. de Bayard.

turbed by a priest who was engaged in preaching a crusade against France,—"Arise!" said he, in his semi-pagan, semi-christian language, to his auditory, "arise, in the name of the gods, arise! Fortune calls on you to arise: she offers you a kingdom, wealth, dignities, glory, honour, all this belongs to you—take it. To arms! to arms! show the world what it has to expect from the king, from the aristocracy, in a word, from Great Britain herself."(a) It was more as an artist than an orator that Schinner described the future events of the life of Henry VIII. The harangue was like a panorama, wherein the king was represented on his war-horse rushing on his flying enemies, entering Picardy in triumph, at the head of an army of 60,000 men to conquer France,(b) and re-demanding at St. Denys a crown which was his both by right of birth and conquest. Schinner was no longer addressing, unfortunately for his cause, the mountaineers of Switzerland.(c) Henry felt no inclination to undertake a new war against France, as his first expedition had nearly exhausted the treasury bequeathed to him by his father. Two of his bravest naval officers had fallen, several of his ships had been lost, and Wolsey, who directed the prince's councils, busied in the designs of his palace at Hampton Court,(d) saw neither profit nor glory in another war with France; the minister, moreover, had lost all confidence in Ferdinand, whose prudence he admired, but in whose fidelity he could place no dependence.(e) Francis had chosen a skilful negotiator, in the first president of Rouen, to treat with Henry, who, by flattering the monarch's vanity, and bribing Wolsey, concluded a treaty between the two crowns in the name of his master; this treaty to last during the lifetime of both the monarchs, and a year after the death of him who should be first called hence, was signed on 5th of April, 1515,(f) at the very moment that the French artillery was passing through Dauphiny, on its way to Italy.

These warlike preparations did not frighten the English cabinet. Wolsey had resolved not to oppose the Transalpine expedition, inasmuch as he believed that the Swiss would successfully resist Francis, and that, though victorious, still France would necessarily shed some of her best blood for conquests that she would necessarily never be able to keep, England at the same time remaining perfectly neutral. The chancellor in his correspondence acknowledges in every line the courage of the French. He concedes to them the possession of all those military virtues which once distinguished the Romans, but refuses them the credit of civilization. Born to conquer, the French knew not how, especially in Italy, to keep their conquests. "Let them go on, let them triumph. England, when she pleases, can arrest their progress, not by her soldiers, but by her sailors;" for Wolsey depended more for the future renown of England on her naval than military strength. The treaty included those maritime questions which in the last reign had so often menaced the peace of the two nations. To secure the liberty of commerce between England and France, it was agreed that no armed vessel in time of war should sail from either nation without having first given bail that she would neither directly nor indirectly molest merchant-men sailing under the allied flags; and, moreover, that she would carry no ammunition for the enemy.(g) This clause was entirely in favour of England, which, under Cabot, was about to undertake one of those voyages of circumnavigation which would extend her traffic to unknown lands.(h) Wolsey felt certain that England would one day play a considerable part in the commercial as well as in the naval transactions of the world.

(a) Oratio ad excitandos contra Galliam Britfannos, maximé verò ne pace cum victis præmaturé agatur; sanctiori Anglorum concilio exhibita, anno à Christo nato 1514.—authore Matth. cardinali seduensi. Amstelodami, 1709.

(b) Schinner.

(c) Audin, Histoire de Léon X.

(d) The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court, by John Grundy.

(e) Mezerai, Histoire de France.

(f) Rymer, XIII, 476.

(g) Léonard, Traité, &c., II., 125.

(h) Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot, by Biddle of Pittsburg.—Historical view of the progress of discovery on the more northern coasts of Africa.—Edinburgh Cabinet Library.

A few months afterwards, the treaty was ratified in the usual manner by the princes swearing to observe the articles of the agreement on the Canon of the Mass and the holy gospels.(a) It would appear that after so solemn an oath neither of the powers would have thought of war; but the Papacy at this period was wont to interfere as judge on the transactions of sovereigns, and it was to the see of St. Peter, the living type of the invisible Majesty which reigns in the heavens, that princes delegated the power of punishing on treaties being infringed. They called on him to punish him who should violate even a tittle of the treaty; and to hurl down the thunder of the Vatican, in case of breach of faith, not only on themselves, but even on their hereditary rights (b) Every thing was ready in France, in the spring of 1515, for the commencement of the campaign. At last, there was a prospect of France taking her revenge for the defeat at Novarra. The road from Paris to Lyons was crowded by horses, carriages, wagons, cannons, and troops, on their way to meet Francis, who had appointed the last-named city as the place of rendezvous. His subjects showed great eagerness not only in laying down their lives for him, but many sold their plate and gave him the money.(c) The acts of donation are still in existence to testify to the patriotic conduct of these noblemen. One of them, the Seigneur du Bouchaige, lent 239 marks of plate to his lord the king to aid him in supporting the immense expense which he would have to incur.(d)

There were two roads to Italy across the Alps, one by Mont Cenis, and the other by Mont Genevra, both bordering on the plain of Susa,(e) where the Swiss awaited the arrival of the French army. The snow collected in winter on the mountains had not yet thawed. Holes in the rocks, which the hunter might have used to ensnare his prey, became serviceable to the peasant as a bulwark against attack. At the slightest notice, sentinels, concealed from human eye, were ready to awaken their comrades, had they, overcome by fatigue, fallen asleep. To each corps of the Swiss army was attached an almoner, who, at the approach of the enemy, gave the signal for prayer, *i.e.*, for the commencement of the struggle. At the appearance of Tell's banner, which one of the mountaineers would run and place on one of the icebergs, the detachments would approach and form themselves into a battalion, impervious to all, save the cannon ball. Prospero Colonna, who had reason to know the French character, says, laughingly, that they would have been imprisoned in this labyrinth of mountains like a bird in a cage, had they ventured to force their way through the passage.(f) The Piedmontese peasants were engaged by Francis to discover a defile in these wilds, with every hole and corner of which they were of course acquainted, by which the French might penetrate into Italy, but their attempts were unsuccessful. Everywhere they encountered precipices, abysses, snow, and ice. At last, one of the hunters offered his assistance as a guide over these unknown regions. Trivulcio was acquainted with the passage, and said that if

(a) Nous Françoys, par la grace de Dieu roy de France, duc de Milan et Seigneur de Gennes, promectons sur notre honneur et avec parolle de roy et jurons sur le canon de la Messe et sainctes Evangilles par nous presentement touchées, que nous entretiendrons et ferons entretenir par nos royaumes, pairies, seigneuries et subjetz, fermement et inviolablement, le traicté de paix, union et amitié faicts et concluds le 5e jour du mois d'avril, denièrement passé à Londres par les depputez et commis de tres hault et tres puissant prince, notre tres chier et tres amé frere, cousin, le roy d'Angleterre et les nostres.—Fait à Montargis le 8e de May, 1515. (Signed) FRANÇOYS.

Ainsi nous ayde Dieu et tous ses saincts et les dictes sainctes Evangiles. Rymer XIII., 501.

(b) And to obtain a bull or apostolic rescript made and expedited in due and sufficient form, in which all and singular mattters contained and specified in the said treaty, shall be confirmed by the authority of the apostolic see, on pain of ecclesiastical punishments and censures to be inflicted on us and our heirs, and of a sentence of interdict on our kingdoms, countries, and dominions, if we violate, or allow to be violated, this treaty, or any portion thereof.—J. de Silva.—P. de la Guiche.—Rymer, XIII., 487.

(c) Capefigue, Françis I., and the Renaissance.

(d) MSS. de Bethune.

(e) Mem. de la Tremouille.—Du Bellay.

(f) Questi Francesi sono miei come gli pippioni nella gabbia.

they were sufficiently hardy they might pass it. The army replied that they were willing to follow him, and bid him lead the way; and the work commenced, "a work," says Giovio, "worthy only of fiends or giants."(a) In some places, the cavalry and infantry were obliged to traverse a bridge, formed of fir trees bound together and thrown across an abyss; in others, they had to climb a sort of aerial ladder, placed on a granite rock, which they were also compelled to descend on the opposite side by holding on with their feet and hands. Occasionally, pieces of the granite would crumble off, carrying with them in their descent those who had been sufficiently venturesome to risk their lives. An avalanche would perhaps suddenly leap forward and bury those at work beneath; and over the bed of stones formed by it in its descent, they would throw branches of trees to make their horses more sure-footed.

The French army advanced but slowly, as they had to convey their ammunition and baggage, encountering at each step yawning gulfs and precipices, ready to swallow them up; and in reply to the murmur of the torrent, as it flowed in its onward course, the neighings of the horses and cries of the soldiers, whom a false step had hurled into the chasm or over the precipice, they exclaimed with truly military enthusiasm: "*En avant, en avant.*" The Swiss, encamped on the plain of Susa, alarmed at seeing the enemy, whose lines extended as far as the plains of St. Donato, so near them, retired to Milan.(b) The mountaineers were in a state of excellent discipline, under the command of the Landammans of Schwyta, Uuterwalden, Zug and Glaris. Roust, burgomaster of Friburg, led the right wing, composed of the peasants of Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Coire; the left wing was under the command of the burgomasters of Lucerne and Bâle, and the artillery, composed of a few culverines, under the orders of Pontely of Friburg.(c) The Swiss despised the latter *corps* (artillery), trusting entirely to their infantry, which had done such execution at Novarra, and had decided the day both at Morgarten and Morat.

After a short prayer, Werner Steiner arose from his knees, and led on his faithful Zugghese to the charge. Meeting with rather a warm reception from the artillery, he hesitated, and would have retreated, had not Schinner hastened to his aid. Werner rallied his men, and the battle recommenced with renewed ardour. The artillery now retreated in their turn, leaving behind them a few pieces of cannon, which fell into the hands of the Swiss. The French army was evidently panic-stricken, as the constable could scarcely rally his men, and even the Chevalier de Bayard had fallen on the rear.(d) But the French cavalry, stung to the quick by their defeat at Novarra, and feeling themselves bound to vindicate their honour, spurring their horses, gallantly charged the enemy, and animated by the example of their sovereign, who was at the head of his division, achieved wonders. They had commenced the combat at ten, and still continued their deadly struggle by the light of the moon, that "soothing emblem of peace and meekness" which had risen on this scene of carnage and desolation.(e) The charges of the cavalry were incessant; and the Swiss lines, attacked by the artillery of Genouillac, opened, and then immediately closed their ranks. The lances bent down, and rose up stained with gore; the long culverines rolled along on their wooden carriages; the Alpine horn of Eri was heard mingling its harsh sound with the French clarion. In this horrible *melée* of horses, men, swords and cannon, Francis was wounded and unhorsed.(f) Werner Steiner was himself mortally wounded, and Pontely carried off the field severely hurt. The fight continued until the moon hid herself in a dense cloud, and enveloped the plain where the con-

(a) Paulus Jovius.—Historia sui temporis.
(b) Archives d'Escher et Hottinger, I., 155.
(c) Leo, Hist. d'Italie.—Translated from the German, by M. Dochez.

(d) Du Bellay.—Guicciardini.
(e) The moon arose on the scene of destruction as the darkness began to spread; and as her presence, the soothing emblem of peace and mildness, illumined the horizon, they continued the furious conflict, heedless of fatigue or death.—Turner.
(f) Guicciardini.

tending armies engaged in mortal strife in funereal darkness, and thus caused a temporary cessation of the battle. Schinner then distributed provisions to his men, and Francis, who had been on horseback since three P.M., asked a soldier to bring him a cup of water. His request was complied with, but the liquid was tinged with blood. (a) The hostile armies were only divided by the slain, whose ghastly appearance became yet more appalling from the lurid glare of the pitch torches. The French lines approximated so closely to the Swiss that De Boissy extinguished his torch, lest the enemy should recognise Francis by its reflection. (b) The French infantry remained under arms all day, and the cavalry all night. (c) After a brief truce of a few hours, the struggle recommenced. At dawn of day, the Swiss were aroused by the voice of their almoners, who exhorted them to address a last prayer to heaven, imploring mercy, and to take some slight refreshment, for they had received provisions through the cardinal from Milan, (d) while the French had no food, inasmuch as trusting to their arms they had hoped to have taken the city ere the morning. (e)

An hour before sunrise, Francis had left the gun-carriage which had served as his pillow during the night, to take council with his officers; and the enemy hastened to extinguish the fires they had lit during the night lest their movements should be betrayed. As on the previous day, the Swiss infantry commenced the engagement, but Francis was prepared for them. The artillery-men were at their cannon; the cavalry on horseback, and the lancers had their lances ready couched. Schinner thus harangued his mountaineers: "Comrades, remember Novarra. You were then one against ten: yet you defeated the French and chased them from Italy. At them again, in the name of God." (f) Francis addressed not his men. The white plume, waving gracefully in the air from his helmet, touched their hearts more deeply. The rival armies had had no leisure to bury their dead, so that the Swiss marched over the bodies of their slain comrades (g) Roust charged the lancers, who fled at the first onset, but rallying, returned to the engagement, supported by M. de Guise, but they were again repulsed.

At this juncture, the Gascons and Navarrese, at the king's command, charged the mountaineers, while the cavalry of Genouillac attacked them in flank; and then were men seen to fall as if they had been so many skittles. But if the artillery took effect on the Swiss, the swords of the men of Uri, Unterwalden, and Zug, were by no means idle, and victory was at one period of the day confidently claimed by both parties. If Roust crossed the rampart defended by the French, Maugiron and Cossé, at the head of the bowmen, repulsed the detachments that had attacked their rear. While the issue of the battle was yet in the scale, the war cry of Venice, "Marco! Marco!" was heard, announcing the arrival of the Venetian general, Aviano. The Swiss now hesitated, (h) but rallying again attacked the enemy. At this decisive moment, Trivulcio opened the dyke of Lambro, and inundated the Swiss camp. The mountaineers had now to contend against two enemies,—against the one with their arms, and the other by boring holes in the ground with their lances, as an outlet for the water; but at last their desperate courage flagged, and they were soon perceived retreating slowly, having first formed under the very fire of the artillery, with their arms in their hands, their flags unfurled, rolling their cannon before them, and bearing their wounded on litters from the field of battle. Only one of their banners, the bull of Uri was missing; and it was afterwards discovered in the death-grasp of a mountaineer belonging to that canton. (i)

Francis had gained his spurs; his horse had been twice stabbed. He was seen

(a) Turner.
(b) Capefigue.
(c) Lettre de François I.—Turner.
(d) Guicciardini.
(e) Turner.
(f) Peter Martyr.
(g) Sismondi, Histoire des François.
(h) Ligue de Cambrai.—Planta, Histoire de la Confédération Helvétique.
(i) Archives of Escher and Hottinger.

every where in the field with a splendid carbuncle on his helmet, and wearing on his breast a gold *fleur de lis*. By his side was a squire with the French banner.(a) As the last Swiss soldiers returned from the field, he sent for the Chevalier de Bayard, and thus addressed him: "Bayard, I wish to be knighted by you." Bayard replied, "Sire, the king of so noble a kingdom is already a knight!" "Make haste, there is no time to be lost; nor have we the leisure to speak of the laws or regulations. Do what I request you." Then drawing his sword from its scabbard, Bayard said: "Sire, let this sword avail as much as if it had appertained to Roland or Oliver, Godfrey or his brother Baldwin. You are assuredly the first sovereign that has ever been knighted. God grant that you flee not in war;" and then apostrophising his sword and waving it in the air, he added: "Thou art fortunate in being called on to confer the honour of knighthood on so brave and virtuous a sovereign. Thou shalt be henceforward esteemed as a precious relic, and shalt never be used save against the Turks, Saracens, and Moors;" and then, after twice striking the king's shoulder he sheathed his sword.(b)

Francis immediately after the battle, wrote the bulletin, wherein he describes a most glorious victory, in very simple language: "I was with the bowmen, and the rearguard was commanded by my brother, the Duke of Alençon. In front were the Swiss forces, drawn up three deep; the first 10,000, the second 8,000, and the third 10,000 strong, alleging that their object was to chastise and humble a prince, who was too well accompanied for them, so that they fled from our artillery, which however could not do much execution. The cavalry under the Constable, Marshal de Chabannes, Imbercourt, Telligny, Pont-de-Remy and others, fought admirably till nightfall. There was at one time a little confusion; but God vouchsafed that I should come to their aid with a body of 200 men, and we succeeded in routing the enemy at night. We had been twenty-eight hours on horseback without eating or drinking. The Swiss resolved on the morrow to try once more the fortune of war, and as they were marching out of their cantonments I attacked them with twelve pieces of cannon and drove them back; but inasmuch as they had taken up a strong position, they left 8,000 men and all their artillery under my nose, and sent the two bands into which they were divided, to different parts of the field; the one against the Constable, and the other against Alençon. About this time D'Alviano came up with the Venetian cavalry, and cut the enemy to pieces, while I charged the lancers; and thus we fought with the Swiss for eight hours, during which time many, I can assure you, were laid low. Will you then, Madam, thank God for the victory which He has been pleased to vouchsafe to our arms; also laugh at De Lautrac and De Lescun for being absent? We have great fear that we shall not be able to recover the Comte de Sancerre."(c)

The battle of Marignano entailed other consequences besides the capture of Milan and the fall of Maximilian Sforza. It completely annihilated that prestige of superiority hitherto claimed by the Swiss infantry; and they henceforward were unable to sell their assistance on such advantageous terms. It also taught nations to depend on their own strength, and not on their allies. The artillery had acted well, and that would in future decide the fate of battles.(d)

(a) Capefigue.
(b) Symphorien Champier.
(c) MSS. Bethune.
(d) De Thou, Histoire Universelle.—Du Bellay, Memoires.

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CARDINAL WOLSEY. Born 1471.—Died 1530.

CHAPTER VII.

POLICY OF ENGLAND.—1515-1517.

Character of Wolsey.—Maximilian offers the Duchy of Milan to Henry.—His reasons for refusing it.—The Emperor's plan.—Francis, being informed of it, sends Bonnivet to London.—Treaty between Francis and England.—Restoration of Tournay.—By what means Francis obtained his restitution.—Conduct of Wolsey.

None could fathom Wolsey. At Oxford, at Lymington, where he was rector, at the manor of the Marquis of Dorset, in Fox's ante-chamber, under the shade of the trees at Bridewell, he never lost sight of the character he was called on to represent. Who would have noticed him as rector of a country town? But under the mask which he assumed to act the part of the boisterous scholar and the morose regent, the sanctimonious priest and the versatile courtier, the Seneca and Democrites, he attracted universal attention, he excited universal surprise; he was a novelty on earth and the subject of general conversation; a being who united in himself every shade of character, and towards whom Henry in particular felt himself irresistibly drawn, so that the comedian had no difficulty in making his way. The cardinal was at this period, as Erasmus truly observes, the real monarch of England. The actor's personality now began to be developed. Fox had himself been deceived. He imagined that he had discovered an excellent substitute for the extravagant Surrey, one who would be able to amuse as well as govern Henry. Wolsey was anxious to apply the ideas of spiritual unity, as taught by St. Thomas, his favourite author, to the government of kingdoms. Monarchy, under the Plantagenets, had suffered, because it had been obedient to too many masters;—to the king, as head of the state; to the peers and members of the House of Commons, as representatives of the people; to the privy councillors, as responsible ministers. England, to rank among the great continental nations, must obey only one will. She was more in want of a minister than of a king. For the sovereign there were pleasures and amusements suited to his age, but on the minister devolved the weight and anxiety of business.

Henry was too acute, and observed that Wolsey aimed to be this one governing power. But where, it had been asked, did he acquire his immense knowledge? for he could quote Horace and Virgil to Skelton, St. Thomas and Scotus to Fox, Perugino and Raphael to Holbein, Polybius and Vegetius to Howard, and Vitruvius and Sansovino to Torrigiano. Not contented with studying the great problems of psychology, he dipped into the physical world at his leisure; and after having examined the position assumed in the creation of her purely spiritual acts, would vouchsafe to think of her material form. Architecture was one of his favourite studies; and if we are to attach any faith to his biographers, Magdalene Tower, one of the chief architectural beauties of Oxford, was planned by him.(a) If he amused the gentle sex by his delicately-narrated anecdotes, if he was witty at table, if he deceived with the simple ingenuousness of a child, still it must be acknowledged that he could decypher character at a mere glance; that he was by no means ignorant of the details of government; that he was acquainted with all matters both at home and abroad, and was no less attached to his country than to his master. His ascendancy over the mind of Henry has been attributed by his enemies to his being an adept in the black art.(b)

The English monarch and his minister,

(a) Dallaway observes that it is generally understood that in this year (1492) the fine tower of Magdalene College was planned by Wolsey.—Howard.

Wolsey was bursar of Magdalen while the tower was being built, which may have given rise to the report that he designed it.

(b) So fascinating was his conversation, and so absolute was his power over the affections of Henry, that it was even reported he had bewitched the king with necromancy.—Strype.

who jealously watched the progress of the French invasion, neither expected that the French troops would be successful in their march across the Alps, nor that the Swiss, whose infantry were considered invincible, would have been defeated. It now became necessary to arrest the onward career of the French. Maximilian offered Henry the Duchy of Milan, providing he would aid the allied forces in rescuing Lombardy. The emperor entrusted this delicate mission to Richard Pace, one of the stars of that literary pleiades so celebrated by Erasmus.(a) Pace was much perplexed by this offer, for he was aware that the sympathy of the Milanese was enlisted in favour of the Sforza, and that the poverty of Lombardy was such that it would never repay the expenses incurred by its new master for its government. He did not fully explain himself to Henry, but was less reserved with Wolsey. This may be accounted for by his having little or no confidence in the emperor.(b) Nor was this the first time that Henry had been deceived by this egotist. In May, 1516, Maximilian again essayed to tempt his ally. He now offered him the empire as well as the ducal crown, provided he would cross the sea with his army, and proceed to Treves by way of Tournay, where he was to meet the emperor, who would resign the empire in his favour, with the proper legal formalities. The Anglo-imperialists were then to invade France, while Maximilian and Henry were to cross the Alps, take possession of Milan, and continue their voyage to Rome, where Henry would receive the imperial crown from the Sovereign Pontiff.(c)

Henry, however, turned a deaf ear to the proposals of Maximilian, who appears to have been a prince of exceedingly romantic ideas, since he had long entertained the project of seating himself in the Chair of St. Peter. Pace was cognisant of the letter, which he had written to Paul de Lichtenstein, announcing to him his intention of becoming a candidate for the papacy, and that the Cardinal di Corneto had shed tears of joy at the bare idea of seeing a German emperor of the House of Hapsburg on the throne of Julius II.(d) The English sovereign, however, was more energetic in his refusal to accept the Duchy of Milan, where the Pope would have allowed him no rest, than in rejecting the imperial crown. Maximilian, however, after a short period, recommenced his intrigues, and Tunstall, in a letter dated Mechlin, 12th February, 1517, wrote to his master as follows:—"The emperor desires to resign the empire to your grace; he is certain of obtaining the consent of the electors, and is impelled to take this step through his great love for you," adding, however, "I am

(a) Cardinali Moguntinensi. Eras., VI., 19.—The correspondence between Pace and Wolsey is in the Archives, at the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey.

(b) Fiddes.

(c) Fiddes.—Lingard.

(d) This idea of Maximilian has often been mentioned, but no proof has been as yet adduced. We now present our reader with one of the emperor's letters:—

"We do not doubt but that you still remember the conversation which we formerly had with you as to the causes for which we have determined to become a candidate for the Roman pontificate, if it should be possible. From that time all our thoughts have been turned to that object; for we have been taught at home, and such is actually the case, that nothing could happen to us more honourable or more glorious, or more advantageous, than that we should recover for our empire the said papacy, properly belonging to us. Since then Pope Julius II. has lately been seized with a mortal disease, (as you have been informed from our court, and as you may have heard from Cyprian Sarentin, Chancellor of the Tyrol,) so that all at Rome thought him to be dead, we have now determined to pursue our plan, as far as possible, and to act and proceed in such a manner that it may be evident that we have not abandoned our design. Therefore we laid the said reasons before Cardinal Adrian, who, as you know, was for some time legate at our court in Germany; and he not only approved of them, but exhorted and advised us to proceed, thinking that we should have no trouble with the cardinals; and for joy he shed tears, so gladly did he receive our proposition.—Brescia, Sept. 16, 1511.

"To Baron Paul von Lichtenstein."

Maximilian had written in the same style to Neideck, Bishop of Trent, in 1507, and on the 19th to his daughter, the Archduchess Margaret. These letters have been published in the "Recuil des Lettres du Roy." See also on the subject of these three letters, La Biografia del celebre Cardinale Adriano da Corneto, scritta da Girolamo Ferri, dove compendiato, dove rettificata, supplita et ampliata dal nobile Ambrogio Simpliciano de Schreck.

certain that the offer is not by any means a disinterested one, and that his object is to extract money from your highness."(a) Francis was quite *au courant* with Maximilian's tricks; and in order to disconcert his plot, planned, in concert with Denmark and Scotland, an invasion of England under the auspices of the pretender, Richard de la Pole. One of Wolsey's spies in France revealed the plot to Sir Richard Jernegan, who communicated the details to his employer.(b)

Richard de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was the son of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV., and was the representative of the House of York, known by the appellation of the *White Rose*. Young, courageous, and brave, he was idolized by the army, and was an instrument of great utility in the hands of the French, who held him in *terrorem* over the heads of the House of Tudor, when they were about projecting hostilities against France. Whenever England became reconciled to France, Richard was obliged to seek shelter in some other clime, and offer his services to some other enemy of the Red Rose. In 1513 he was fighting with the French against England, not so much for the object of asserting his right to the crown, to which he was in reality the legitimate heir,(c) as to wreak his vengeance on an implacable enemy. Henry demanded, but without avail, that the traitor, as he called him, should be delivered up to him. France was too well acquainted with his value, and appreciated him too much to deliver him up to the axe of the executioner.

Ferdinand of Arragon died in January, 1517.(d) He was one of the most remarkable sovereigns that had ever filled the Spanish throne, as well as one of the most successful monarchs of his age. Guicciardini would have given him the title of the Great, had he not so often violated his pledges, and invariably acted on the axiom of advancing his own interest at the expense of his allies. King of Arragon as a descendant of Ramirez II., natural son of Sancho; King of Castille, through Isabella, daughter of Henry of Trastamara; King of Sicily, as representing Manfred, bastard son of the Emperor Frederick II., he made use of his confessor to conquer Roussillon and Cardagne; of artifice to obtain possession of Naples; of perjury to take Granada from the Saracens; of the rights of his wife, heiress of Castille, to unite under his sceptre nearly the whole of Spain; and of Christopher Columbus, to conquer a new world. He was the only prince of his day on whose states the sun never set.(e) He had more virtues than vices, and won rather the admiration than the love of his subjects. Ferdinand's death created some little excitement in the English cabinet, as Wolsey deemed it a favourable opportunity to disturb the peace of Italy, and promised to aid Maximilian with subsidies, if he would repass the Alps. This

(a) He shewyd me that oon off the secret mater was, that th' Emperor entendeth to resigne the empire unto your Grace, and to obten your election by hys procurement and sollicitinge off the electors thereunto, which th' emperor entendyd to do for the avancement of your honor and the love which he berith you; and I am afferd lest the said offer was oonly made to get thereby sum money of your Grace. —Brit. Mus., MSS. Cott., Galba B.V.—Ellis, I., 135-138.

(b) That Richard de la Pole should take shipping in Denmark, and the Duke of Ulske, the King of Denmark's uncle, with a certain number of lance knights, to land in some part of England, and the Duke of Albany shall take shipping in Bretagne, to go into Scotland.—Sir Richard Jernegan's despatch of 31st May, 1516.—Strype.

(c) Fiddes says that Francis was disposed to support the claims of Richard de la Pole to the crown of England. On his return from Italy, he said to the Pretender:—"Because I know your title to be good to the crown of England, I shall shortly endeavour to make such peace with the emperor that I may be able to assist you with both men and money towards obtaining your right."—Fiddes' Wolsey.—There is, however, no document in existence to prove this ill-natured assertion of Wolsey's biographer.

(d) Gaillard, Histoire de François I.

(e) Mariana has drawn a more beautiful than faithful portrait. "This prince excelled all the other Spanish kings in zeal for justice, prudence, and genius. Human nature is such, that no one is free from faults; besides envy and malice attribute to great men failings from which they are really free. In regard to moderation in the use of power, love for religion, and the patronage of literature and the arts, he set before the Kings of Spain the model of a just, mild, benevolent, and truly Christian king. He established in Spain peace, security, prosperity, and plenty."

offer was accepted by the emperor, who quickly levied an army of 5,000 Italian and Spanish cavalry, and 10,000 infantry: and for a time the Sforza believed that the re-establishment of Milan was at hand. The old emperor forgot his ordinary inactivity, and marched at the rate of ten leagues per diem. He had crossed the Adige, and had relieved Brescia, which was on the point of capitulation, when Lautrec crossed the Mincio to join the Constable of Bourbon.(a) Had the emperor followed Schinner's advice, he would at once have marched against Milan, instead of losing time at Asola, where he met with an unexpected opposition.(b) This delay was very propitious to the French, who succeeded in throwing into Milan a portion of the garrison at Crémona. Having arrived before Milan, Maximilian summoned it to surrender, threatening, if it would not open its gates within three days, to treat it worse than it had formerly been treated by Frederick I. But Milan having lately received a reinforcement of 10,000 Swiss, under the command of Albrecht Steiner, and in the pay of France, cared not for the emperor's threats.(c) At the very commencement of the siege, Stapfer demanded the arrears due to his troops, who had not been paid since the battle of Inspruck. The imperial treasure was exhausted, and the emperor, fearful from the insolent language used by Stapfer, that he would be kept as a hostage by the Swiss, left the camp with 200 horsemen and fled for refuge to the Tyrol.

This retreat was regarded by Henry's agents as a great and irretrievable fault,(d) clearly proving that trust could no longer be reposed either on the word or personal courage of Maximilian. He was getting old; and what could be expected from an old man who necessarily had as his companions his winding-sheet and coffin?(e)

(a) Sismondi.
(b) Paruto.—Historia venetiana, dagli istorici delle Cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per publico decreto, Venezia, 1718.
(c) Leo.
(d) Pace was one of those who accused the emperor of having committed himself "That the emperor's negligence had lost him the victory."—Fiddes.
(e) Schmidt.

His expedition into Italy, though fatal to his own interest, was of great service to England, inasmuch as it prevented Francis from treating with Denmark and Scotland. Left to her own resources, Scotland was aware that she was too weak to enter the lists with so powerful a rival as England, and delayed to a future period her hopes of avenging her defeat at Flodden.(f) Francis was not by any means idle. He lost no opportunity to preserve his conquests, by purchasing, at a large price, the neutrality of the Swiss, and offering to Charles, who had succeeded Ferdinand of Arragon, the hand of the Princess Louisa, then an infant in the cradle, who would have as her dowry the rights of the House of Anjou to the crown of Naples.(g) Maximilian was again bribed to give in his adhesion to the treaty concluded between France and Spain; while England remained perfectly neutral, only purchasing at a large price the alliance of Maximilian and Charles.(h)

Politics at this period were truly a game of hazard, and gold a fruitful instrument of corruption. Kings put themselves up to auction, and were occasionally purchased twice on the same day. But these disgraceful scenes were destined to receive a temporary check. Selim, after having conquered Egypt and Syria, advanced against Europe, in which he threatened to eradicate the cross and the name of Christianity. Happily the Papacy still watched over the interests of Christendom and civilization. Leo, accordingly, by his authority as Vicar of Christ, ordered the different powers to forget their private quarrels, and to unite their forces against the barbarians. He was listened to, and all the great European monarchies engaged in a common crusade against the Turks. Thus was the cross saved.(i) During the brief repose enjoined by the Papacy, Francis recommenced the negotiations which he had broached at his accession, respecting the restoration of Tournay. Henry, in exchange for Tourney, demanded the cession of some places in the vicinity

(f) Lingard. Pinkerton.
(g) Du Mont.
(h) Rymer, XIII., 556, 566.
(i) Lingard.

of Calais, to which Francis would by no means consent. To surrender Tournay was to deprive Wolsey of the administration of a diocess, the revenues of which were considerable. The minister, whose object was to enjoy his wealth in peace, had more than once requested Francis to confer some other preferment on Louis Guillart, ex-bishop of Tournay, in lieu of that see of which he had been deprived. The king amused Wolsey by promises which he never intended fulfilling; being convinced that if he could deprive the chancellor of the administration of the diocess, Tournay would soon recover her independence. Guillart also solicited his restoration from Rome, and was actively supported by Francis.(a) Leo at first paid no attention to the prayers of the deposed prelate; but as soon as Francis had traversed the Alps, he granted, without the slightest hesitation, a bull, which re-established the bishop in his diocess of Tournay, and even permitted him to make use of the secular arm to get possession of his temporalities. Henry, annoyed at seeing a prelate, who had refused to swear allegiance to him, replaced in the diocess of Tournay, ordered his ambassador to complain of this act to the Sovereign Pontiff. Leo hesitated, and seemed inclined to revoke the bull, when he was informed that Francis, after having defeated the Swiss at Marignano, had taken possession of Milan. This was not the moment to irritate a conqueror. However, to manage an ally like Henry, his Holiness resolved to submit the affair to two cardinals, who were secretly ordered to delay their decision.(b)

At one time, Tournay, which was not even worth the money spent in keeping up her garrison, threatened the repose of the world.(c) Francis, to pacify Wolsey, instructed his ambassador extraordinary to treat at London respecting the cession of this fortress. Bonnivet, recently created admiral, was provided with every thing that could possibly assure the success of his mission. Twenty-five mules loaded with coffers of gold, and richly harnessed with crimson velvet,(d) to dazzle Henry and his court, and gold and letters of credit for Wolsey. The admiral succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations; for after a secret interview with Wolsey, he met with no opposition in his mission. The result of the negotiation was a family alliance.(e) Charles of Spain had obtained the hand of Louisa of France, daughter of Francis. Mary, Henry's only child, was destined for the young dauphin, who was only just born, while his affianced bride was only four. Henry pledged himself to give 333,000 crowns as a dowry to Mary, which Bonnivet acknowledges having received beforehand (f) Tournay was surrendered for a sum of money, 300,000 crowns being paid for the citadel which had been built by the English, and the same sum for the city and her dependencies, payable in ten years.(g) Wolsey's interests were by no means overlooked. The Chancellor received from the King of France, as a reward for his good services, an annual pension of 12,000 livres,(h) and a few of the members of the Privy Council also received magnificent presents from the same source.(i)

The King of France was so overjoyed at the restitution of Tournay that he knew not how to show his gratitude to Wolsey. What could he give the cardinal? "I know not," says Taylor, one of the commissioners appointed to surrender the city, "but I think that a service of plate, or some precious jewels, would be pleasing to his grace."(j) The minister had both. We must not judge by the satirical productions of some poets, who accused him of having, by the cession of Tournay, sacrificed the interest of his country to his ambition. The annuity allowed him by Francis was far from being an equivalent to the revenue of that diocess.

(a) Strype.—Thomson.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras.
(c) Thomson.

(d) Brantôme, Vies des hommes illustres.
(e) Rymer, XIII., 362. Tractatus matrimonii inter Delphinum et Dominam Mariam.
(f) Rymer.
(g) Rymer. Tractatus pro deliberatione Tornach XIII., 642.
(h) Thomson.
(i) Herbert.
(j) I answered, that I could not tell, but I supposed it was most convenient to send you goodly plate or other rich jewels.—Taylor's Diary.—Turner.

Doubtless, the circumstance of his being an annuitant of France is a stain on his memory, but yet he could not be said to have betrayed his country's interests, for Tournay was not worth the money England had spent on her, as being more than fifty leagues from Calais, she would have fallen an easy sacrifice to France in case of war. On perusing Wolsey's correspondence with Sampson, who directed the spiritual interests of the city, we can easily perceive that the citizens were desirous to throw off the yoke of their enemy, and what a disgrace to the arms of England if a revolt should expel them from Tournay.(a)

Maximilian's death, which, on account of his increasing infirmities, could not be distant, would surely occasion a war. He had, in his febrile dreams, requested his daughter Margaret to honour him as a saint when he should have descended into the grave; for he had made a vow never again to see a woman, and to live as a hermit.(b) A noble prince, the pride of Germany, whose good qualities were not to be revealed till after his decease. We must not therefore judge too severely of the statesman, who by prudent precautions guarded against future eventualities, and wished, by the aid of alliances and concessions, to preserve for England the post of arbitratrix of the destinies of Europe.

And perhaps that extravagance which he affected at London was only for the purpose of deceiving rival nations. What would they think of the resources of a country when a subject lived amid the splendours of royalty, and enjoyed a rental sufficiently large to keep afloat the Venetian fleet? His extravagance and insolent conduct, whatever might be the motives by which he was actuated, called aloud for chastisement. Skelton, the poetic executioner of the anger of the aristocracy, replied to one who inquired, "*Why do we not see you at court?*"(c) "Why, because there is near the king one higher than the king, so elevated in the imaginary hierarchy of his pride that none dare look him in the face. Do you know how he conducts himself in the Privy Council and in the Star Chamber? He strikes the table with his wand of office, and all are silent; none dare open their lips. Wolsey alone speaks; none dare contradict him; and when he has finished, he rolls up his papers, saying, 'What say you, my lords? are not my reasons excellent, very excellent?' and then leaves, whistling the air of *Robin Hood*. Such is the man by whom we are governed, who is filled with pride, and who, the better to keep his vow of chastity, drinks the finest wines and eats fowls and game of all sorts highly flavoured."(d)

The poet accompanies the minister along the narrow streets. "We can scarcely," says he, "enumerate the number of clients who serve as a *cortége* for his grace. You will find there bishops, mitred abbots, dukes, earls, knights, lawyers, theologians, schoolmasters, footmen and grooms, mingled together. The procession extends as far as York Place. 'It is the cardinal,' says one of the people. 'It is the Archbishop of York,' says a second. 'It is the legate of our Holy Father the Pope,' says a third. 'It is the Lord High Chancellor,' says a fourth. It is the devil,' says a fifth. 'Room, room, for my lord of York; room, room, for the Chancellor; room, room, for the Legate;'

(a) And the neighbouring cities naturally inclined to favour the clergy of their own country, refused to submit to the spiritual jurisdiction of D. Sampson, Wolsey's almoner, whom he had left there as his vicegerent.—Thomson.

(b) Tres chere et tres amée fille, je entendu l'avis que vous m'avez donné par Guillain Pingon, notre garde robe uyées dont nous avons encore pense desseus, et ne trouvons point pour nulle resun bon, que nous nous devons franchement marier mais avons plus avant mis notre deliberation et volunté de jamais plus hanter faem..et envoyons demain M. de Gurec évêque à Rome, devant le pape, pour trouver fachion que nous puyssun accorder avic ly de nous prenre pour ung coadjuteur, afin qu'après sa mort pourons estre assuré de avoer le papat et devenir prêtre, après estre saint, et yl vous sera de necessité que après ma mort vous serez contrainct de me adorer, dont je me trouverai bien glorifioes, et adieu, fuet de la main de votre bon pere Maximilianus, futur pape.—Capefigue. This letter is dated 18th Sept., 1512, but Maximilian before his death was also haunted by the same dreams and projects.

(c) Why come ye not to court?

(d) We quote from the translation of M. Philip Chasles, who in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has written a curious article on Skelton.

cry aloud his retainers; 'stand back! ye scoundrels, do you not see his Grace?'"

The Chancellor is strutting about in his apartments, and thus soliloquising:—"My house is sumptuous, the gold glitters in the ceiling like the sun at mid-day. My large and spacious corridor resembles parterres. In my gardens, protected by well-built walls, are flowers, which perfume the air with their exquisite odour. There I have benches shaded by the sweet honeysuckle for me to repose on; besides there are labyrinths where I can wander; further on, vast avenues for me to roam in at my leisure. See my *salon*, what beautiful tapestry, designed purposely for me by an artist, and so exquisitely done that it may be taken for painting. I dine in an atmosphere of perfume. My plate is the work of skilful artificers wrought in fine gold; and I drink out of gold goblets. When I go out two gold crosses precede me. Before me walk valets, carrying gold axes on their shoulders; and I am, when riding on my mule, decorated with a velvet saddle, regarded as a saint." We have listened too long to the poet; let us now turn to the historian.

Skelton, who speaks thus satirically in his pamphlets of Wolsey's besetting vices;—envy, avarice, licentiousness, and gluttony,(a) had been but just deprived of his sacerdotal functions by the Bishop of Norwich. Why? for one of those crimes so familiar to poets, says the chronicler,(b) or, as Fuller as it, because his female servant at the parsonage of Trumpington, where he was rector, was employed in other matters besides the culinary department. The suspended rector fled for refuge to Westminster. The abbot, Islip, undertook to board, lodge, and clothe him. He also furnished him with ink and paper to indite those literary satires which were soon circulated in the neighbouring counties in the shape of handbills, and more than one found their way into Wolsey's palace. The minister could, by a word, had he so pleased, have forced the sanctuary where Skelton was lurking, but he was silent. The "mastiff cur"(c) allowed the poet to lurk without so much as leaving his royal kennel.

Skelton, moreover, in thus annoying Wolsey, was rather the tool of the aristocracy and Spain, than of the people. The Spanish ambassador could not pardon Wolsey for having rejected 10,000 crowns, which he had offered him to demolish the citadel of Tournay ere it was delivered up.(d) He had made the gentry his enemy, because he refused as Chancellor to sell justice as his predecessors had done.(e) He was an object of hatred to the courtiers, because he made no difference between the rich and the poor in the Star Chamber.(f) The landowners also held him in detestation, because he observed the statute against maintenance. He was also very severe in all cases of perjury and open or secret revolt, and would not allow the weak to be oppressed.(g) The time, however, was not far distant when historians were to be far severer than the poet.

(a) Presumption and vain glory,
Envy, wrath, and lechery,
Covetise and gluttony,
Slothful to do good:
Now frantic, now stark wode.

(b) Having been guilty of certain crimes as most poets are.—Warton.

(c) ——— Our barons
Dare not look out a door,
For dread of the mastiff cur;
For dread that the butcher's dog
Would worry them like an hog.

(d) Lettere di Bibienna, lettere de' principi.—Harmer's specimens of some errors and defects in the history of the Reformation of the Church of England.

(e) For the honour of Wolsey, let it be noticed that, during his administration, there prevailed in this court neither the pecuniary meanness, which was its pre-eminent vice under his immediate predecessors, nor the cruelty which distinguished it at the later period.—Archæol., XXV., 376.

(f) In the Star Chamber he separated neither high nor low, but judged every estate according to their merits and deserts.—Archæol., XXV., 376.

(g) For a truth he so punished perjury with open punishment and open papers werynge, that in his time it was less used. He punished also lordes, knightes, and men of all sortes for ryotes, bearing, and maintenance in their countreyes, that the poor men lyved quietly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonment but he himself and his servauntes were well pushed therefore.—Hall. Archæologia, XXV., 377-378.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EMPIRE.—1519

Death of Maximilian.—Candidates for the Empire.—Intrigues employed by Henry, Charles, and Francis, to obtain the Imperial Crown.—Crafty conduct of the English Sovereign.—Charles is elected.—His character.—Opinion of Historians on Henry's conduct during the election.—Motives for that Monarch's dissimulation.

On the 14th of January, 1519, Sir William Knight, on taking leave of the emperor at Wells, wrote to the cardinal, stating his conviction that Maximilian must soon succumb to the violent cold and slow fever under which he was then suffering.(a) On the 22nd of that month, he breathed his last. Of all the monarchs who had governed Germany since Charlemagne, he was the most powerful, and perhaps the most skilful; but his value was not properly estimated till after his death. He had scarcely closed his eyes before some of the circles of the Germanic empire were disturbed and threatened even to influence the election of the new emperor.(b) Luther was preparing to destroy the beautiful Teutonic unity founded by Maximilian. The imperial crown was in the gift of seven electors: Albert, Prince of Brandenburg, Cardinal and Archbishop of Magdeburg; Richard Von Greiffenklau, Archbishop of Treves; Hermann Count Von Wied, Archbishop of Cologne; the secular electors were Lewis of Bohemia; Lewis, Count Palatine of the Rhine; Frederick, Duke of Saxony; and Joachim, Margrave of Brandenburg. A contemporary historian compares the imperial dignity to the sun shining in a room, and exclaims, philosophically: "seize, if you can, that ray of light; make of it a silk dress or a table well served;"(c) and it was for the possession of this ray of light that the three greatest monarchs in the world were struggling. Charles, King of Spain, sovereign of the Netherlands, and heir to the kingdom of Naples; Francis I., King of France and Duke of Milan; and Henry VIII., King of England, France, and Ireland. All three used different means to attain the object of their ambition: Charles, a phlegmatic stoicism; Francis, boisterous generosity; and Henry, Italian craft.

The King of England feigned great disinterestedness, and assured the French ambassador that he had no intention to dispute the empire with his master, though the Cardinal of Sion had not ceased tormenting him to become a candidate for the crown, but that he had no confidence in the mountaineer, who cloaked his cupidity under a zeal for England.(d) Henry, in order to discover the intentions of Francis, ordered

(a) Ellis' Letters, I., 147. The despatches of the English ambassadors relative to the election of the emperor, are to be seen at the British Museum, MSS. Cotton. They are nearly all of them original. Unhappily some were destroyed in the fire of 1731. The greater part have been printed in the "State-papers, published under the authority of His Majesty's commission, in 1831, by Murray," a collection essentially necessary to be consulted by all who wish to be quite *au fait* with the history of this period. We are indebted to Sir Henry Ellis, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, for a valuable historical collection, intituled "Original letters illustrative of English History, including numerous royal letters from autographs in the British Museum, and one or two other collections."

(b) Schmidt.

(c) Peter Martyr.

(d) Boleyn's Letters, MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 93.

Sir Thomas Boleyn to sound him(a) but of this there was no necessity, as the French sovereign was perfectly open and candid with Sir Thomas, and taking him aside to one of the embrasures, informed him of his having been solicited by some of the electors to oppose Charles whom Maximilian had nominated as his successor on his death-bed, pledging themselves in writing to support him;(b) and he asked Boleyn if it was true, as the French ambassador had stated, that Henry was inclined to his cause,(c) but Boleyn gave an evasive reply.(d) It was highly necessary that Francis should be assured of the cardinal's goodwill towards him, and he therefore wrote him a letter, styling him his dear friend,(e) and asking him to use his influence with his royal master, in case he was not a candidate. Henry, in a conversation with the French ambassador, still affected the same disinterestedness, and spoke contemptuously of the pomps and vanities of this world. Content in wielding the sceptre of his island home, what did he want with a new diadem? Was it not his duty to be satisfied with what Providence had allotted him?(f)

Francis now felt secure of the imperial diadem, and began talking of the chastisement he would inflict, as emperor, on the Turks, who had presumed to dream of the abolition of Christianity. Taking the arm of Sir Thomas Boleyn he said: "By my faith, if I am elected emperor, I shall be at Constantinople within three years, or die on the road."(g) Fresh proofs were daily furnished to the too confiding sovereign of the indifference assumed by his noble ally. "Indeed," exclaimed Francis, one day, playing with his velvet cap, "I have no better friend on earth than his grace, my brother of England."(h) As a mark of his gratitude for Wolsey's exertions in his behalf, he promised to exert his influence in obtaining for him the papacy.(i) What a delightful dream for the world—Wolsey at Rome and Francis at Constantinople! Francis was soon undeceived by the Spanish ambassador, who told him that his "good brother," had formally declared to the Bishop of Burgos, that he could never support the candidature of Francis, and that he would prefer seeing Charlemagne's sceptre wielded by the King of Spain than by the King of France.(j) Boleyn, compelled to give an explanation, attempted to contradict this official information, and Francis now perceived, when it was too late, that he had been deceived by the King of England.(k)

The Diet was to open shortly at Frankfort, where the Fuggers, the renowned bankers of Augsburg, had a house. It was by their aid that both Francis and Charles trusted to purchase the votes of the electors, Francis being determined to spend 3,000,000 crowns in acquiring Maximilian's crown.(l) Unfortunately his cheques were dishonoured, and he was reminded that he had not refunded some money borrowed three years before for the ransom of Tournay, and that, consequently, the Fuggers, being afraid that the king might not honour his signature, refused to accept his bills.(m) Charles of Austria used gold instead of paper to bribe the electors, and

(a) Boleyn's Letters, MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 88.

(b) MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 88.

(c) And very much he rejoiceth in the letters that came from his ambassador out of England, whereby he is advised your highness would help and aid him in this matter, which he reckoneth for a great fardelle near to a surety.—Turner. MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 88.

(d) MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 88.

(e) MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 87.

(f) "He was content with his estate," and the ambassador thought, "surely that the king's highness pretendeth not to the empire."—MSS Cott., Cal., ib. 94

(g) He took me hard by the wrist with one hand, and laid the other upon his breast, and swore to me by his faith, if he attained to be emperor, that within three years after he would be in Constantinople, or he would die by the way.—28th Feb. 1519.—MSS., Cott., Cal. D. VII., 93. Ellis I., 147.

(h) MSS. Cott., ib. Ellis I., 148.

(i) Boleyn's letter of 11th March, to Wolsey.—MSS. Cott., ib. 98.

(j) MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 805. Ellis I., 150.

(k) Boleyn's letter. Ellis I., 155.

(l) Es liess sich vernehmen, er werde drei Millionen Kronthaler daran wenden, um zum Kayser zu werden.—Ranke's deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation, I., 359.

(m) Bibl. du Roi, MSS. Dupuy, vol. 263.

presented each of them with 50,000 ducats in cash.(a) Francis seemed to place more confidence in the eloquence of his advocates at the Diet than in the carts filled with gold which he had sent to replace his dishonoured bills, and which had been plundered on the way. These advocates had indeed prepared a magnificent speech, written in Latin, the purity of which not even Budæus would have been ashamed of. It flattered the electors, whom it changed into Northern stars, whose light excels all the nocturnal luminaries. The comparison might carry its weight, but it had not the value of a ducat.(b) Germany ridiculed the speeches of his advocates, as well as his pretensions to the imperial crown, and the poets thought it strange that a prince who bore the name of Francis I. should aspire to the title of Cæsar.(c)

Charles represented the Teutonic nationality. Like Maximilian, he bore as his arms the lion of the Netherlands and the eagle of Austria, and, as a Christian, the same name as that powerful emperor who was for a time master of the world. Besides, the country stood in need of a prince of German extraction; the poet but continues the struggle just commenced at Wittemberg by a monk, and we have not the slightest doubt that Germany would have revolted, had the French or English monarch been elected to the empire.

Henry, after having deceived both his rivals with promises of support, suddenly announced himself a candidate for the empire. The election of the Tudor would secure Wolsey's elevation to the chair of St. Peter, which he desired at any sacrifice, no matter how great.(d) The Bishop of Worcester exerted himself at Rome to secure his master's election, and had he succeeded, the imperial sceptre would have fallen into the hands of a royal theologian. The bishop had two grounds on which to urge Henry's claim to the imperial sceptre. Charles, without a dispensation, could not hold the imperial crown and that of Naples,(e) and Rome would be incurring great danger were she to accept as King of the Romans a young prince already master of Milan. On the other hand, with Francis I. there would no longer be any barrier between France and Italy. What would then become, in either case, of that Italian nationality, of the success of which Julius had dreamed even on his death bed? (f)

Pace arrived shortly after this representation of the bishop, without money, but armed with the most brilliant offers for all, but more especially the ecclesiastical electors. Pace had started for Bologna on the first vague rumour that a new literary star, foreboding the rise of literature, had sprung up in Italy. During his voyage of scientific research he collected, like Mirandola, precious manuscripts, heard distinguished professors, frequented the universities, haunted the studios of the artists, took his place on the benches of the schools, and on his return home, was presented with a stall in St. Paul's vacant by the death of Colet.(g) While travelling, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, he collected mentally the materials for a short treatise on the progress of literature, which he afterwards published, under the title of "De fructu qui ex doctrinâ percipitur."(h) He was pleading in favour of science, which until then, had only impoverished her advocates, and she was consequently rejected by some of the fox-hunting gentry, on the plea that she led her votaries to the hospital. "By our Lady," said a landlord, whom our philosopher encouraged during his travels, and whom he introduces into his preface, "never, my son, learn the *belles lettres*. To learn to blow on the horn,

(a) Pace's letter, quoted by Herbert.

(b) Speech of the French ambassdors to the electors, June 18, 1509.

(c)

Cùm sis Franciscus Gallus, rex Gallice, quùm sis,
Imperium poscis, quâ ratione tibi?
Franciscus nemo est hoc Cæsar nomine factus.
Nec Gallus me quis sospite Cæsar erit:
Cæsar Germanus mihi rex et Carolus esto:
Quare, Francisce et Galle repulse, vale!

—At the conclusion of the *Oratio oratorum Francisci regis Gallorum*.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Sandoval, Historia de la vida del imperador Carlos V., em Pamplona, 1614.

(f) Robertson's History of the Emperor Charles V.

(g) State papers, I., 2.

(h) The treatise was published at Bâle, in 1524.

to hunt the deer, to go out with the falcon, to ride over hills and dales; speak to me of such a profession as that, and you have my hearty approbation, but I would not mount behind that lady whom Erasmus has christened *τὴν καταρατὸν νενίαν*."(a) "And if," replied the philosopher, "your son was desired by the king to fulfil some important mission, what benefit would he derive from knowing how to blow the horn, to chase deer, to hawk and hunt foxes?" The modern Nimrod, at a loss for a reply, emptied his glass, and asking for more beer, filled it to the brim, drank to Pace's good health, and thus they separated.(b)

Pace found that he had other prejudices to contend with at the Diet. The ecclesiastical electors refused to vote for Henry, on the plea that his grace had started too late, and that their votes were pre-engaged.(c) While Pace was uselessly endeavouring to gain a single vote for his master, it was rumoured abroad at Frankfort that Charles had ordered a portion of his army to advance from the Netherlands as far as the banks of the Maine, to protect the independence of the electors. This threat(d) was of greater service to Charles than all his ducats, as he was immediately elected. Henry consoled himself for his defeat by declaring that he could not have conscientiously accepted the empire at the price given for it by Charles; but he was only acting the hypocrite. England was overjoyed at the election of the new emperor; the people lit bonfires in the squares, while the Germans and Spaniards, entering the taverns in the vicinity of Temple Bar, emptied pots of beer in honour of the successful candidate.(e) At Rome, whose policy is praised by Robertson,(f) Leo X. lost no time in offering Charles of Austria the necessary dispensation for uniting the crown of Naples with the imperial diadem.(g) Luther was in open rebellion against the hierarchical authority; the Pope consequently stood in need of a sovereign of the Tuetonic race, who would be able to check the apostate monk. When at Aix la Chapelle, the city which the golden bull had appointed for the emperor's coronation, the Archbishop of Cologne asked Charles if he promised to exert himself for the triumph of the Catholic faith, and to defend the interests of the Church in Germany with his life if required. Charles lifted up his hand which he had laid on the altar, and replied, "I will, with the help of God and the saints."(h)

Charles of Austria, when scarcely twenty, says an historian, used to rise at daybreak, throw a cloak over his shoulder, kneel down before a crucifix, and remain absorbed in prayer for a few seconds. His prayer being finished, he would call together his servants, and, seated on an old stool, would make his chaplain read aloud the Seven Penitential Psalms. He then dressed, heard Mass, and, on leaving chapel, held a privy council, and than leapt on horseback, for a morning ride, without even touching the stirrup.(i) His Latin and theological tutor was Florence of Utrecht. Charles of Chièvres taught him the use of arms. He understood thoroughly Spanish, German, and French. His three favourite works were "The Courtier, by the Count de Castiglione," "The Discourses of Machiavelli on Polybius and Livy," and "The History of Polybius." It was Charles's eye that spoke; for he scarcely ever opened his mouth. He invariably ate his meals standing, and remained alone in his cabinet the entire morning, studying the papers with which his tables were covered, as he evinced

(a) Tytler.
(b) Tytler.
(c) The ecclesiastical electors told him, that if they had been earlier pursued he might have been elected, but that they were now pre-engaged.—Letter to Henry, 20th June, quoted by Herbert.
(d) Tytler.—Pace has pointed out the double manœuvre of corruption and intimidation employed by Charles to decide the electors. He wrote to Wolsey on the 17th of July:—"And surely they wolde nott have electidde hym yff fere off their persons hadde not dryven them thereunto, and evident ruine off all their nation yff they hadde electidde ony other kynge."—MSS Cott., Galba, B.V., 285.
(e) Hall.
(f) Robertson.—Hist. of Charles V.
(g) Giannone, Hist. de Naples.
(h) Goldast, DD. NN. imperatorum statuta et Rescripta, Francofurtae, 1607. The Cardinal Cajetan sent an account of the discussion at the Diet to Leo X., on the 29th June, 1519. —Lettere di principi, 1562.
(i) Gregorio Leti, Life of Charles V.

a desire to be acquainted with the slightest *minutiæ* in the administration of his states; he was quick in determining, obstinate in his opinion, slow in imagining, but retained all that he had learned.(a) Francis was neither surprised nor annoyed at learning that Charles was his rival; for he remarked laughingly, to the Spanish ambassador, that it was as if they were paying their addresses to the same lady, and happen what might, they would still be friends.(b) But when his rival was really elected, he imagined himself to have been deeply insulted by the electors, inasmuch as they had chosen, in preference to himself, a child with a pale countenance and sandy hair, who could scarcely articulate a syllable.(c) As Duke of Milan, he declared that Charles should be crowned at Rome on the same conditions as had been Sigismond and Frederick III., *i.e.* without arms.(d) Charles, in a tournament at Valladolid, had proved himself a perfect master of the lance by disarming three adversaries successively, so that it was to be apprehended that he would never quietly submit to such conditions;(e) it was therefore generally imagined that the prediction of Leo X. would be accomplished, and that Italy would become the field of contention for these two sovereigns to settle their disputes.

We are in justice bound to admit that the English historians have unanimously condemned Henry's conduct at the Diet of Frankfort.(f) The prince had lost that nobleness of soul which we so much admired in him at the time that he invaded France. He had become a diplomatist of the school of Machiavelli, who recommended his disciples to have recourse to low cunning and deception, if they could thereby gain their end; but there might have been at least a shade of an excuse, had his conduct had but a tinge of nobleness in it. To deceive both his rivals under the semblance of knightly conduct, was indeed unworthy of a sovereign! Yet if we attentively study the character of Henry, who in this instance, as one of the personages in a German play, throws off and puts on his mask, according as circumstances require it, we shall soon perceive that he voluntarily divested himself of his personality to become an instrument in the hands of Wolsey. The cardinal was anxious to secure his election, at any price, to the chair of St. Peter, on the decease of Leo; hence, the conduct of the English sovereign to Charles and Francis. The minister imagined that he could, by the aid of a political farce, in which Henry impersonated the character of "the lying valet," gain the tiara. To Francis were made promises of support, which Wolsey had no intention of granting; to Charles an autograph letter, filled with amicable hypocritical protestations of friendship; and when the time of *dénoûment* was approaching, a third candidate appeared on the field, but who resigned himself to his fate, as became a philosopher, on finding that he had not the slightest chance of success, and even went so far as to congratulate his rival on his election, which he had endeavoured to frustrate, in conjunction with his minister.(g) Such was the miserable plot in which, we regret being obliged to record it for Henry's honour, Wolsey contrived to implicate his master. At London, he taught him dissipation; at Calais, pride: at Frankfort, hypocrisy. Thus did Henry daily lose some of his good qualities, and when the hour for combating with the strongest of all passions, the love of women, arrived, Henry, completely powerless, was unable

(a) See the character of this prince given in the History of Pedro Mexia, translated into English by Grimstone. Jerome Condé de Nagorol composed the following verses on his election —

Postalat imperium Gallus, Germanus, Hiberus;
Rex genus hoc triplex Carolus unus habet.
Cæsare in hoc populo fiet satis omnibus uno:
Imperium est igitur, Carole, jure tuum.—Sandoval.

(b) MSS. Vatican, No. 3,922.

(c) Such is his character as pourtrayed by Peter Martyr.

(d) Peter Martyr.

(e) Audin's Histoire de Leon X.

(f) It is impossible to defend the conduct of the King of England in almost any part of this complicated intrigue. It was selfish, dishonourable, and insincere.—Tytler. See Turner.

(g) Sir Thomas More was ordered by Henry to write and congratulate Charles on his election.—MSS., Cott., Galba, B. V., 270. State Papers, I., 304.

to offer any resistance, since his nobleness of character had been completely undermined by Wolsey. Of what avail was the high political position the minister gained for his pupil, if he deteriorated in virtue? Wolsey, that he might succeed in wearing the Fisherman's Ring, had made a double treaty with Francis and Charles. Francis had the command of fourteen votes in the Sacred College, and they would, as a matter of course, vote for his candidate.(a) Charles also, Emperor elect of the Romans, could command a great number of voices in the conclave, who would, of course, vote for his candidate;(b) and about the time the Sovereign Pontiff was attacked with a serious fit of illness, which baffled all the endeavours of scientific men to arrest its progress.

(a) Pace had acted as deceitfully as Wolsey. He tells us that after the election Margaret thanked him for his conduct to the Catholic king:—"And I have hadde off herre verraye large tanks for that I have doon in the Almayne for the king catolike in the late election."—MSS. Cott., Galba, B. V., 285.

(b) And thus he hath desired me to write to you, that if it please you to pretend to be the head of the church, if per case any thing should fall of the Pope, he saith he will assure you full fourteen cardinals for him. He will also of the companies which be in division, the Colonnois and the Ursyns at Rome, assure you the whole company of the Ursyns.—A letter from Boleyn to Wolsey, dated 14th March, 1519.—MSS. Cott., Gal., D. 98, quoted by Sharon Turner.

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD.

Francis I. claims the execution of the treaty appointing an interview between the two sovereigns.—Arrival of Charles V. in England.—His present to Wolsey.—Henry embarks for Calais.—The Field of the Cloth of Gold.—Conference between the Kings of England and France.—Tournaments and Festivals.—Plans of Henry and Wolsey.

BETWEEN two disappointed rivals reconciliation is no difficult matter. Francis soon forgot the insults he had received from Henry. In lieu of the imperial crown he had gained the ducal diadem of Milan, and his present position was such as to make him envied by his rivals. Charles of Austria, who had succeeded to the German empire by the election of the Diet of Frankfort, and to another empire, yet larger than Germany, by the discoveries of Fernando Cortes, would have been obliged, had he proceeded to Italy, to have left the seeds of civil war unexterminated in Spain. Already had some of the provinces fallen a prey to anarchy. The Bishop of Zamora headed the rebellion in Castille, which, with arms in her hand, demanded her ancient privileges; a junta, hastily formed by the people, had placed the prelate at the head of the insurrection, and Maria di Pacheco, wife of Padilla, influenced by the tales of the patriotic prowess of Sickingen, was traversing the whole country, exciting the peasantry to rebellion. The revolt threatened to be serious, for it had been placed under the approbation of the Church, and had adopted as its colours the banner of our Lady. Francis, by assisting the insurgents of Castille and Arragon, as he had been requested to do by Maria di Pacheco, would, in all probability, incur the anger of the Holy See and the jealousy of his neighbours. He therefore imagined that an alliance with England, founded on a more stable foundation, would be more conducive to his ambitious projects than aiding, even secretly, an army of rebels, headed by a young woman with an ardent imagination, and a priest, whose hand, weakened by old age, could scarcely

grasp the episcopal crozier conferred on him by Ferdinand the Catholic.(a) He desired, therefore, to have an interview (the nature of which we can easily divine) with Wolsey, and not with Henry. It may have been respecting the tiara, so earnestly coveted by the cardinal, and which Francis promised him, provided peace was established, by his mediation, between the two nations.(b) This negotiation was obliged to be carried on secretly, for if the conditions of the treaty reached Charles's ears, Wolsey was sure of losing the papal diadem. But the emperor acted as if he had an intuitive acquaintance with Francis's plans. A few days after his coronation, Charles granted the favourite an annual pension of 3,000 livres; but how trifling must this sum have appeared in the eyes of one so extravagant as Wolsey. It had been stipulated in the treaty regarding the capitulation of Tournay and the marriage of Mary of England with the Dauphin of France, that the two monarchs should have an interview on the frontiers of their respective kingdoms, and Francis accordingly demanded its fulfilment.(c) Henry, apprehensive of displeasing the Spanish cabinet, whom the projected *rendezvous* seemed to alarm, delayed it; but as Francis became importunate, Henry, in a fit of good humour, swore that he would not shave until he had embraced his good brother. Francis also took a like oath.

The King of France kept his word, while his "good brother" of England forgot it. On Francis complaining to Sir Thomas Boleyn, that his grace, notwithstanding his oath, still continued to shave, the ambassador apologised for his master's want of faith, by alleging that Katharine felt an insuperable antipathy to beards.(d) Francis was too gallant a knight not to accept the apology. There was between Ardres, belonging to France, and Guines, dependant on England, a vast plain, which was selected for the conference between the two sovereigns. The cardinal had regulated the personal attendance of the two courts as well as the princes and princesses; calculated the distance by which the camps were to be separated, the height of the barrier to support the royal tents, and the number of toasts to be drunk.(e)

About the time that Henry and Katharine arrived at Canterbury, a Spanish vessel was signalled as having just anchored at Hythe, in Kent.(f) having on board a young man who, from his humble appearance,(g) would have been taken as a naval officer, had not his white plume and steel corslet proclaimed him to be a stranger of rank. It was Charles V., King of Spain and Emperor of Germany, who had arrived unexpectedly to surprise his uncle, the King of England. On the morrow, as the weather seemed settled and the sea calm, Charles, impatient to see Henry, embarked in a fisherman's smack, and arrived at Dover, where Wolsey, informed of his movements, was in waiting to conduct him to the castle (h) Henry arrived in the interval of an hour, and, embracing his nephew, spent the greater part of the evening with him; on the morrow they left for Canterbury, where the Archbishop received them at the head of his clergy, and after having communicated at High Mass, they deposited their offerings at the shrine of St. Thomas.(i) Wolsey, whom Charles courted, seemed not a little astonished at this unexpected arrival; it was, however, at a later period discovered that the emperor, by letters patent, dated Compostella, 29th March, 1520, had promised the cardinal the wealthy see of Badajoz,(j) two months after

(a) Capefigue.

(b) He desireth more to see your grace than any prince living, to the intent he may show you the secret of his mind, whereof hereafter he will show to your grace largely.—Letter from Sir W. Fitzwilliam to Wolsey.—MSS. Cott., Cal. VII., 144.—Turner.

(c) Robertson.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Articles pour l'entrevue du Roi de France et d'Henri VIII., Roi d'Angleterre, que se fit au Camp du Drap d'or, près d'Ardres. —Bibl. du Roi, MSS. de la Mare, conseiller au Parlement de Dijon.

(f) Rymer, XIII., 767. Archæol., VI., 180.

(g) Some curious details respecting the character of Charles can be seen in the despatches of Sir R. Wingfield and Spinelli, dated 3rd March, 1522.—MSS. Cott., Galba, B. VII., II.

(h) Tytler.

(i) Ib.

(j) Rapin de Thoyras.

his visit to England. What then had transpired between Charles and the minister? The courtiers, who had acted as spies, had been much struck with the friendly tone in which the emperor conversed with Wolsey, calling him his "very dear friend." Joy was depicted on the cardinal's countenance, and it was noised abroad that Charles had formally promised him the tiara;(a) it was also stated, and with perfect truth, that in reward for the services that he had engaged to render the emperor, his annual pension was increased by the addition of 7,000 ducats.(b)

It was remarked that the cardinal, on leaving Charles after one of their private interviews, glanced with much delight at a brilliant of the first water, taken, it was said, from the crown of a cacique of Mexico, and presented by Charles to Wolsey. The Spaniards respectfully made way for the cardinal, and were delighted on perceiving Charles's countenance radiant with joy, thus evincing to his suite that he was pleased with the bargain he had just struck with Wolsey.(c) After a brief sojourn in England, the young emperor embarked for Flanders. On the day he left, Henry, Katharine, Wolsey, and more than 4,000 gentlemen, not including the suite of either the cardinal or the Duke of Suffolk, sailed for Calais.(d) Henry was accompanied by Hall, Recorder of London, who was to insert in his diary the various incidents connected with the voyage;(e) John Bastell and Clement Urmeston, who were to decorate the ceiling of the banquet hall. Master Barclay, the Black Monk, the translator of the "Ship of Fools," was commissioned by Wolsey to furnish historical incidents, applicable to the ornament of the building and the banquet hall.(f) Francis had ordered Peiresc to keep an exact journal of the royal festival, while Fleuranges was to sketch the proceedings,(g) and he performed his task as a true poet. Hall excelled in the architecture, which was in every way worthy of Torrigiano; Fleuranges, after the manner of the Flemish school, has correctly sketched the physiognomy of his characters:—

(a) Robertson.

(b) Tytler.

(c) Tytler.

(d) Tytler.—With regard to the interview at Ardres, four original letters are still in existence at the British Museum:—(1) From Sir Thomas Boleyn to Wolsey. MSS. Cott., Cal., D. VII., 104. (2) From Sir Richard Wingfield, 18th April, 1520, MSS. Cott. Cal. D. VII., 210. (3) From Sir Richard Wingfield to Henry VIII., 7th May, MSS. Cott., Cal., D. VII., 215. (4) From Sir Richard Wingfield to Wolsey. 25th May. MSS. Cott., Cal. D. VII., 224.

(e) The Chronicles of Calais under Kings Henry VII. and Henry VIII., until the year 1540, by J. G. Nichols.—Turner.

(f) The Chronicle of Calais. In the appendix to this work are several letters from Wolsey to Henry VIII. "The most curious document is that containing the 'ordonnances for the surveillance and guard of Calais,' which, according to Mr. Nichols, form a portion of those 'good, ancient, and wise laws,' that the commissioners, in 1535, found to have been neglected. The opening of the gates, which took place at five, was done accurately by the prescribed form, as also the closing; and the keys, on being brought to the king's lieutenant, were ordered to be kept in a chest, which was to be near the lieutenant's bed. For security during the night, the scout-watch were compelled to circumambulate the walls of the town, while the stand-watch guarded the interior. The castle was intrusted to the guardianship of the citizens, and to keep them to their duty a guard of inspection was instituted, who were commanded to watch them. The duties required of this latter guard are minutely detailed, and the following were the punishments inflicted on the sentinels found sleeping at their post:—And if any of the aforesaid guard of inspection find a man of the stand-watch sleeping thrice during one night, and apprehend him in the act, he must be taken the following morning before the king's governor, or any othe member of the council, whereon they will command the sub governor to have the delinquent put into a basket hanging from the ramparts of the town, on the following market day, about ten or twelve feet above the sea; and he shall have with him in his basket some bread and a pot of drink, as well as a knife to cut the cord when he shall wish, and the aforesaid sub-governor shall command the shore-guard to be present with their boats to receive the said culprit when he shall fall, and on being landed, he shall be reconducted to the prison belonging to the municipality of the town, where he shall be kept till the following market-day, when he shall be banished the place for a year and a day. Another guard was also instituted, called the banner-watch, who were to keep the peace during the herring season, which, in consequence of the great conflux of strangers, seems to have been regarded by the magistrature with a suspicious eye." — Moniteur, 10th August, 1846.

(g) Comment le Roy de France et le Roy d'Angleterre se virent ensemble entre Ardres et Guines.—MSS. Bethune.

"On Thursday, 7th June, 1520, the Festival of *Corpus Christi*, the king, and the King of England met and spoke together about the hour of Vespers, in the King of England's territory, in a little village called Valdoré, between the town of Ardres and Guines Castle. The king and his suite left Ardres, accompanied by the Constable carrying a naked sword before him; then came the grand squire with the royal sword ornamented with gold *fleurs de lis* at his side; and behind them walked the King of Navarre, the Dukes of Alençon, Lorraine, and Vendosme; Comtes and Seigneurs de Guise, Laval and Leuctray, Orval, La Trimoulle and Saint Pol; the Marshals and Seigneurs de Chabannes, Chastillon, L'Escun, and Desperrant, grand master; the Princes of Roche-sur-Yon, Tallemont, and a great number of other knights and lords richly vested and accoutred in gold cloth mounted on horses richly caparisoned. Then followed the bowmen with gold quivers. The king was mounted on a horse of fine mettle, and was dressed in cloth of gold, with a gold mantlethickly studded with precious stones. The trumpeters, hautboys, the heralds, and kings-at-arms, marched near his majesty with their banners floating in the air; Mountjoy, Normandy, and Bretagne, heralds-at-arms. The Cardinals de Boissy, (the legate in France,) Bourbon, Albret, Lorraine, and several bishops and prelates, as also the Papal ambassador, as well as that of the King of Spain, were in the king's company, and they proceeded until they came nigh to Valdoré to a spot whence they were allowed to proceed no further.

And on the other side of the town was the King of England, accompanied by the Dukes of Nottingham and Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl Talbot, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord High Chamberlain, and the Earl of Kent, with several gentlemen and bowmen with gold quivers, and in an uniform of white and green. The King of England was dressed in a cloth-of-silver vest, decorated with precious stones, and a white plume waving in the air from his cap.

On the royal cavalcades approaching one another, the kings descended into the valley with their constables, having their swords drawn; and after that they had saluted each other, with their heads uncovered, then dismounting, they again embraced, and afterwards entered, arm-in-arm, into a magnificent tent, covered with gold cloth, which Henry had had erected in the middle of Valdoré; and before entering, much reverential courtesy passed between the sovereigns, as neither of them would enter the first, and therefore they went in together. The admiral and the Cardinal of York had gone in before, but the constable and the great squire stood at the entrance, with the admiral and the great squire of England. The two monarchs had a lengthened interview in the above-named tent, and afterwards had good cheer over their wine, to which they invited the princes and lords of the two kingdoms, and their majesties embraced them all with great fraternal love, and they drank wine with the kings, while the musicians did play the trumpets and clarions, hautboys, fifes, and other instruments, so that it seemed as if it was a paradise, and at nightfall the said kings, princes, and lords, saluted one another in a friendly manner, and retired."(a) It might be said that Wolsey, while drawing up the programme, had in his mind's eye those two guests whom Cæsar Borgia had hanged on the battlements of his palace, so great were the precautions that he took respecting the guards and sentinels; for encircling each tent were ditches, which even a horse could not leap; armed sentinels were posted at all the outlets; an artificial hillock, where a sentinel kept a continual watch, an alarum bell, horses ready saddled and bridled, loaded muskets and bows ready bent for

(a) Monumens de la monarchie Française, par Montfaucon. Les voyages pittoresques et romantiques de l'ancienne France, par Ch. Nodier, Taylor et de Cailleux, contain five lithographic designs representing the five bassi-relievi of the interview of the field of the cloth of gold, which had been sculptured in the Gallery of the Hotel de Bourgthetoulde, Place de la Pucelle d'Orleans at Rouen, a description of it is given in the appendix (E). A sketch of the interview at Ardres was taken by an old German master which was shown to the public at Windsor Castle. See "An historical description of an ancient picture in Windsor Castle representing an interview between King Henry VIII. and Francis I., King of France, between Guines and Ardres, in the year 1520, by Sir Joseph Ayloffe.—Archæologia, III., 185. The painting is now in the hall of the Society of Antiquaries in London.

use. Tiberius could not have been more suspicious in the Isle of Capræa.(a) Wolsey must, however, be pardoned for his suspicions, as he was not yet sufficiently acquainted with the chivalric King of France. When Henry visited Francis for the first time, (both monarchs had mounted their steeds at the same moment,) he imagined, from the cloud of dust in Francis's train, that his brother was accompanied by a larger suite than had been agreed on, and hesitated as to whether he should proceed to the rendezvous; but ashamed at his irresolution, Henry proceeded and halted on the banks of the Andern, while the King of France, spurring his horse, galloped on to a hill in the vicinity.(b) Hall, Henry's official historian, was there, in order that none of the details of the circumstances connected with the interview might be forgotten. He never lost sight of Francis, whom he describes as a prince of jovial manners, a dark complexion, with fine sparkling eyes, a long nose, thick lips, wide chest, broad shoulders, and broad feet.(c) Francis was the first to speak:—"In truth, brother and cousin, I have long wished to see you; I am certain that our love is mutual, and I assure you that I am not unworthy of your alliance. By my troth, my kingdom is lovely."(d) "Sire," replied the King of England, with great courtesy, "I have not, I can assure you, cast a wistful eye on your kingdom, and only came to see you in fulfilment of my promise; nor have I ever, in my life, seen one whom my heart seems more predisposed to love;" and dismounting, they entered arm in arm, into the tent covered with gold cloth. During dinner, Henry proposed some additional articles to the treaty originally signed. After having perused the French king's titles, he continued: "*And I King of England*," then suddenly stopping said: 'I was about to add, *and of France*, but since you are here, I shall not say so, or else I should lie." Francis merely bowed his head and smiled.(e) A few weeks before the meeting at Ardres, challenges had been sent to all the foreign courts, stating that the Kings of England and France, with fourteen other champions, would be ready to fight with all comers in the plains of Picardy at tilting, and other knightly amusements;(f) an arena, consequently, encircled by palisades, had been prepared.

In the midst of this enclosure were two trees: a red hawthorn in honour of Henry, and a raspberry in honour of Francis. The artist had done all he could to give them the appearance of nature; round their trunks were entwined damask and green ribands. Their delicately-cut leaves bent to the slightest breath of wind, and their flowers were so manufactured as to deceive the most skilful eye. As soon as their majesties had taken their seats under the shade of these trees, the air resounded with music of every kind, mingled with the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, collected on the green sward of an artificial mound in the neighbourhood. Around the field was a raised platform, covered with rich embroidery of gold and silver, reserved for the two queens with their suite. Anne Boleyn, at the acme of her beauty, far surpassed all the other maids of honour in the suite of Queen Claude.(g) At one of the extremities of the arena were two tents, where the kings, on dismounting, might repose themselves; and at hand were two cellars where the combatants could quench their thirst. Henry's champions were the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquis of Dorset, Sir William Kingston, Sir Richard Jernyngham, Sir Giles Capel, Sir Nicholas Carew, and Sir Anthony Knevet. Francis's knights were the Duke of Vendôme, the Seigneurs de Saint-Pol, de Montmorency, Byron, St. Mesme, and Tavanes; a large number of foreigners had also assembled

(a) Rymer XIII., 735.—Hall.
(b) Memoires de Fleurenges.
(c) Hall.—Tytler.
(d) Hall.
(e) Gaillard.

(f) Hume.—For the greater magnificence, the king-at-arms was sent to the English on the part of the French king, with a proclamation declaring, that in June next, the two kings, Henry and Francis, with fourteen aids, would, in a camp between Guisnes and Ardres, answer all comers, at tilt, tourney and barriers; and the like proclamation was made by Clarenceaux in the French court.—Echard.
(g) Agnes Strickland, IV., 101.—Herbert.

to witness the royal jousts.(a) The lists were opened on the 11th of June; and the queens, accompanied by the ladies of their respective courts, occupied the places allotted for them. Katharine's foot-carpet was ornamented with pearls.(b) The clarions sounded, and the two royal knights entered the lists, with helmets and vizors, their lances ready poised, and both well-mounted on steeds richly caparisoned. They saluted the ladies, who were the judges of the combat, by gently lowering their lances. At the first pass, Francis broke his lance on his opponent's breast; but Henry kept his seat. At the second joust, Henry aimed so rude a blow at his adversary as to disarm him, but he was not unhorsed. The ladies waved their banners as a signal for the combatants to cease. It was renewed on the morrow and the following days, with various chances; and at their last encounter, his grace's horse, worn out with fatigue, fell a victim to his adversary's lance.(c) To the fight on horseback succeeded the one on foot. "See," remarked Henry to Francis, "how well my bowmen fight!" "If I had some of my Bretons here," retorted Francis, "we should soon see which were the best."(d) "To your health," exclaimed Henry, quaffing off a glass of Burgundy, "my English are still the conquerors." "My Bretons would beat them as if they were children," replied Francis. "To your health, brother; shall we fight?" added Henry.(e) "Brother, I challenge you."(f) The combatants were far from being equally matched. Henry, short and stout, resembled in his make the Burgundians, who wielded with remarkable dexterity swords so heavy that a man now-a-days could scarcely raise them from the ground. Francis, if Hall be a faithful painter, with his slender limbs, his delicate skin, and his slight figure, must have appeared a paltry foot-soldier. He, however, accepted the challenge, and made up for his corporeal deficiency by his remarkable agility. The combatants had scarcely closed before Francis managed to trip up his adversary, and Henry rose purple with rage and panting for revenge, but for his honour, the judges decided that the combat should proceed no further.(g)

On the 22d of June, Francis took leave of Queen Katharine, and was returning to Ardres, when he met on his road a body of maskers, among whom was the King of England. Henry lowered his vizor, and threw a necklace of precious stones round Francis' neck, who in return presented his "good brother" of England with a bracelet of considerable value.(h) On the morrow, Wolsey offered up the adorable sacrifice of the Mass in the presence of their majesties, and granted indulgences to the noble assistants.(i) Amid these chivalric festivities, where, to use the words of Martin du Bellay, several of the courtiers of both countries carried their mills, their meadows, and their forests, on their shoulders,(j) Wolsey was not forgetful of his country and her interests. Francis had every reason to desire the continual neutrality of England, and obtained (as he imagined) his end by engaging to pay Henry, or his successor, 100,000 crowns annually, in the event of the marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary taking place, and their issue being seated on the English throne.(k) Moreover, the cardinal consented to act as an arbitrator in any dispute that might arise between the two nations respecting Scotland.(l) If Francis flattered himself that in this interview he had gained the English monarch's friendship, he was quickly undeceived, for Wolsey, while on his way to Guines with Henry, was meditating on the chances arising from a rupture with France.

Francis had bestowed some valuable presents on the archbishop, but what were they in comparison to that Mexican diamond ring which the prelate wore during the festivities at Ardres, and which he had received from Charles V. Francis had affec-

(a) Echard.
(b) Hall.
(c) Turner.
(d) Voss.
(e) Fleuranges.
(f) Hall.
(g) Fleuranges.
(h) Lingard.
(i) Turner.—Hall
(j) Fleuranges.
(k) Lingard.
(l) Rymer, XIII., 719, 722, 723, 724.

tionately pressed the minister's hand, but Charles had humbly inclined before him at Dover as a courtier to a sovereign. Francis had had a private interview with the favourite, as if he was afraid that a stranger should observe the intimacy existing between him and the Lord High Chancellor of England; whereas, Charles had spoken with him openly at court, even in the royal presence. Francis, though indebted to the cardinal for his services, yet attributed his success to the justice of his cause. Charles, on the contrary, continued to act the part of the flatterer, though he had no favours to crave. Both Francis and Charles promised him the tiara; but Charles had sworn, in order to influence the conclave, that he intended drawing his sword against Luther. Francis was King of France and Duke of Milan; but Charles, in addition to the titles of King of Spain, Emperor of Germany, and Emperor Elect of the Romans, added master and lord of a world abounding in mines of gold. Which of these two should he prefer? Both might be of service to England as well as to himself. Wolsey therefore determined to wait awhile, and observe each narrowly.

The cardinal had, in one of his interviews with Francis, warmly defended Venice, as she was apprehensive that it would be a matter of utter impossibility for her to remain neutral in case of a war between Charles and Francis. The Venetian Republic, in a letter of thanks which she addressed a few months after to Wolsey, spoke in flattering terms of the great wisdom and prudence he had displayed during these negotiations. In the eyes of Venice, he was the second king (a) It was generally believed that Charles had intended to accept the challenge sent by the two sovereigns; but he not only refused himself to break a lance, but strictly forbade his subjects to be even present at Ardres. Francis immediately imagined that the emperor was insincere in his protestations of friendship; and these suspicions were not a little increased on being informed that Henry had visited his nephew at Wael,(b) accompanied him to Gravelines, and thence had reconducted him to Calais, where he was met by Wolsey. What had passed between them? Every artifice was resorted to by the French king to discover the real object of this second meeting. Spies, in disguise, insinuated themselves into Greenwich Palace, and the French ambassador Laroche, having obtained an audience, reminded the monarchs of the tripartite league concluded between them and Francis, and requested Charles to ratify it as emperor, but that prince dexterously evaded the request (c) without either Henry or Wolsey inquiring into the reason of his refusal.

(a) And calling the interview a work of his consummate wisdom, besides frequently using the phrases, your most reverend power, and other part of his Majesty.—Howard.

(b) Schmidt.

(c) Lingard.—Hall.—Peter Martyr.

CHAPTER X.

THE EXECUTION OF BUCKINGHAM.—1521.

Buckingham at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.—Reasons for Wolsey's antipathy to the Duke.—His boundless ambition.—His visits to the Carthusian Monk, Hopkins.—He is denounced, watched, and arrested.—Appears before his judges at Westminster Hall, and is condemned to die on the scaffold.

One alone among those who had accompanied Henry to Arures had sufficient courage to express his marked disapprobation at such useless expense.(a) A few severe and biting remarks, uttered in an unguarded moment among friends, respecting Wolsey's extravagance, had been carried to that prelate. This thoughtless youth inherited a title well known in the annals of English history; it was Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham. His father had been sent to the scaffold during the reign of Richard III., for having conspired in favour of the Duke of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. He was descended from Edward III. by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. Descended from royal blood, he was beloved for his truly chivalric character, as well as for his frank, open, and generous disposition. Himself a man of property, the height of his ambition was to vie with the king. He lived in his castle as a prince, surrounded by his vassals, whose number equalled that of the prime minister; and more than once had he wounded the cardinal's vanity. His eminence, one day, while Buckingham, as lord in waiting, was holding the basin for his sovereign, dipped, according to custom, his finger into the ewer, whereon the duke maliciously managed to spill the water on the cardinal's slippers. A severe look, accompanied with the following remark: "My lord of Buckingham, if you do that again, I shall wipe my slippers on the fur of your mantle;" was the only punishment inflicted on the imprudent peer for his temerity.(b) On the morrow, Buckingham appeared at court in a magnificent mantle, from which he had stripped the fur. On Henry jokingly inquiring if his grace desired to bring in the fashion of wearing mantles without furs: "No, sire," replied the duke; "I have taken this precaution against the scarlet shoes of the cardinal;"(c) imagining that Henry would have been pleased with his conduct; but he was doomed to disappointment.(d)

Buckingham was a fine rider. When he mounted his steed, with his scarlet velvet cap on his head, displaying to advantage his plume of ostrich feathers, and while riding on the drawbridge of his castle and passing through his numerous retainers, ambition had taken fast hold of the young nobleman's mind. He aspired to a throne, even that which Henry VIII. occupied. He flattered himself that he had enough of royal blood in his veins to assume England's crown without being guilty of pride. He was unhappily an imprudent young man, and never kept his intentions secret. Among his confidants was a religious of the name of Hopkins, Prior of the Carthusian Monastery at

(a) Thomson.

(b) Grainger's Biographical History of England.—Dodd's History of the Church of England.

(c) Bishop of Hereford's Life of Henry VIII.—Tytler.

(d) Godwin.

Hinton, who was looked on as a prophet.(d) At the time that Henry invaded France, Buckingham consulted Hopkins, who predicted that Henry would return crowned with laurels, whereas James of Scotland, should he venture to cross the borders, would never again see his mountains.(b)

It came to pass, as the monk had predicted, and Buckingham, more credulous than ever, again visited the sorcerer, at Hinton, by night, when the monk revealed to him his future destiny. He scanned his forehead carefully, and told him in the name of heaven, whose oracle he pretended to be, that the king would shortly die childless, and that the son of one of noble birth, even the son of the Duke of Buckingham, would ascend the throne, and the peer left the monk's presence, looking on himself as the future regent of his son. His first act as regent would be to banish Charles Knevet, Wolsey's steward. "As soon as I am master," said he, in confluence to his friends, "I shall think of my cousin Knevet; of that he may rest assured."(c) Knevet had been for some time Buckingham's steward, and had been expelled his service, in consequence of his having been convicted of several acts of dishonesty, when he was immediately received into the number of the cardinal's retinue.(d) Buckingham was surrounded by spies, even among his domestics, who had been bribed by Wolsey; and even the walls of the monks, all listened and reported the conversations of the young and ambitious peer, with Hopkins. The cardinal had been informed that Buckingham, in one of his nocturnal visits to Hinton, had inquired if the king would be long-lived, if he would die childless, and if the future regency would be troublesome.(e)

Had Hopkins really possessed any knowledge of the future, he would have been able to have forewarned Buckingham that some great calamity was hanging over his head, when the Earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, was arrested, and sent to the Tower, and the Earl of Surrey, his son in-law, desired to absent himself from London.(f) These were warnings, which one even less on his guard than Buckingham might have taken; but he was so inflated with ambition that he imagined that the Earl of Northumberland's arrest arose from a pique on the part of Wolsey, and that the Earl of Surrey's exile to Ireland, of which province he was appointed governor, was on account of his having one day while disputing with the premier, imprudently laid his hand on his sword, and never for a moment imagined that his having royal blood in his veins was an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the sovereign.

At the termination of the festivities at Ardres, the duke came to reside on his property at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire,(g) and had been there but a few weeks, ridiculing before his dependants Wolsey's foolish extravagance, and waiting the accomplishment of Hopkins's prediction, when he received a royal message summoning him to court.(h) He obeyed, still dreaming of his future greatness, and occasionally turning round to admire his castle, which he was then building, a fit abode for royalty, surrounded by extensive parks, and where he hoped soon to enjoy the pleasure of a fox-hunt.(i) While *en route*, he remarked that he was followed by three armed men on horseback, to which he paid no attention at first; but as he was about to enter Windsor, he again perceived them, as if they had been his shadow. Buckingham now suspected foul play. On ascending the steps, he apprehended that some evil was nigh at hand, by finding that none of the attendants saluted him so courteously as before, and on asking for his majesty, was informed that he was absent.

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.
(b) Lingard.
(c) Wenn ich nur erst zur Regierung komme, so will ichs ihm schon gedenken.
(d) He was afterwards induced to discharge this man, upon a petition from some of his Kentish tenants, who represented in strong terms the injustice and extortions of Knevet. —Thomson.
(e) Voss. Heinrich der Achte.

(f) Thomson.—Voss.
(g) Lingard.
(h) Thomson.
(i) Stowe.

On the morrow, the duke hired a barge to go down to Westminster, and not perceiving his former suspicious-looking companions, flattered himself that his fears had been groundless. On arriving at Westminster, he inquired for the cardinal, and was told he was ill, and could not grant him an audience. "Very well," replied Buckingham, "I shall drink then to his health," and calling for a glass of wine, drank it off at a draught, without, however, any of the attendants uncovering themselves. His grace, seeing this ominous sign, changed colour, and inquired for his steward, and why he had not answered his last letter. "He is in prison," was the reply of one of the cardinal's servants. Buckingham now ran to the water's edge, and was desiring the boatman to take him to Greenwich, when Sir Henry Marney came up, and said, "In the king's name, my Lord, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I arrest you on the charge of high treason;(a) follow me to the Tower." Here he met two of his accomplices, Lord Abergavenny his son-in-law, and Lord Montague, cousin to the king,(b) both accused of misprision of treason.(c) After a month's imprisonment, Buckingham appeared on the 13th of May, at Westminster Hall. His judges were the Duke of Norfolk, the president: the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford, and Derby; Lords St. John, Delawarre, Fitzwarren, Willoughby, Broke, Cobham, Herbert, Morley, &c. His grace was brought to the bar by a serjeant-at-arms, the edge of whose axe was turned towards the prisoner.(d) He was accused of having demanded criminal predictions from the prior of the Carthusians, —of having corrupted, or of having attempted to corrupt, by bribes, the fidelity of the servants of the crown,—of having threatened to stab the king, if Henry sent Sir William Bulmer to prison; and in case of the sovereign's death, swearing that he would send Wolsey and Sir Thomas Lovell to the scaffold.(e)

The duke replied in his defence, that the charges, even if proved, would not amount to high treason. Whereon, the Attorney-General insisted that if the king had died, high treason would undoubtedly have been committed; and that the hypothesis of his death alone was a homicidal thought, and therefore punishable with the penalty of high treason. Buckingham endeavoured to refute this argument, but without success, whereon he inquired for the proofs of his guilt. Sir Gilbert Perke, a priest, and steward of his household, De la Court, his own confessor, and his cousin, Charles Knevet, persons entirely dependent on his charity for their subsistence, were called. Perke deposed on oath that the duke had attempted, more than once, to corrupt the royal privy guard; that he had bought robes embroidered with gold and silver for £300 or £400, with which he had bribed some gentlemen; and that he had recently presented Sir Edward Neville with a satin doublet, for the same guilty object.(f) The priest affirmed that he was aware that Buckingham had had frequent interviews with Hopkins, who had promised him the crown. Knevet swore that the duke had declared that he would, in case of Bulmer's being sent to prison, demand an audience of Henry and plunge his dagger into his breast, as his father would have done to Richard III., had that tyrant granted him an interview at Salisbury.(g) While the depositions were being taken, Buckingham was taken, to prepare his defence, to a house known by the name of *Paradise*, whence he was again brought before his judges. The Duke of Norfolk arose on his entrance, and, with his eyes filled with

(a) Sir,
My Lord the Duke of Buckingham, and Earl
Of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton, I
Arrest thee of high treason, in the name
Of our most sovereign king.
—SHAKESPEARE.

The poet in his play of Henry VIII. paints the fall of Buckingham in most admirable colours.

(b) Collin's Peerage. Abergavenny had married Mary Stafford, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham.

(c) This crime was not punishable by death but by the confiscation of the property of the culprit.

(d) Thomson

(e) British Museum. MSS. Harl., 283.

(f) MSS. Harl., 70-72.

(g) Stowe.

tears, pronounced the fatal word "*Guilty!*" "Guilty!" repeated Buckingham, looking at his judges. "Guilty of high treason, my Lord of Norfolk! I a traitor! No; it is not so! What mockery! what cruel mockery! But I do not accuse you, my lords; and may God pardon you as I now sincerely do." A mournful and piteous silence reigned throughout the hall, which was broken by one of the lords suggesting an appeal against their decision to the royal clemency. "Yes, my lords," rejoined Buckingham, "the king is merciful I know; but to crave my pardon would be to dishonour me in the eyes of my enemies. I would prefer death; but never will I humble myself. Adieu, my lords, and pray for me."(a) On giving utterance to the above remarks he looked calmly at the axe held before him by the serjeant, and which was then glittering in the sun.(b) On re-entering the bark to return to the Tower, Sir Thomas Lovell respectfully requested Buckingham to take his seat on a velvet cushion. "No, no;" was the prisoner's reply, "I was the Duke of Buckingham yesterday; but to-day I am only Edward Stafford, a poor creature, deserted by every body." The scaffold was erected a few days after, and Buckingham ascended it without even changing colour. The crowd who witnessed the execution could with difficulty withhold the tribute of their tears and sobs. Before laying his head on the fatal block, the duke again protested his innocence, and recommended himself to the prayers of those present. "May God have mercy on his soul," exclaims one of the old chroniclers; "for he was a wise and noble prince, and the mirror of courtesy."(c) Thus fell Henry's second victim, the first in obedience to his father's commands on his death-bed, the second in accordance with Wolsey's wish.

The cardinal had imagined that he would, by Buckingham's death, stifle the opposition of the aristocracy; the monarch, the fright he felt at the very idea of a pretender. We should, indeed, be delighted, were it in our power, to clear the cardinal of Buckingham's blood, but that is impossible. If Wolsey did not command the murder, he at least permitted it; and Tacitus, as the reader is aware, denounces the shedder of innocent blood, and those who permit it to be shed, as equally guilty. His punishment was not far off. "Do you observe," asks the poet Roy, "those two angels of Satan who are supporting Wolsey's shield? The red man has for his arms six axes, stained with the blood of England's beautiful swan."(d) Charles V., on hearing of Buckingham's death, exclaimed, that the butcher's dog had killed the finest buck in all England.(e) Henry's conscience gave him no peace; and, as an act of reparation, he recalled Sir Edward Neville, whom he had banished from court as one of Buckingham's accomplices, received Lord Abergavenny, the duke's son-in-law, into his friendship, and restored a portion of the victim's confiscated property to his son.(f) The Duchess of Buckingham did not long survive her husband. Knevet and Hopkins also died shortly after the execution, being evidently struck by the hand of God.(g)

(a) Sterben allein kann ich, aber mich erniedrigen, kann ich nicht.—Rosa.

(b) Tytler.

(c) Year book, Hilary Term, 13 Henry VIII.

(d) Of the prowde cardinal this is the shelde
Borne up betwene two angels of Sathan.
The sixe bloody axes in a bare felde
Sheweth the cruelty of the red man,
Which hath devoured the beautiful swan.

(e) Charles V. is said to have remarked that the butcher's dog (meaning Wolsey) had devoured the fairest buck (Buckingham) in England.—Weaver's Funeral Monuments.

(f) Thomson.

(g) There still exists in the British Museum (MSS. Cott., Calig. D. VIII.) a letter from Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam to Cardinal Wolsey, wherein the ambassador refers to an armed assistance that Francis had promised his good brother, in case Buckingham's death caused a revolt in England. The cardinal's reply to Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam is also to be seen—MSS. Cott. Cal. D. VIII. If the minister is to be believed, Buckingham deserved his fate. He was a traitor who had conspired against his king.—"Nevertheles ye shal shewe unto him that th' affairs were not, ne be in any suche dangerous state, but that the said late duke, whom the king's grace of a good season hathe knowen to be perversely and evil mynded, was nowe lately detected of diverse treasons by hym self thought and imagined, as wel against the king's person, as against his succession."

CHAPTER XI.

HENRY AND LUTHER.—1521.

Luther's revolt against Rome.—Henry determines to defend the Catholic Church.—The *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*.—An account of the work.—The opinions of Erasmus, Fisher, More, and other Learned men on it.—Was it really written by Henry VIII.?—The *Assertio* presented by Clark to Leo X.—Henry's letter to His Holiness.—The king has the title of *Defensor Fidei* conferred on him.—How Henry testifies his gratitude to the Holy See.

At the very moment that the executioner was delivering Buckingham's body to the Augustinian monks in Broad Street, who, having wrapped it up in a winding sheet, buried it without pomp in the church of their monastery,(a) Henry, divested of the insignia of royalty, shut up in his study, was spending the night in consulting the great doctors of the Catholic schools. The knight of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, who had broken so many lances with Francis, having become a theologian, was about to enter the lists with Luther, the great agitator of Germany.(b) Leo X., by favouring the election of Charles of Austria at the Diet of Frankfort, had clearly shown that he was fully convinced that the papal councils and prayers, threats and imprecations, were perfectly useless in arresting the progress of that sacrilegious revolt commenced by the apostate monk of Wittemberg. When Charles left Spain, herself a prey to popular revolts, to visit Wolsey at Dover and Windsor, it was because he feared Luther more than Maria Padilla. She could be easily overcome with a few cannon from the arsenal at Valladolid; but how was he to defeat a monk who welcomed martyrdom,(c) from his pulpit and in his pamphlets, and who, at that moment, was on his way to Worms, singing a revolutionary canticle composed by himself, (d) and threatening to acknowledge his belief before the orders of the empire, assembled at the diet? Germany now, for the first time, beheld her ancient faith attacked, not by arguments, but by ridicule, for that was the weapon used by Luther in his crusade against the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He endeavoured, by the aid of satire, to work the downfall of the liberty of man, the necessity of good works, and the primacy of the Pope; he ridiculed fasting and indulgences, the *cultus* of the saints and the sacraments: he smiled while founding the empire of that *self*, which in future was to be the infallible judge of all matters of conscience. He was not more compassionate to men than he had been to the dogmata of the Church. Purple and scarlet cassocks had in vain essayed to arrest his progress during the last three years. He had laughed at bishops, archbishops, the papal nuncios, and even at the Pope himself; and when menaced with the power of the emperor, he replied: "What will be the most that he can do? Deprive me of two or three days' existence. My hours are numbered; let us sing a hymn of thanksgiving to the Lord."(e) To frighten him, they endeavoured to bring

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.
(b) Audin. Hist. of Luther.
(c) Epist. Luth. Spalatino. De Wette. Luther's Briefe.

(d) Ein' feste Burg.
(e) De Wette. See his letter to a stranger.

into play that ancient royalty of logic, then dominant in the schools under the name of Aristotle; but he compared the syllogism to the ass whom the Patriarch Abraham had left below while he went up to the mountain to sacrifice, and by an act of unrivalled audacity, this apostate monk, who inculcated the slavery of the physical and moral man, would recognize the existence of no law for his own personal acts, either moral or physical. One great argument yet remained, by which his adversaries, Eck, Schultet, Albert of Brandenburg, Prierias, and Ascoli, hoped to annihilate him—the great and unanimous voice of the departed and the living. Luther, however, escaped their assault by irony, and had the hardihood to assert that a single individual might be right, though opposed to popes, councils, doctors, the past and the present.(a) In the pamphlets which Luther sent from his cell, like flowers in spring, to use the words of one of his biographers,(b) St. Thomas was shamefully treated. He turned that celebrated doctor into a college servant, feeding on the bark and rejecting the pith; threading his words like the beads of a rosary; a stranger to all lofty ideas of God and the soul; ever captious, cavilling and wrangling for the text; crawling in the mud, and, to arrive at heaven, taking a road filled with sloughs, and where he would not find one of those pearls, to the attaining of which faith especially invites our attention. Luther republished his insulting tirade against the "Angel of the schools" in his "Captivity of the Church at Babylon."(c)

To have a right conception of Henry's indignation, one must have seen his portrait taken about this time by Hans Holbein. Could that crowned theologian, with a large and flat head, an eye as cunning as a fox's, pardon an insult? A monk of Erfurth had had the audacity to attack the finest genius of the middle ages, the "Star of the Schools," the "Seraph of Doctors," St. Thomas, who had a brilliant place, as well in the kalendar of the Church militant as in the Church triumphant! Henry was indebted for all his theological information, and he had studied the divine science very profoundly, to the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, which he had with him at Ardres, and which, beautifully bound, occupied a conspicuous place in his library; which he read and re-read with the greatest interest, and which were equally esteemed by his intimate counsellors, More, and Fisher, and Wolsey. This, the favourite subject of his studies, an humble monk, in an obscure monastery of Germany, had presumed to attack. We must visit Henry at Greenwich, concealed from all observation, indifferent to the surmises of Francis and Charles respecting his solitude, endeavouring to attain the reputation of a writer, searching the Fathers of the Greek and Latin Church to combat his adversary, and as soon as he had prepared his materials, his volumes of notes and quotations, mending his pen, and writing with the rapidity of lightning. Surely his ink was more corrosive than that which Luther threw at Satan! Happily for Henry, the monk, in his "Captivity of the Church at Babylon," had created a new dogma, whence he had excluded the sacraments of holy order, extreme unction, and penance, indulgence, purgatory, and the papacy. It behoved a disciple of the calumniated St. Thomas to rebuild, and not to destroy, if to deny, as Luther had done, was to demolish. He must now write a preface; his address, "Ad Lectores," which he placed at the commencement, might have been taken as the production of a theologian of the twelfth century. His aged mother had been insulted, and therefore, as an affectionate son, he had hastened to her defence. "Oh! what happy times were those when holy Church wanted no defenders, since she had no enemy to contend with. But, alas! now-

(a) See his letters to the fathers of Juterbock.—De Wette.

(b) Resolutiones disputationum de virtute indulgentiarum. — Antwort auf Sylvester Prierias Dialogs.—Operationes in psalmos.—Excusatio adversus criminationes Eccii.—Ratio confitendi. — Tessaradeccas consolatoria. — Epistola super expurgatione Eccianâ. Super apostolicâ sede.—Gegen Papisthum zu Rom, &c.

(c) Die babylonische Gefangenschaft.—De Captivate Babylonicâ Ecclesiæ, præludium. M. L.; terminated by the strophe of the hymn Hostis Herodes impie.—See Beesenmeyer, Literar Geschichte.

a-days has one appeared, who, concealing his Satanic malice under the cloak of zeal for truth, and urged on by hatred and anger, vomits forth his viperous venom against the Church. Would to God that every soul renovated at the life-giving waters of baptism, and redeemed by the blood of Christ, the old man and the child, the priest and the king, could arise to combat this ungrateful and impious wretch."(a)

One might have supposed that the royal au hor had accustomed his pen as well as his eyes to writing, so well acquainted did he seem with the craft of his new profession. Assuredly Erasmus himself did not better ape humility than Henry in his preface. On reading it, one would imagine that he was a man of humble attainments, and that he would have been certainly worsted in his struggle with Luther, had he not been shielded by the celestial armour of St. Thomas Aquinas. He had waited for other Christian princes to come forward as champions of holy Church, whom Luther had most grossly insulted; and had they discharged their duty, the fire would soon have done justice to his errors, as well as to the apostate monk himself.(b) Indeed, had he ventured to visit England, he would never have left it alive. Henry soon plunges *in medias res*. "Unhappy man," as if his opponent were standing at his side; "do you not understand how far superior obedience is to sacrifice? Do you not see that if the sentence of death is uttered in the book of Deuteronomy against every man that dareth to disobey a priest, his master, how you merit—yes, justly merit—every imaginable punishment for having disobeyed the priest of priests?"(c) Henry becomes quite animated when he comes to speak of the majesty of crowned heads, and of the humiliations which the tiara suffered from Luther's insults. "Do you dare deny that Christendom looks on Rome as her common mother? Even to the utmost extremities of the world, every one bearing the name of Christian inclines in humble submission to Rome. If that power which Rome arrogates to herself came neither from God nor man, did Rome usurp it? did Rome steal it? When? Tell us, if you can; open the pages of history and consult them. But if that power be so ancient that its commencement is involved in the obscurity of time, then you should know that it is an established axiom of human laws, that all possession, the source of which cannot be traced, is legitimate; and that, by the unanimous consent of all people, it is forbidden to touch that which time has rendered immutable." Luther, in his "Captivity of the Church at Babylon," had asserted that those words of Christ, "Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven," (St. Matthew xviii., 18), were addressed, not to the apostles, represented from age to age by their successors, but to the whole community of the faithful, to all that had been baptised; thus creating a priesthood, into which an infant was admitted as soon as it had opened its eyes.(d) Henry might have refuted his adversary, as Eck had done, but the formal language of the schools would have crippled him, and, consequently, Skelton's pupil shook it off as useless, and fell back on ancient history; for it was highly necessary that Luther should be aware that Henry knew something more than the "Summa" of St. Thomas. He evoked the shade of Æmilius Scaurus: "'Quirites!' exclaimed the old Roman, 'Varus affirms, and I deny; which of us do you believe? And the people clapped their hands.' I take no other argument with regard to the power of the keys. Luther asserts that the words of the institution apply to the laity, as well as the priesthood; this Bede denies: which of them do you believe? Luther holds the affirmative, and St. Ambrose the negative: which of them do you believe? Luther holds the affirmative, and the Catholic Church the negative: which of them do you believe?" Luther had ridiculed and denied the sacrament of confirmation, because he

(a) *Ad lectores*, at the beginning of the "Assertio septem sacramentorum."—See Appendix (F.)
(b) Ibid.
(c) Assertio.

(d) Adversus falsò nominatum statum Ecclesiæ Papæ et episcoporum

could not find its institution in Holy Writ; Henry, who knew the Bible by rote, had not the slightest difficulty in adducing innumerable texts from the New Testament, proving the truth of this sacrament in a most clear manner. "But," adds he, maliciously, "if you had but the Gospel of St. John, would you deny the sacrament of the holy eucharist, because St. John makes no mention of its institution? Without tradition you are not certain that there is one gospel extant. If the Church had not told us that the Gospel of St. John was the Gospel of St. John, we should not have known that it was the work of the apostle, for we were not standing by his side when he wrote it. Why, then, do you not believe the Church when she tells you, 'This is what Jesus Christ has done; these are the sacraments he has instituted; this is what the apostles have transmitted to us;' as you believe when she says, 'This is what St. Matthew or St. Mark has related.'"

The monk was principally indebted for his celebrity to the strange style he had adopted when attacking authority. What reply could Tetzel make to the following? "I am waiting for you at Wittemberg; come here and sup up the savour of a goose." Had Tetzel attempted to answer Luther in a similar strain, he would have been immediately interdicted.(a) Henry did not labour under this disadvantage, and therefore he did not shrink from employing buffoonery, but ridiculed Luther in his turn. But Henry was at the acme of animation while defending the papacy. Luther, at the commencement of his revolt against Rome, should have met with a theologian who was not, like Prierias, afraid of sarcasm or anger. Henry repeatedly amused his friends by reading to them portions of his MSS. More was one of his favourites, but he did not always flatter his royal master. "Your grace should be guarded in your expressions," remarked More one day, "for the Pope, as a temporal sovereign, may one day be opposed to England, and here is a passage wherein you exalt the authority of the Holy See to too high a pitch, and which Rome would surely adduce in case of a rupture." "No, no," rejoined Henry, "that expression is by no means too strong, nothing can equal my devotion to the Holy See, and no language can be sufficiently expressive, in my opinion, to speak my sentiments."(b) "But, sire, do you not remember certain articles in the statute of *Præmunire*" "What matter," retorted Henry, do I not hold my crown from the Holy See?"(c) Eck, who was regarded as the first controversialist of the day, and whom his enemies, in allusion to his numerous victories, called the Lombard, was not more cutting or more brilliant. What show did Henry make of his attainments? With what care did he study his expressions and round his periods! When at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he rode round the arena, with his hair in flowing ringlets falling about his ears, the women clapped their hands with admiration; and now Cologne, the city of theological disputes, would have assuredly granted Henry the premium for theology, had there been a contest between him and Eck.

Henry, in the last page of his apology, wished to show Luther and the Catholic world that the disciples of St. Thomas had occasionally quitted the bench of the schools to court the muses. The theologian was transformed into a rhetorician, and it might have been fairly said that he had borrowed the scent of the flowers growing in the royal gardens at Greenwich, and by some chemical process embalmed its odour to adorn his style. Thus, *e.g.*, he says, in a manner to which it is impossible for us to do justice, "there are no doctors, however celebrated on earth, no saints, however resplendent in heaven, none versed in the science of the Scriptures, whom this fellow(d) hath not rejected with proud disdain. What good, then, can result from a contest with Luther, who agrees with

(a) Audin.—Histoire de Luther.

(b) I think it best therefore that that place be amended, and his authority more slenderly touched.—Nay, that it shall not: we are so much bounded to the see of Rome, that we cannot do too much honour to it.

(c) Whatsoever impediment be, we will set forth that authority to the uttermost, for we receive from that see our crown imperial.—Roper.

(d) Doctorculus, eruditulus, sanctulus.

none, who understands not himself, who denies what he at first asserted, asserts what he has but just denied. If you buckle on the armour of faith to resist him, he runs to reason; if you appeal to reason, he flies to faith: if you quote the philosophers, he appeals to Holy Writ; and if you follow him there he loses himself in the labyrinth of the sophisms of the schools.(a) An audacious writer, who puts himself above all law, despises our doctors, and from his pinnacle of greatness, laughs at the living lights of our Church, and insults the majesty of our Pontiff's traditions, dogmas, morals, canons, the faith, and even the Church herself."(b)

Never did a controversialist, even to this day, win such laurels of glory as Henry. How many delightful hours must he have spent in inhaling the sweet incense of praise daily laid at his feet from Germany, Italy, France, the Netherlands, and Spain. The *literati* of the day were supposed to have had a hand in the composition of the work. Erasmus, while declining the honour of having co-operated with Henry in his labours, yet is careful to sound his own praise. He at first positively declared that the book was entirely written by Henry. Had he stood in need of assistance, he would have found in England many talented and eloquent literary characters capable of rendering it. Was there any occasion of astonishment that the book resembled his style, when it was recollected that the Prince of Wales delighted in reading the lucubrations of the philosophers.(c)

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was at a loss which to admire most in the *Assertio*, the writer's erudition or eloquence. It had been rumoured abroad, that the prelate had dictated while Henry wrote; "this," exclaimed Fisher indignantly, "is a calumnious falsehood. Let Henry enjoy his meed of praise without any participation in it."(d) Albert Pio, Prince of Carpi, expresses his admiration of Henry's pamphlet in the true Italian style, multiplying his notes of admiration. "What eloquence! What learning! What wisdom! What elevation of mind! Henry is indeed a hero" (e) Scarcely had Henry terminated the last page of his apology before he sent for a transcriber, perhaps a religious, and bid him copy the royal work on parchment, while Pynson was printing it in his best type. A courier shortly afterwards started for Rome with two copies on parchment, which Clerk, the English ambassador at the Holy City, was to present to his Holiness in a solemn assembly. These copies are still to be seen at the Vatican. The MSS. has on the title page the arms of England encircled with flowers. The frontispiece of the printed volume is decorated with ornaments. At the bottom is a small coloured vignette, where two angels are represented drawing back a curtain exhi-

(a) Assertio.

(b) The following was the title of his book:—Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, edita ab invictissimo Angliæ et Franciæ rege et domino Hyberniæ Henrico ejus nominis octavo. Apud inclytam urbem Londinum, in ædibus Pynsonianis, anno MDXXI., quarto idus julii, cum privelegio a rege indulto. Editio prima, 4to. A French translation of the Assertio has just been published at Angers, by M. l'Abbé Manpoint, V. G of the diocese of Rennes.

(c) Epist. Erasmi ad Georgium ducem Saxoniæ.

(d) Saconay. Preface to the "Assertio."

(e) Saconay.—Compare the opinion of these learned men with Calvin. "This book," says the reformer of Geneva, "was written by some monk well versed in cavilling; and the king having been influenced by his advisers, consented that it should be printed in his name; and though he has since repented of his rash and inconsiderate act, he allowed it to pass under his name for thirty years."—Opusculus de Calvin. The *Assertio septem sacramentorum* was printed in two different forms at Antwerp, in 1522, in ædibus Michaelis Hillenii, and reprinted at Frankfort, Cologne, and many other towns on the continent. Calvin consequently denies the truth. Sacony, precentor of the Cathedral at Lyons, published an edition in 1560, which he printed with a preface, wherein the reformer of Geneva is not spared.—Audin's Histoire de Calvin. Was Henry the *sole* author of the "Assertio?" This question has been fully discussed by Ellis.—Archæologia, xxiii. 67—76, Polydore Virgil, (Angliæ Hist.,) Speed, (Hist.,) Fisher, (Defensio regis, Assert. dedic.,) Herbert, (Life of Henry VIII.,) Holinshed. Strype, (Memor.) Ellis is of opinion that he might have been aided in the work by either More or Fisher. When, however, one sees the various MSS. in the British Museum, it is impossible to doubt the theological attainments of the monarch.

biting the Pope seated on his throne, and holding in his hands the *Assertio*, which the king is himself presenting on his bended knees. Both have prefixed to them a dedication to the Pope, and in the last page is the following Latin distich written by the monarch:—

Anglorum rex Henricus. Leo Decime, mittit
Hoc opus, et fidei testem, et amicitiæ.
HENRICUS.

At the appointed time, Clerk and Pace went to the Vatican to present the *Assertio* to his Holiness. The Pope had that day assembled not only all the members of the sacred college, but the most celebrated literary characters in Rome: Sadolet and Bembo, his two secretaries, Vida, the poet, Ascolti, the improvisatore, Paolo Giovio, the historian, some of the professors of the Roman college, the generals of the orders, the ambassadors of the foreign courts, theologians, astronomers, and artists. Clerk, who had resided for some time at Rome, thus addressed the Sovereign Pontiff: "Let others celebrate their native country. I can safely affirm that Britain, my country, called by cosmographers England, though situated at the extremity of the world, and separated from the continent by the ocean, is not inferior in zeal for the service of God, attachment to the Christian faith, and love to the Church of Rome, than Spain, France, Italy, or Germany.(a) There is no nation that can boast of hating Luther and the heresies which that sectarian has endeavoured to resuscitate, more than that isle over which Henry reigns. In England, the Church of Christ flourishes in peace. Our motto is, 'one God, one baptism, one faith.'" With the manuscript volume was presented an autograph letter from Henry, which was much lauded by Clerk and Pace. Henry did not imagine that he had yet done all that he could for the Church; Henry had till now only defended Rome with the sword; Henry would now defend her authority with his pen. Henry had dedicated the first-fruits of his talent to the service of Rome; Henry was the submissive and obedient son of the Church.(b)

(a) It has not been inferior to Spain, France, Italy, or Germany, in the expression of a holy zeal for the worship of God, the true Christian faith, and due obedience to the Church of Rome.—Tytler.

(b) Letter to Leo X. on the subject of the Assertio, 1521.

Beatissime pater.—Post humillimam commendationem et devotissima pedum oscula beatorum. Quoniam nihil magis ex Catholici principis officio esse arbitramur, quàm ut christianum fidem et religionem atque documenta ita servet et augeat, suoque exemplo posteris sic intemeratè servanda tradat, ut à nullo fidei eversore tolli, seu quovis pacto ea labefactari sinat; ubi primùm Martini Lutheri pestem atque hæresim in Germania exortam, ubique locorum cohibente nullo sensimus debacchari, adeo ut suo veneno infecti plures contabescerent, et hi præsertim qui odio potius intumentes quàm christianæ veritatis zèlo ad ipsius versutiis atque mendaciis credendum omni se ex parte aptaverant; atrox istud scelus tùm germanicæ nationis (cui non mediocriter afficimur), tum verò sacrosanctæ apostolicæ sedis gratia sic indoluimus ut cogitationes omnes nostras, studium et animum eo diverteremus, hanc zizaniam, hanc hæresim e dominico grege, quacumque ratione fieri posset, funditus tollere nitentes. Sed cum exitiale hoc virus eo progressum imbecillosque morum ac male affectos animos sic jàm occupâsse videremus, ut uno impetu haud facilè tolli posset; nihil æque huic delendæ pesti censuimus expedire, quàm si doctoribus eruditionibusque hujus regni viris undique excitis rutinandos hos errores, ac dignos qui perderentur esse declararemus, aliisque compluribus hoc idem faciendum suaderemus; in primisque Cæsaream Majestatem, ob fraternam quam illi gerimus affectionem, omnesque principes electores ut christiani officii suique splendoris meminisse, pestiferumque hunc hominem, una cum facinorosis hæreticisque libellis, postquam ad Deum amplius redire spernit, radicitùs vellent extirpare, studiose rogavimus. Sed nostro in Christianam rempublicam ardori, in catholicam fidem zelo, et in apostolicam sedem devotioni non satis adhuc fecisse existimantes, propriis quoque nostris scriptis quo animo eumus in Lutherum, quodve de improbis ejus libellis nostrum sit judicium, innuere voluimus, omnibusque apertius demonstrare, nos sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam non solum vi et armis, sed etiam ingenii opibus., christianique officiis in omne tempus defensuros ac tutaturos esse. Primam ideo ingenii nostraque mediocris eruditionis fœturam nemini magis quàm Vestræ Sanctitati dicandam consecrandamque esse duximus; tum ob filialem nostram in eam observantiam, tum etiam ob solicitam ipsius christianæ republicæ curam. Hujusmodi autem primitiis nostris plurimum accessum iri judicabimus, si sano vestræ beatitudinis judicio quæ comprobentur dignæ habitæ fuerint. Et felicissime ac diutissime valeat! E regia nostra Greenwici, die XXI., Maii, 1521. E. V. Sanctitatis. Devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius Dei gratia angliæ et Franciæ rex ac-

The *Assertio* was handed by the Pope to the cardinals and ambassadors, who in their turn admired the royal work; but none had seen the distich written in the fly leaf. It was penned in such minute characters as to escape the Pope's notice, who was very near sighted.(a) Pace, accordingly, taking the book from Leo's hand, had scarcely commenced reading it, ere his Holiness, snatching the volume from his hand, read it aloud thrice.(b) Henry's triumph was now complete. The Pope recompensed him in proportion to his love. On leaving the consistory, he entered his study with his secretary, Sadolet, whom he informed of his intention of promulgating a bull, conferring on Henry the title of *Defensor Fidei*, and thus transmitting to posterity an evidence of the unchangeable affection of Henry for the Holy See. The bull was read in an extraordinary council of cardinals. What title should they bestow on the King of England? The cardinal proposed that of orthodox, another apostolic, and a third angelic,(c) but the Pope's proposition was accepted.(d) Henry wished for no other, and had even asked for it through Wolsey.(e) If the King of France, who had the appellation of the Most Christian King, the King of Spain, who took the title of the Catholic King, menaced the Holy See, Rome would be able to call to her aid a prince on whom she had conferred the title of *Defensor Fidei*.

Dominus Hiberniæ, Henricus. The MSS. in 4to, calf, is numbered 3731, (Cod. Vat.) The following, written on the fly leaf:—Anno Dni mill. quin. vigesimo primo die XII. oct. sanctis in xpo pr et dns dns Leo divina Providentia papa decimus consignavit nobis, Laurentio Parmenio et Romulo Mammecino pontificæ bibliothecæ custodibus, hunc libŕum, in eadem bibliotheca cum aliis asservandum et custodiendum. It is terminated by a letter from Henry, dated from Greenwich, 23rd of January, 1521, signed Henry, King, addressed to the Cardinal of St. Lawrence, in Damaso, vice-chancellor, in which the monarch presents to the see of London, then vacant, a distinguished literary character.

(a) MSS. Cott., Vit. B. IV.

(b) I wolde have redde unto his holyness the sayd versis, but his holyness *quadam aviditate legendi*, toke the boke from me, and redd the sayd versis iii times very promptly.—MSS. Cott., Vit. B. IV., No. 92, p. 185.

(c) Pallavicini, Concil. di. Trento, IV., 1.

(d) Roscoe's Life of Leo X.

(e) Archæol. Brit., XXIII., 71.

Henry might become an abitrator between the rival sovereigns, and defend and save the patrimony of St. Peter, if coveted by either of them. Thus did these magic words *Defensor Fidei* open the gates of Italy to Henry; and so we may conclude that the *Assertio* was both a controversial and political work.(f) Leo sent an autograph letter with his bull, wherein the Vicar of Christ speaks as a disciple of Politiano. The friend of Benivieni and of Marsilio Ficine had every right to sit as a judge on the literary production of Skelton's pupil; and who knows but that the author of the *Assertio* was anxious that his style should please his judge's ears; the vain controversialist wished for praise, and Sadolet bestowed it on him. Leo X., better able to explain the value of the *Assertio*, said that the Holy Spirit had inspired this new Tertullian to write this work.(g)

As a mark of gratitude to the Holy See, Henry endeavoured to persuade the German princes to expel Luther from Germany. Restless at the progress of heresy, Henry foresaw that the apostate monk, who thus boldly attacked spiritual authority, would never leave the secular princes tranquil. In his letter to the electors, and to the Duke George of Saxony, among others, he openly expressed his conviction that the revolt would pass from the sanctuary to the public squares, and that the people would one day call their temporal sovereigns to account for their true or imaginary evils, even as Luther had made the papacy responsible for the abuses that had crept into the Church. He had foreseen that Munzer and Storch would act thus; he wished to repress the German Reformers by fire and sword, and he besought the electoral princes of Germany, in the name of Christ and the Church, of the tiara and the diadem, of the ducal ermine and the bishop's mitre,

(f) Clerk having been instructed by Wolsey to sue for a consistorial decree in favour of Henry's work, it was refused, with a promise, however, that the See of Rome should do as much for the confirmation of this book as ever was done for the works of St. Augustine or St. Jerome.—MSS. Cott. Vitell., B. IV., No. 102. The original is still at the British Museum, but it has been published by Rymer, Fœdera, XIII.

(g) See Appendix (G).

of all that reigned in heaven or on earth, to pursue the monk to the stake or the scaffold.(a) Wolsey, also, rather through conviction than policy, hated these novel heresies. He belonged by his sympathies to a school of clerks and laics, who were endeavouring as far as they could to repress the abuses which the middle ages had bequeathed to England, but who would never have consented, though their undertaking had failed, to have been disobedient to authority. To prevent England from falling a prey to the reformed doctrines, Wolsey had directed that his charge should be affixed on the doors of every church in England, wherein he commanded the faithful to bring Luther's works written in Latin or any other language to the proper ecclesiastical authorities. This charge enumerated the various errors contained in the writings of the Monk of Wittemberg.(b) Like the theologians of Cologne, Wolsey imagined that the flames would consume those pernicious works to which the Wittemberg printer, Hans Luft, had given body and soul, and in this he was right; but he farther imagined that they would consume the matter and spirit, and herein he was deceived.

On the 12th May, 1521, Wolsey went in great pomp to St. Paul's, London, where Pace, the dean of that cathedral, met him at the head of his chapter. After having been incensed, he proceeded under a canopy carried by four doctors, to the altar, where he knelt down and prayed a few minutes. He then went to the cloister, and seated himself on his throne, with his two crosses at his side. On his right hand were his Holiness's ambassador and the Archbishop of Canterbury, on his left hand were the emperor's ambassador and the Bishop of Durham. Then Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, anathematised Luther, his doctrines, and all who had any of his writings in their possession. During the bishop's sermon, a pile of wood was lit, and into it were cast before the assembly the "Captivity of the Church at Babylon," the thesis, and other pamphlets of Luther,(c) and the crowd retired, crying out, "Long live the Pope! Long live the King!"

(a) Ad Ludovicum Palatinum de expellendo Luthero. Danielis Gerdesii Historia Reformat. E. S. Cyprianus Reformations Urkunden. Kappius, Spicilegium ad Acta reform.

(b) Tho. Wolseii mandatum, de extradendis M. Lutheri libris, an. 1521, 13 Mai. Danielis Gerdesii, Hist. Reform.

(c) Roscoe's Life of Leo X.

CHAPTER XII.

LUTHER AND HENRY.—1521-1522.

Luther replies to the King of England:—An account of the Monk's pamphlet.—His insolent language to Henry.—Germany does not endeavour to repair the insult offered to royalty, in the person of the King of England.—Fisher and Sir Thomas More undertake Henry's defence.—Character of their pamphlets.—Luther begs Henry's pardon.—The King's reply.

"*Doctorculus*, *sanctulus*, *eruditulus*," what words to be used by Henry to Luther! *Doctorculus*, to the theologian who had transformed his adversaries into bats and moles:(a) *sanctulus*, to the monk who had expelled from his paradise St. Augustine and St. Jerome, because neither had any knowledge of that which he called faith;(b) *eruditulus*, to him who had boasted of his knowledge of the holy Scriptures, who read Homer and Virgil, who quoted the Hebrew text in controversy, and who called himself the Ecclesiast of Wittemberg! And *when* did Henry thus insult Luther? At the very time that the Saxon was in the zenith of his glory; when Frundsberg, at Worms, had struck him on the shoulder, saying, "Monk, *en avant!*" when Sturm kept back the people, who were pressing forward to have a sight of their "Father in God," by his imperial wand; when Sickingen, the hero of the Black Forest, offered him the assistance of 1,000 cavalry to defend him against the snares of his enemies; when the scholars of Wittemberg were burning in his honour the bull of Leo X., who had excommunicated him! But Eck, Latomus, Prierias, Catharinus, and that swarm of "Papists" who had bewildered him by their continual humming and buzzing, had never displayed the ultra-boldness of Henry of England. Eck called him master; Latomus never refused him the title of doctor; Prierias and Catharinus acknowledged his abilities. Luther panted for revenge: he took up the pen which he had used against the theologians of Cologne, and dipped it not into ink, but into another liquid described by More. The monk will have his turn; he begins in royal style:—"Martin Luther, by the grace of God, Ecclesiast of Wittemberg, to all those who will read this little book, grace and peace in Christ. Amen."(c)

He then plunges at once *in medias res*:—"About two years since I published a pamphlet, entitled the 'Babylonish Captivity,' which has troubled the brains of the Papists exceedingly. May God in his mercy pardon the poor miserable creatures their lies and their anger! Some would have swallowed it, but the book was too tough. Henry, by the non-grace of God, King of England, has written in Latin against my work. There are some who believe that Henry is not the author of the work. What does it matter to me whether it be the production of King Harry, the devil or hell? He who lies is a liar, and I fear him not. My opinion is

(a) Audin.—Hist. de Luther.
(b) Luther's Works. Wittemberg.—See also his Auslegung des Briefes an die Galater.

(c) Martini Lutheri Antwort auf König Henrich's von Engelland Buch, wider seinen Tractat von der Babylonischen Gefängniss.—An. 1522. Walch.—We have also the Latin copy, entituled "Contra Henricum regem Angliæ Martinus Lutherus," with this remark printed on the frontispiece:—"Longe alius est hic liber quam ille quem ANTE HUNC vernacula lingua scripsit Wittembergæ, 1522." The German text is, as De Wette remarks, more virulent than the Latin.

that King Henry, perhaps, has given one or two yards of cloth to Lee, that phlegmatic sophist, that hog of the Thomist flock; and that Lee has made thereof a cape, to which he has sewed on a lining. They shall see whether I am not able to unrip their sewing. What is there so wonderful in a King of England having written against me? Did not the Pope, master, as he pretends to be of kings, princes, schools, and churches, take up his pen to attack me? What has he done? I have received my doctrine through the grace of God from heaven; from heaven and from Him who with His little finger is more powerful than a thousand popes, kings, princes, and doctors.(a) Know then, ye Papists, my good friends, that ye cannot prevail against my Lord. May the grace of God be with you. Amen. Let Henry look to himself; if I attack him rudely it is his own fault. If a King of England spits forth his lying insults in my face, I have the right, in self-defence, to thrust them down his throat, if he flings his royal excrements at the crown of my monarch and my Christ, what right has he to be astonished if I rub his crown with it, and cry out on the housetops: The King of England is a liar and a thief![b] And on what ground should I respect the blasphemies of a disciple of that monster Thomas? Let him defend his Church, his scarlet concubine, his mother of debauchery and whoredom, let him sing her praise, let him honour her, let him support her. Against that Church, against him, who is her self-elected champion and defender, I shall incessantly wage war, and with the help of Christ will wound him mortally. My dogmas shall remain, and the Pope shall fall in spite of the gates of hell and the princes of the air, the earth, and the sea. They have provoked me; they shall have war. They have despised the peace offered to them; there shall be no more truce. God shall see who shall be first fatigued and yield, the Pope or Luther. No, no, Henry has not, as he pretends, published his book in defence of the sacraments. It is, because being unable to eject the venom of malice and envy by the usual channel, he is compelled to spue it out of his mouth."

The principal argument against Luther was the instability of his doctrines. Henry used this advantage with bitter maliciousness. He did not understand that spirit of sanctity of which the monk boasted, and which led him to deny and affirm almost in the same breath the same dogma. He admitted and rejected purgatory almost the same moment; spoke in the morning as Emser, and at evening as Wickliff. Luther had various methods of justifying his continual changes. To Melancthon he replied: "Have they, before reproaching my variations, counted the drops in the ocean?" to Dr. Emser: "'Pig of a Thomist,' I wish to change; and why? because I wish it."(c) With Henry, he condescended to argue, "You have no right to boast of victory, because one calls a thing white to-day and black to-morrow, otherwise what should we think of St. Paul, who did not say after his baptism what he did when he persecuted the church,(d) what of St. Augustine, who repeatedly contradicts in one work what he has asserted in another? Truly I am amazed at the English Solomon not still wearing the shoes he wore while a babe in the cradle; and instead of drinking wine, why does he not still suck his nurse's teats.(e) But in order to gratify this Thomist, I retract, I retract all that I may have said of the Pope and the Papists. I retract, even with tears, all that I may

(a) Deutsche Antwort.

(b) Denn damit lästert er alle meine christliche Lehre, und schmiert seinen Dreck an die Krone meines Königs der Ehren nämlich Christi, dess Lehre ich habe. Darum solls ihn nicht wundern, ob ich den Dreck von meines Herren Krone auf seine Krone schmiere, und sage für aller Welt, dass der König von Engelland ein Lügner ist und ein Unbiedermann. The following is the Latin version:—"Nunc, cum prudens et dicens mendacia componat adversus mei regis majestatem in cœlis, damnabilis putredo tota et vermis, jus mihi erit pro meo rege et majestatem anglicam luto suo et stercore constergere et thronam istam blasphemiam in Christum pedibus conculcare."

(c) Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.

(d) The Latin has no resemblance to the German in this passage:—Damnabimus, [says Luther,] Pauli epistolas universas quod ille penitus stercora nunc vocat, quae antea sibi lucra fuerant."

(e) Aber warum trinket er jetzt Wein, der etwa die Zitzen sog.—Antwort.

formerly have said in favour of Popery; I retract all that this Thomist brings against me with regard to the *Captivity of the Church at Babylon!* Indeed, I was honouring the Pope too much in comparing him to the great Nimrod of Holy Writ; for, in a word, Nimrod was a power established by God, and he should be honoured and blessed according to the precept; a power to which we must be submissive, for which we are bound to pray. Henry has perhaps said to himself: 'Luther is vanquished; he will not dare reply to me; his books are burned, my lies will pass current, I am a king, and therefore it will be generally believed that I write the truth. I will therefore accuse the poor monk of all that comes into my head; I will publish all that I please, and will injure his reputation as far as I can.' Ah! my little darling, say all that thy brains suggest to thee. I shall oblige thee to listen to some truths, which will not be amusing. Harry accuses me of having written against the Pope through hatred and malice, of being peevish, of being a slanderer, and of believing myself to be the only learned man in the world. But I ask you, what matter that I am vain and wicked? Is the papacy innocent, because I am a worthless character? Is the King of England, therefore, a model of wisdom, because I call him a scoundrel? What is your opinion of this question? But the darling king who has such a horror of lies and calumnies, has more in his pestiferous book than I in all my writings.(a) Perhaps in a dispute similar to this, we should except persons. A king may insult a poor monk with impunity, but he will be hat in hand with the Pope."(b)

Henry, in common with other apologists of the Christian faith, held that old age in man, as well as in institutions, was entitled to our respect; that the papacy which commenced at the birth of Christianity ought not to be treated as if it were only of yesterday, even supposing that it were not of Divine origin. Luther, as a general rule, never argued. He only ridiculed; and when he had succeeded in raising a laugh, believed that he had conquered. "I desire to finish once for all with the Papists, and reply to them finally while addressing the King of England. If old age be necessarily right, then must Satan be the most righteous being in the world, since he is more than 5,000 years old."(c) But Luther made use of an argument which must have pierced Henry to the heart. A few drops of Buckingham's blood still stained the axe, when the apostate monk conjured the shade of that unhappy nobleman from his quiet tomb to frighten his murderer. He had placed Henry in the pillory; he now fastens him on the block. "What astonishes me so much is not the ignorance displayed by Henry, King of England. It is not that he understands works and faith not so well as the idiot who feels that there is a God; but I am amazed that the devil should aid his friend Harry, when he knows that I laugh all his tricks to scorn. The king is well acquainted with the proverb, 'that there are no greater fools in the world than kings and princes,' and feels its truth.

"Who is there that does not trace the finger of God in the blindness and folly of this man? I shall allow him to rest tranquil for a season, as I have the Bible to translate, without including other works, which will not permit me to grovel any longer in his majesty's alvine ejections; but at another time, I shall, God willing, reply to the lies and poison spued forth by the royal mouth. I cannot help imagining that his work must have been written as a penance, for his conscience must rebuke him for having stolen the crown of England, in putting to death the last branch of the royal stock. He trembles lest the blood he has shed should fall on his own head; and therefore he cringes to the Pope, and fawns now on the emperor, and now on the King of France. Harry and the Pope have the same legitimacy. The Pope has stolen his tiara as the King of England has his crown, and therefore do they rub one against another like a pair of mules. Any one unwilling to pardon me for having insulted his royal majesty, should know that had he known how to respect himself

(a) Antwort.—Assertio.
(b) Antwort.—Assertio.

(c) Wenn die Jahre recht machten, ware ja der Teufel der Allergerechteste auf Erden; der nun über fünf tausend Jahre alt ist.—Antwort.

I should not have treated him thus severely. Look at him, Henry spits forth poison from his mouth as a mackarel when in anger, and is not this a convincing proof that he has not a drop of noble blood in his veins."(a)

It is indeed a melancholy duty for the historian to acknowledge, that not a voice was raised in reformed Germany in behalf of the insulted sovereign. Luther's libel was publicly sold in Wittemberg. It was exposed for sale in the fairs at Frankfort and at the church-doors, and was printed in Latin and German. The Elector Frederick, surnamed the Wise, contented himself by telling the monk that Henry would assuredly chastise him. It has been said this elector had refused the empire at the Diet of Frankfort. He was perfectly right; for he who knows not how to vindicate royalty, would not have known how to defend it. Henry, however, had found two champions in England, Fisher and Sir Thomas More. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was one of the most learned prelates in the kingdom. His palace was a complete museum. The walls of his rooms were covered with tumular inscriptions, discovered in different parts of the island, and if fortunate enough to decypher any of them, he was delighted beyond measure. Fisher resembled Sadolet in many points. So great was his purity of mind, that he never remarked Wolsey's extravagance. Subject to a chronic complaint, he seldom went to court; and in order to see him, one was obliged to go to church.

Sir Thomas More was at this period Henry's private secretary.(b) At thirty, he dressed in the fashion of the last reign, and was so careless of his person, that he often omitted shaving, through forgetfulness, for several days. His greatest delight was to play with his children, cats, dogs, parrots, and his other pets. A philosopher in a peasant's garb, at table he only ate black bread,(c) and spoke of glory and fortune in terms of ridicule. How then came he to be a courtier? A papal vessel had been seized and confiscated at Southampton, the legate of the Holy See had commenced an action for restitution, and had retained More, by whose means he obtained damages.(d) Until then, he had been permitted to absent himself from court; but on Henry hearing of his success, he exclaimed: "He is now mine," and More resigned himself to his fate.(e) Fisher's work was entitled "A defence of the 'Assertio' of the King of England regarding the Catholic faith, in reply to a book of Luther's on the 'Captivity of the Church at Babylon.'"(f) It is a controversial work, in which no passionate expression can be perceived, and were the bishop alive nowa-days, and about to publish it, he would not require to erase a single word. Luther must have suffered most acutely on reading a work of such candour and merit.

Fisher's arguments developed themselves naturally. He did not mistake his adversary's objections, but laid them down with much precision and frankness. Fisher seldom astonishes or dazzles his readers, but he invariably charms and persuades. He had no difficulty in showing that in the interpretation of Holy Writ, many, though endowed with fine abilities, had been deceived; that like errors and like falls might again occur; so that a judge was essentially necessary to interpret the sense of the divine word, provided that the word could not, *per se*, resolve the difficulties to which it had given risen. Now this judge is TRADITION, which has spoken from age to age to our own days, and whose voice, like the light of the sun, will

(a) So schilter, so bitter, giftig und ohne Unterlass, als keine offentliche zornige Hure schelten mag.—Antwort.—Assertio. The following is a specimen used by Luther in his Latin answer to Henry:—"Stolidus rex; sophisticus nebulo; impudenti et meretricia impotentiâ; vermis, damnabilis putredo; stupidus et plane lithargicus sophista, novus thomista, discipulus ignavi monstri; ineptus basiliscus, fœdissima meretrix; pus invidiæ, impudens, rex mendacii, progenies viperæ, cornicula, furiosus papista, fraudulentus rex larvatus, blaterator, insulsissimus asinus, stultus, stupidus truncus, rudis asinus, crassus porcus, hypocrita, stips incredibilis, stipula et stuppa thomistica, morio, &c."

(b) Erasmi. Epist. XVII., App. [1517.]

(c) Erasmi Epist. LX., 30.

(d) D. George Thomas Rudhart, Thomas Morus.

(e) Roper. — More. — Hoddesdon. — Biog. Britan.

(f) Assertionum regis Angliæ de fide Catholica adversus Lutheri Babylonicam captivitatem, defensio.

never cease until the end of the world. "Truth is one, and you have not unity; and to prove that you have no unity, I ask you, Luther, to wait till the morrow. To-morrow will rise in your church, and perhaps near your own cell a Lucifer will come into existence, who will convict you of error and falsehood."(a) The reply of Sir Thomas More was expected with impatience. Unfortunately, that great scholar, instead of using that fine reasoning power with which he had been gifted, preferred employing a low spirit of sarcastic raillery, and by trying to imitate Luther, only lowered himself; for the language used by the apostate monk was natural to him, whereas More only affected it.(b) We should indeed have pitied Sir Thomas More, but more especially Henry, whose different talents he applauds so enthusiastically,(c) had the entire work resembled those pages in which the writer yielded to the excitement of the moment. He occasionally remembers that nature had not made him a buffoon, and then he displays his natural good sense. In reply to Luther's assertion, that nothing ought to be admitted as true, except it can be proved by Holy Writ, More inquires, "Why then do you admit the virginity of Mary, as it is not mentioned in Holy Writ?"

Two years had elapsed. Luther saw that he could not hope for the diffusion of his new doctrine in England without Henry's aid; for at each port in the island, Henry had strictly forbidden the importation of his translation of the Bible. Then Luther forgot what he had said at Worms: "If my doctrine be from God, it will live," as also his mighty God, who would protect him against the snares of Satan, the bear and lioness who would defend him against that miserable sophist Lee; and the worm of the tomb whom they call Harry, and Buckingham's blood with which the usurper had smeared his shield.(d) The monk prostrated himself at the feet of a prince who had profaned the crown of Christ with his spittle. He humbled himself in the dust before a Papist, whose brains he had sworn to throw to the dogs. He bowed in low humiliation before a hog of a Thomist whom he had desired to annihilate. Luther acknowledged that he had been urged on by an evil genius while writing his letter against the King of England. He scarcely dare raise his eyes, he a worm of the earth, dust and ashes, to look at so renowned a sovereign.

He implores on his knees, lying at Henry's feet, for pity and pardon by the glory and

(a) The principal propositions of Fisher are as follow:—

1. It is most evident that many who have trusted to their own skill in interpreting holy Scriptures have grossly erred.

2. It may happen at any time that a man who relies on interpretations of Scripture may fall into error.

3. Whenever any controversy arises with regard to Scripture, or Catholic truth, it is desirable that there should be some judge to settle the matter.

4. Every controversy, which thus arises, cannot be decided by means of holy Scripture alone.

5. On this account, the Holy Ghost was sent to remain for ever with the Church, that when such errors should arise, the Church might know the true doctrine on the subject.

6. The Holy Ghost has hitherto used, and will always use the tongues of the orthodox Fathers for the extirpation of heresy, and the instruction of the Church in such doubtful cases.

7. It is manifest that whoever does not receive the orthodox Fathers despises the Holy Ghost, and has it not in him.

8. If the Spirit have spoken much to the edification of the Church by the mouths of the Fathers, much more has he spoken in the general councils.

9. Although apostolic traditions are nowhere delivered in holy Scripture, yet they must be observed by all true Christians.

10. Besides these traditions, no Christian should reject the customs received by the universal Church.—Fisher's Works.

(b) The following passage is from Sir Thomas More's work:—Verum si ad istum, quo cœpit, modum scurrari pergat, si grassari calumniâ, nugari stultitiâ, insanire dementiâ, scurrilitate ludere, nec aliud in ore gestare quam sentinas et cloacas, latrinas, merdas, stercora; faciant quod volunt alii; nos ex tempore capiemus consilium, velimus, ne sic bacchantem ex ejus tractare virtutibus et coloribus suis depingere, an furiosum fraterculum et latrinarium nebulonem, cum suis furiis et furoribus, cum suis merdis et stercoribus cacantem cacatumque relinquere.—Biog. Brit.

(c) It much vexes that rascal that the great learning of his majesty in many branches of study, and especially in divinity, is well known and celebrated abroad as well as at home.—Thomæ Mori Angli Opera.

(d) Luther Contra Henricum.

cross of Christ. Was a solemn recantation of his former letter required, Luther is ready to make one.(a) What a glorious triumph for Henry to see the Saxon on his knees imploring for mercy! The king showed no pity; for there are some insults which no prayers, not even the most sincere, can expiate. The sole favour he granted the suppliant was to reply to his letter: but with what fastidiousness!(b) "You tell me that you blush for your work; I can well believe it. Why did you not add for all your books, as they contain but one tissue of gross errors and foolish heresies founded on neither logic nor science. As to my letter, which in your opinion was the work of a captious sophist, it is my own production, as many witnesses worthier of credit than yourself can testify, and the more it displeases you, the greater pleasure do I feel in acknowledging myself its author. Your viper tongue endeavours, but in vain, to blast the reputation of the Archbishop of York. After all, what importance ought to be attached to the insults of a being like yourself, who have mocked at the Catholic Church, ridiculed the Fathers and holy Apostles, blasphemed the saints and the blessed Mother of God, and insulted the Lord himself, by making him the author of all crime? You say that you dare not look at me: I am astonished at your venturing to look at any one in the face."

Henry's revenge was not yet complete. He desired to stir up the whole of Germany against the monk. In a letter which he addressed shortly after this, to the Saxon electors, he justified himself for having entered the lists with Luther in defence of holy Church, under the pretext that King David had danced before the ark of the Lord, and besought them to chain this ferocious beast whose Satanic wrath was empoisoning the whole of Germany, and to repress that arch-schismatic by fire or the sword, if there were no other way of silencing him.(c) Henry was as one crying in the wilderness. An extraordinary combat between a King of England and an Augustinian of Wittemberg, and of which the Christian annals offer no other example. It could not have occurred without Guttenberg; but if either of the combatants had a right to applaud the invention of printing, it was certainly the crowned Thomist.

(a) Henrico VIII., Regi Angliæ et Hiberniæ. —Luther's Briefe.—De Wette. Mr. Hallam attributes this *recantation* of Luther's to some derangement in the intellectual faculties.—M. Audin assigns some other reason.—See his Life of Luther.

(b) Invictissimi principis Henrici VIII., regis Angliæ et Franciæ, ad Martini Lutheri epistolam responsio.

(c) Contra Lutherum ejusque hæresim epist. ser. regis Ang. ad illustrissimos Saxoniæ duces piè admonitoria.—Cod. Vat., 6,556, p. 73.

CHAPTER XIII.

INTRIGUES OF WOLSEY.—1521-1522.

Henry plans, under the guidance of Wolsey, a new invasion of France.—The means adopted by him to violate his oath.—Wolsey goes to Calais to act as a mediator between Francis and Charles.—Crafty conduct of the Minister.—The Conference broken off and War declared.—Death of Leo X.—Wolsey's intrigues to arrive at the Papal Chair.—Election of Adrian of Utrecht.

SERIOUS political events were about to call off Henry's attention from Luther. Even while engaged in controversy with him, he had thought of recovering that lovely kingdom of France, which the force of arms had won back from English domination, and while he was embracing Francis in the valley of Ardres, his heart belied the sentiment uttered by his lips. To accomplish his object, which was encouraged by Wolsey, he required allies.(a) He had but two; the emperor, who was anxious to recover the ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy which France had seized, and the Sovereign Pontiff, who, faithful to the policy pursued by Julius II., was striving to rescue Italy from a foreign yoke. The Cardinal Minister was daily expecting, from the information he had received from his agents at Rome, to hear of Leo X.'s death, and hoped, through the interest of Charles, to obtain the fisherman's ring.

The emperor was as reserved as Francis was open, and felt no amusement in feasting princes or breaking lances with them. Prudent in prosperity, as well as in adversity, and ever master of himself, Charles practised the same trick in all his negotiations, that of offering his hand to the daughter of the monarch with whom he was in treaty. He had asked in marriage a princess of France, the Infanta of Portugal, and, at his interview with Wolsey at Windsor, the hand of Mary of England (b) This princess had been already affianced to the young Dauphin of France by the treaty of the capitulation of Tournay, and that fortress had been received as her dowry. Francis accordingly, and with justice, complained to Henry of Charles's insulting conduct, and expressed his surprise at the English cabinet having seriously entertained it. Henry replied, that so far from having encouraged the emperor's pretensions to the hand of his daughter Mary, he had signified to Charles his formal intention to keep his engagement with the crown of France."(c) Francis, unacquainted with the low trickery of the English policy, believed Henry, and thanked him through the English ambassadors, Sir William Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Jerningham, for his kind intentions.(d)

Francis was soon undeceived. In accordance with Wolsey's plans, Henry

(a) Lingard.

(b) Turner.

(c) Henry's instructions to Sir W. Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Jerningham to be declared unto his dearest brother, confederate and compeer, the French king.—Brit. Museum, MSS. Cott. Cal., D. VIII., p. 5.

(d) As touching the pursuit made for the dispensation to marry the daughter of Portugal, the king's grace cannot a little marvel thereat, for his highness hath always persuaded unto the emperor to observe and keep all manner of connections and promises made and passed between him and the French king, without violation or rupture; as well concerning the peace and mutual amity and also the marriage with the daughter of France; and that in doing the contrary, he should have no assistance of his grace.—Inst. MSS. Cal. D. VIII., p. 6.

had silently made the necessary preparations for the invasion of Picardy. For this revelation of the cardinal's treachery, we are indebted to Pace. At Wolsey's request, 5,000 or 6,000 bowmen, commanded by a distinguished officer, were equipped for service.(a) These men fought admirably in heavy armour, and did great execution amongst the enemy's cavalry with their crossbows. In France, the nobility only fought on horseback, looking on it as a disgrace to use either the bow or the lance. At Marignano, they derided the long lances used by the Swiss soldiery. Henry, not wishing to entrust the success of his expedition to his bowmen, however brave they might be, insisted with Wolsey on the equipment of a fleet to blockade the French ports, and thus ruin their commerce. While the infantry were invading Picardy, and marching on Paris, the fleet might sweep the seas and burn the French arsenals. These warlike preparations were, however, to be kept secret until Charles should be prepared to take the field.(b) Henry felt the need of a pretext to violate an oath which he had sworn to preserve. What possible excuse could he find to declare war against that joyous compeer,(c) whom he had embraced as a beloved brother but a few months before on the plain of Ardres? Henry's advisers seemed to hope for provocation from the impatient ardour as well of the French nobility as of the conqueror of Marignano, and for this purpose reports obnoxious to the honour of Francis were assiduously circulated; and it was even given out in Germany that he had endeavoured to tempt the fidelity of the emperor's allies, and to foment troubles in Spain.(d)

Dense forests stretch along the banks of the Meuse, where Robert de la Marck, Seigneur of Sedan, reigned as master, like Sickingen in the Schwarzwald.(e) Robert was contending with the sires of Eymeries for the government of two small towns in Ardennes. The peers, on being consulted, decided in favour of Robert; but an appeal could be entered against their sentence, which was accordingly done, and Charles, as emperor, annulled the sentence of the peers, whereupon Robert, irritated beyond measure, challenged his sovereign.(f) This challenge from a feudatory lord holding but a few thousand acres of forest lands, covered one-half the year with dense fogs, to the sovereign on whose kingdom the sun never set, might indeed astonish the reader, did he not know that Robert was only exercising one of his legitimate rights in thus defying his sovereign. It was generally believed in England, as well as Italy, that the Seigneur of Sedan, in thus acting, had listened to the instigation of France. A few days after the return of his herald-at-arms, Robert, mounted on his war-horse, and followed by a large body of adventurers, recruited in Ardennes, and according to some authorities, even in Paris, invaded Luxembourg, burning some copses defended only by the imperial eagle. Charles, instead of chastising Robert's insolence, ordered the Duke of Nassau (of the House of Orange) to advance on the frontiers of France.

After having taken possession of Mouzon, the Duke besieged Mezières.(g) So bold a step required corresponding activity

(a) The king haith concluddyde, according to your advise and counsayle, to put in a redynesse 5,000 or 6,000 archiars.—Pace to Wolsey, British Museum, Galba, B. VII., p. 87.

(b) Hys hyghnesse thynkyth that at suche tyme as all thingis schalbe concludydde betwixte th'emperor and hym, accordyng to hys minde, and a resolution takyn for to invade Fraunce, then itt shalbe necessarie for them boith to provide for the destruccion off the Frenche kingis navye; and his grace wolde, that at tyme convenient thys matier myght secretly be brokyn to the sayde emperor, and treatidde in such wyse that thys interprise might suddenly be made agaiust the French kinge.—Id.

(c) Brother, confederate and compeer.—Henry's Instructions to Sir W. Fitzwilliam.—MSS. Cal., D. VIII., p. 5.

(d) Goldast. Polit. Imp., p. 870.

(e) Comment Messire Robert de la Marck, sieur de Sedan, pour quelque tort qui lui fust fait au service de l'empereur, retourna au service du roy de France.—Fleuranges.—Memoires de du Bellay, I.—Capifigue, II., 143.

(f) Robert will make war upon the emperor's lands, because he suffered Mons Emerie to take one of his castles.—MSS. Cal., Cott. D. VIII., p. 13.

(g) Schmidt.

on the part of Francis. It may be recollected that Jean d'Albret, King of Navarre, had been excommunicated by Julius II., for having taken part with a schismatical king, Louis XII. The Pope had consequently laid Albret's possessions under an interdict, and offered his territory to any one that would take possession of it. Ferdinand undertook to carry the sentence of the Pontiff into execution, and had invaded and confiscated Navarre; but Francis had ever continued to sympathise with the disinherited monarch; and in accordance with the treaty of Noyon, the widow of Jean d'Albret claimed the restitution of her husband's patrimony, and Francis summoned Charles, as the heir of his grandfather Ferdinand, to restore Navarre to a queen, reduced almost to a state of poverty.(a)

The emperor replied that Spain had the same claim on Navarre as Francis had on Narbonne and Toulouse, by virtue of an ecclesiastical sentence, and that if Francis would restore the latter cities, he would willingly resign Navarre.(b) Francis expected a reply of this nature, and imagining that he might by force of arms take not only Navarre, but the whole of Spain from his rival, crossed the Pyrenees a few weeks afterwards. The French king expected no opposition until he reached Madrid, as he buoyed himself up with the hope that he would be assisted by those who were discontented with those "devouring wolves," as Adrian, in a letter which fell into the hands of Francis, called them,(c) to whom Charles had unfortunately confided the reins of government.(d) The insurgents at first acted with great indifference; but scarcely had the French banners floated on the citadel of Logrogno, than, awaking to a sense of their country's danger, both the nobility and the people, forgetting their private quarrels, united to expel the foreigner, and in less than a fortnight, Spain was rescued.(e) The retreat of the French excited the hopes of Italy. Letters, compromising the hero of Marignano, had been found on André de Lesparre, the leader of the expedition, who had been taken prisoner at Pampeluna, and Charles lost no time in sending them to Rome.

Had Francis consented to restore Parma and Piacenza to the Holy See, it is probable that he would not have been so soon disturbed in Milan; but he refused, and the Pope threw himself into the arms of Charles V. The emperor had placed Luther under the ban of the empire, had assigned an annual pension of 10,000 ducats, payable from the revenues of the archbishopric of Toledo, to the Cardinal Giulio di Medici, a relation of Leo X., and had engaged to restore Parma and Piacenza, which had fallen into the hands of the French after the battle of Marignano, to the patrimony of St. Peter.(f) A new league, yet more formidable than any preceding coalition, was formed against France. She was now about to fight against the north and south. Spain and Italy, Switzerland and Germany, the Netherlands and England, would perhaps march under the same colours. A new crown for Henry, and the tiara for Wolsey, were the price given for England's alliance; but the minister who directed the English cabinet had many precautions to take before he could throw off the mask. Henry might levy an army of 30,000 infantry, but he had not sufficient money for their maintenance. His vessels were ready for sea, but he could not pay the crews. He must, therefore, gain time to levy subsidies; and while waiting for this, it was essentially necessary to prevent a collision between two rivals equally impatient to measure swords, and here Wolsey's tact was called into play.

According to the treaty of 1518, both monarchs appealed at the same time to the English sovereign. Henry had promised his assistance to him that should keep the peace the longest; and accordingly Charles and Francis accused one another of perjury. Charles showed Henry some intercepted letters, which clearly proved that the conduct of Robert de la Marck, and the attack of the Spanish provinces by De Lesparre, had been undertaken at the suggestion of

(a) Hume.—Lingard.—Du Bellay.
(b) Schmidt.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Peter Martyr.
(e) Lingard.
(f) Schmidt.

Francis I. Francis, on the other hand, asserted that he had been deeply insulted by the emperor asking for the hand of the Princess Mary in marriage, when he knew she was betrothed to the young Dauphin, as well as by his refusing to restore Navarre to the widow of Jean d'Albret. These two actions were a flagrant violation of the treaty. Both referred the matter, in accordance with the treaty of Noyon, to Henry.

Wolsey's departure for Calais, where he was to act as the sovereign's representative, was a remarkable event. He carried with him the seal of the kingdom, and three commissions from the king. The first, which conferred on him the title of Lieutenant-general, authorised him as mediator to settle the dispute between Charles and Francis. The second granted him the power to make a new treaty with Francis. The third gave him full power to select as allies the emperor, the Pope, the King of France, or any other monarch.(a) Wolsey, therefore, was the messenger of either peace or war. He entered Calais (10th August) amid the pealing of bells and salutes from the cannon. The conference commenced on the morrow by mutual recriminations. The French accused Charles V. of having violated the treaty of Noyon, in retaining Navarre. The Imperialists, on the other hand, asserted that the convention of Noyon had been wrested from their master by fraud and violence, and complained in bitter terms of Francis having clandestinely assisted Robert de la Marck. The cardinal pretended to enact the part of an impartial judge, who desired to be guided by the voice of conscience alone.(b)

The various incidents of this royal farce, in which two sovereigns, the one wielding the sceptre of Edward the Confessor, the other girded with the sword of Charlemagne, acted the part of confidants to Wolsey, are preserved in the British Museum, that vast *dépôt* of the diplomatic archives of England in the sixteenth century, where it can be followed scene by scene. Charles, admitted into the secret of the drama by Wolsey, acted the part of a blameless knight, and though he had been provoked by his rival invading Spain, still he was ready to abide by the decision of his brother of England.(c)

As to Francis, the victim offered in sacrifice, he was censured for concealing himself. So much did he seem to dread the British ambassadors, that in order to avoid them, he had recourse to every kind of low cunning. One day, he was hunting, another making a public entry into Dijon, and a third he was obliged to confess and touch the sick.(d) The Imperialists seemed to confide in Wolsey's loyalty, but on leaving the conference they would betake themselves to the minister, and far from the observation of the curious, would settle the basis of a treaty between their master and the King of England. This proof of the duplicity of the English government is evident from Pace's official letters. The cardinal shamefully betrayed Francis. He promised the Princess Mary to the emperor, settled the time when the 6,000 archers should invade France; when the English fleet should anchor in the French ports; when the Swiss, whom he hoped to gain over, should besiege Dijon, and even went so far as to divide the spoils which their victory would give them.

But one obstacle seemed for a moment to be a sore stumbling-block to Henry, who was kept, although at Greenwich, *au courant* with every circumstance as it transpired. By violating the treaty of Noyon, he would, as a matter of course, forfeit the annual pension which Francis had till then regularly paid. This difficulty had been anticipated by Wolsey. In lieu

(a) Rapin.—Rymer Fœdera, XIII., 748.
(b) Lingard.

(c) The emperor, notwithstanding the ruffling which the French king has caused to be made in his realm of Navarre, will not change opinion; but the king's grace shall for his part be mediator for the pacifying of all variances and differences.—Winkfield's letter to Fitzwilliam, 12th June, 1521.—MSS. Cal., D. VIII., p. 58.

(d) Sir R. Jerningham and Fitzwilliam report "that on the 17th they were told they could not see Francis," because he was hunting; on 18th, because he and his mother would make a public entry into Dijon; and on 19th, because, being Whit-Sunday, it was a high-day, and the king confessed and healed sick folk; but on Monday they should be admitted.—Letter, 24th May, MSS., ib., p. 40.

of the £16,000 paid by France to the worthy son of Henry VII, the empire engaged to pay 40,000 marks. Henry would consequently gain by breaking his word; and indeed he was so delighted with Wolsey's arrangements, that he lost no time in congratulating him on his success (a) The reader must, while perusing the official correspondence between Pace and Wolsey, imagine himself to be under some somniferous influence. That insatiate minister was by no means satisfied with the favours he had received from Henry. His scarlet hat, his two crosses as legate, his Archbishopric of York, his great seals, his thirty benefices were not enough; before ascending the throne of St. Peter, he wished to fight at the head of the 6,000 archers whom England had levied for the purpose of invading France.(b) It might have been said that the laurels gained by Julius II. prevented his sleeping. He wished to wield a sword as large as that which Michael Angelo had placed in the Pontiff's hand. As general-in-chief of the army of expedition, it would be for him to prepare the royal residences on the road to Paris. Henry would only have to follow.(c) The king was ready to obey all the whims of his minister; so that the poet was right when he said that Wolsey had a covenant with Satan.

While these negotiations were pending, Wolsey's letters to Francis evinced the greatest affection and devotedness to that monarch. Henry declared that there was not a particle of truth in the *on dit* that he was partial, and reminded the prince of the services he had always rendered him. Duprat, one of the ablest diplomatists that Francis could find to represent him at Calais, deceived by Wolsey, thus wrote to his master: "Sire,—The cardinal, on going to Mass, informed me of his being so unwell that he could scarcely keep his saddle. He asked me if I had a litter. Could I get one, I should send it him, though it cost me twice the value. However, your majesty would do well to send him one. You know him; and I feel assured that such a mark of your majesty's attention would not be lost."(d)

The litter did not arrive in time. Gattinara, the emperor's chancellor, recommenced his discussion with Duprat, and finished by declaring that his master would hear of no condition until he had received satisfaction from France;(e) and Wolsey, upon this pretext, left Calais to treat directly with the emperor. The cardinal deceived the French ambassador. He left for Bruges, whither he had been summoned by a letter from Charles,(f) after pretending to be exceedingly annoyed by Gattinara's obstinacy. His real object was to give the King of England sufficient time to prepare for war against France.(g) Wolsey left with a suite of 400 gentlemen, and traversed those very plains which he had crossed once before with a confidential

(a) The king has received your two letters, dated Calais, the 4th of this month. By these, his highness perceives the serious disputations between your grace and the emperor's ambassadors, for his indemnity of such sums of money as his grace, by likelihood, shall lose, if he break with the French king, and join the emperor, *according to his desire*; and that your grace has so handled this matter, that you hope he shall have yearly paid 40,000 marks, instead of the £16,000 paid by the said king.—MSS. Cotton, Cal. D. VIII., p. 92.

(b) The king also perceiveth that in case the army of 6,000 archers shall be sent forth in aid to the emperor, *your grace then intendeth to order and govern the same yourself* at their arrival to the said emperor, and to proceed actually with them. His highness doth remit this unto your grace's wisdom.—MSS. Cott., Galba, B VII., p 13.

(c) Et si *ibitis* parare legi locum in regno hereditario, majestas *ejus* quum tempus erit opportunum sequetur.—MSS. ib. p. 93. This singular Latin is written in the king's own handwriting.

(d) MSS. Bethune, No. 8491, the *procès-verbal* of the conference at Calais is in the Bibl. du Roi, MSS. Bethune, No. 8179. The correspondence of Duprat with Francis I., MSS. Bethune, No. 8491, and 8492. But in the British Museum are to be seen the proofs of Wolsey's diplomatic intrigues. A modern historian (M. Capefigue) has said: "The cardinal's letters exclude all idea of corruption;" but he had not searched the archives of England.

(e) Lingard.

(f) I remain also in my resolution to conclude with you myself, and to use entirely your good advice and counsel.—Letter from Charles V. to Wolsey.—Bruges, 7th August, 1521.—MSS. Cal. D. VIII. p. 95.

(g) Assuring your highness, I have omitted nothing in the capacity of my intendment that mought in any wise tend to the advancement of your honour, or furtherance of the establishment of that truce between these great

letter from Henry VII. to Maximilian. The scenery had not changed. There were the long plains of Artois, divested of trees, but rich in pasture land. What a change had taken place in the traveller! Fifteen years ago, none would have stopped to look at the poor priest as he passed along alone and without attendants; now the population ran forward eager to gaze on one who had cited emperors and kings to his bar. Fifteen years ago, on a hired horse, he hurried on without taking any rest, bathed in perspiration, and worn out by fatigue; but now, seated under a pavilion with a parasol having a gold handle, over his head, to protect him from the rays of the sun, he went by short stages, surrounded by lords, dukes, and peers of the realm, who held his stirrup when he wished to dismount. Fifteen years ago he could scarcely have raised sufficient money to buy a windmill: now he could for ready cash, purchase the whole tract of country between Calais and Bruges. Fifteen years ago, he enjoyed his small revenue in peace of mind. Who could tell now if he was not eaten up with remorse, and if while on the road he did not feel more than once the pangs of a conscience ill at ease; for he was too rich to be innocent, too powerful to be at ease? Wolsey was received at Bruges, as if he had been a powerful sovereign, and conducted to the imperial palace where Charles embraced him before all his courtiers. A sumptuous suite of apartments had been prepared for him. Sentinels kept guard at his door by night and day. His table was covered with meats of every kind prepared by the best cooks,(a) and, adds the facetious chronicler, wine was not deficient.(b) The prelate, a jovial guest, by no means a despiser of good cheer, did too much honour to his host's table, and suffered a little from indigestion; however he attributed his indisposition to the pressure of business.(c)

Henry unacquainted with the real origin of his favourite's illness, censured him severely for neglecting his health, and bade him do so no more.(d) His indisposition was not by any means severe; for a few days after, Wolsey recommenced his work, and signed in his master's name a league offensive and defensive in conjunction with Charles against Francis. This treaty was called the *Bene placitum*.(e)

It now became the King of England's good pleasure to break his word, to tear up those very conventions signed under the invocation of the Holy Trinity, and to perjure himself in the eyes of God and man. Some English historians have endeavoured to justify his conduct by asserting that he was only a tame instrument in the hands of Wolsey; however, Henry was no longer a child, but was actuated in every step he took by ambition. At the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he had stopped while enumerating his titles, and dared not add *King of France*, but now, emboldened by the success of his Premier, the Machiavellian arch priest,(f) he was willing, if he could, to steal a crown. But he did not think of Francis, of that sword with which the Chevalier de Bayard had armed his master, after the battle of Marignano, and of that God who waits not for eternity to punish acts of treachery.

On his return to Calais, Wolsey met the French ambassadors. Nothing in his conduct could awaken the slightest suspicion; he was never more courteous. While speaking of Francis, he lauded his character as a prince, and Duprat imagined that he might trust in the unchangeable affection of the King of England. After dinner, therefore, he took the cardinal aside, and told him that Francis had more confidence in Henry than in any other of his allies.(g)

Henry wrote thus about this time: "I fear that when Francis discovers all that has occurred at Bruges, he will lay an

princes; making longer mine abode here to perfect the said truce rather for keeping your grace out of the wars till ye might sufficiently be furnished for the same, than for any other cause or occasion.—MSS. Galba, B. VII., p. 45.

(a) Hall.
(b) Hall
(c) Wolsey's letter to the king, 24th Aug. —MSS. Galba, B. VII., p. 1 1.

(d) MSS. Galba, ib. pp. 99 and 113.
(e) MSS. Galba, B. VII., p. 104.
(f) Turner.
(g) The Chancellor of France, after he had dined with me, declared expressly, that the king his master hath in you his most affiance before all other princes.—MSS. Galba, B. VII., p. 50.

embargo on the English vessels that are in port at Bordeaux, and will stop the payment of my pension."(a) These apprehensions were well-founded, but Wolsey lost no time in inspiring his master with confidence, alleging that it was impossible for Francis to be so soon acquainted with what had transpired at Bruges,(b) and besides he would have too many enemies to attempt to confiscate the English vessels or stop the pensions.(c) The cardinal soon found a pretext (furnished him by chance) for breaking off the conference. He had drawn up a project of peace between the rival powers, entirely in favour of Charles, when it was bruited abroad that Bonnivet, who had, while at London, thoroughly studied Wolsey's character, had appealed to arms by taking forcible possession of Fontarabia,(d) and had thus opportunely exposed to view the plot that England was hatching. Wolsey, as arbitrator, decided that France had violated the peace, by this act on the part of her admiral, and that consequently Henry was compelled by the treaty of Noyon to aid Charles. It was then asserted that Francis, the model of chivalry, was faithless, and that Charles, Wolsey's accomplice, was a prince of irreproachable loyalty. Henry, who had promised his daughter in marriage to the two princes at once, who violated without a blush all that man regarded as sacred; who, while counting with the one hand the money so religiously paid him by his "good brother," whom he betrayed, with the other essayed the sword he was about to draw against him, was, for a short time, regarded in the light of an honest man; and when we call to mind that history has been for some time the innocent accomplice of this prince and his minister, ought not our hearts to bound with joy in applauding him who has collected at the British Museum all the documents which throw such light on the diplomatic intrigue of Bruges?

Wolsey only looked forward for the reward promised him by the emperor. The chair of St. Peter was about to become vacant, and he aspired to it, as if the tiara, even in a political point of view, could possibly be the reward of diplomatic skill.(e) Leo, who had not participated in the plotting at Bruges, had just obtained possession of Parma and Piacenza. Sforza had returned to Naples. The French were threatened with expulsion from Italy, and Schinner, that implacable enemy to all foreigners, would sing a *Te Deum* in the Basilica of St. Ambrose, in honour of his mountaineers. But the Pope did not long enjoy his triumph. He breathed his last on the 21st of September, 1521, at Magliana.

The conclave assembled on the morrow of his death. At that solemn hour, Wolsey, actuated by fear, or perhaps by hypocrisy, hesitated, as if he dreaded the responsibility of the papacy which Julius II. and Leo X. had adorned. He spoke of his weakness to his protectors, and even murmured forth the word humility.(f) But the demon tempted him by exhibiting to him the tiara, and Wolsey yielded. For him was the glory of the Vatican, the papacy, and the world; and we are sure, that like Richard III., he would have willingly given up all his grandeur for a horse to convey him to Rome. He despatched messenger after messenger to Charles to remind him of his promise to Pace, pressing him to gain or buy the votes. The sacred college deliberate; the cardinals are in their cells. Each evening the votes of the day are burned and the ashes thrown into the fire, the smoke of which announces to the people that the Holy Ghost is still mute. At last he has spoken, and a barbarian is

(a) Wolsey thus writes on the 4th September, 1521:—"Considering the dangers that might ensue, by taking your navy at Bourdeaux, and the suspicion that might be impressed on the French king's mind, by the abstaining of your said navy from thence, which might cause him to refrain, and stop your pension payable unto you within brief time; you desire me to consider what is best to be done.—MSS. Galba, B. VII., p. 50.

(b) As yet for any bruit, or any thing concluded with the emperor, they have no manner suspicion.—MSS. ib. p. 51.

(c) I think the French king, troubled and infested with so many enemies and armies on every side, will beware how he attempts any thing against you, whereby he shall give occasion or provoke you to break with him and join his enemies.—MSS. ib.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Fiddes.

(f) Fiddes.

elected to govern the church; he is called Adrian, and is Bishop of Tortosa. He had long professed theology at Louvain, and was the son of a poor weaver. Erasmus was one of his pupils.(a)

Adrian, the new Pope, was indeed elected by Divine Providence. Now that, thanks to the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, theology, history, philosophy, painting, music, sculpture, language, have successively revived, that Rome has again become the source of light to Christendom; the world is no longer in need of a Pope who is an artist. What it now wants, and what it has in Adrian, is a poor priest, who, on entering Rome, takes off his shoes and traverses the streets barefooted, having no other *cortège* than the blind and the paralytic.(b) Wolsey, and here we would speak of the Church as of an empire, at the Vatican, would have been like the golden calf. "Fortunately, God was more powerful in His little finger!" to use an expression of Luther's, than Charles who had four crowns in his shield, or Henry, who called himself King of England and France, or Wolsey, who led kings and emperors.

The cardinal had been deceived by his accomplice. Charles, forgetful of his promise, had but feebly supported Wolsey's shameful intrigues; but happily he knew how to appease him. In a trip which he made about this time to London, and of which Hall has described the various incidents,(c) the emperor promised to increase his pension,(d) and Wolsey, through gratitude, promised also on his side, to devote himself soul and body to the emperor's cause. There was yet a glimmering of hope left. Adrian VI. was a sickly old man, and could not possibly live long. Charles accordingly, on the Pontiff's decease, promised to do all he could to get Wolsey the tiara,(e) and the cardinal said within himself, "I shall be Pope." While waiting for the tiara, he solicited and obtained the prolongation of his authority as legate in England. Wolsey looked on his two crosses as something very beautiful, and was delighted at hearing his valets continually crying out to the people, "Room for the Chancellor!" "Room for his Holiness's legate!" while Adrian was descending the steps of the Vatican, leaning on his staff, which he had not given up since he left Tortosa."(f)

(a) Campeggio informed Wolsey of Adrian's election.—MSS. Vitell. B. V., p. 7.

(b) Coming on foot to Rome, before his entry into the city, he did put off his shoe.—Life of More.

(c) Hall.

(d) Rymer, XIII., p. 769.

(e) Robertson.

(f) In the British Museum, (MSS. Harl., No. 920,) the official account of the expenses of the cardinal and his suite on their journey from London to Calais, and Calais to Bruges, is still to be seen. We give on extract of one day's expenses:—

30TH JULY.—BREAKFAST AT DARTFORD.

	£	s.	d.
Bread	0	1	2
Butter	0	1	0
Beef	0	0	8
Quarters of Mutton	0	1	0
Pastry	0	0	6
Malmsey Wine	0	0	4
	£0	4	8

DINNER AT ROCHESTER.

1 cask of Ale	0	7	6
2 fat Capons	0	4	0
1 Pheasant	0	2	0
16 Quails	0	5	4
16 Rabbits	0	4	0
Filberts	0	0	4
Butter	0	0	3
	£1	3	5

SUPPER AT SITTINGBOURNE.

Bread	0	9	8
1 cask of Ale	0	7	6
3 Sheep	0	10	0
1 breast of Veal	0	0	6
4 fat Capons	0	8	0
4 dozen Fowls	0	8	0
2 dozen Pigeons	0	6	6
16 Rabbits	0	4	0
1 Pheasant	0	2	0
16 Quails	0	5	4
Cream	0	2	6
Milk	0	2	4
Butter	0	2	8
Eggs	0	6	2
Flour	0	2	0
Vegetables	0	0	3
Mustard	0	0	2
2 barrels of Beer	0	6	0
18 gallons of Wine	0	12	0
Oatmeal	0	0	1
Vinegar	0	0	2
Sour Grapes	0	0	1
Salt	0	0	2
Wood and Coal for his Grace's room	0	2	4
Ditto, for the Kitchen and Oven	0	5	0
His Grace's Apartments	0	3	8
2 dozen lbs. of Candles	0	3	9
Flour for the Oven	0	2	8
To the Servant	1	6	8
	£7	0	2

By means of this document we may easily know the price of the various articles of food at the commencement of the 16th century :—

	£	s.	d.
41 Mackarels	0	0	11
3 Turbots	0	3	2
13 Whitings	0	0	2
400 Oysters	0	0	6
3 Cabbages	0	0	2
6 Larks	0	1	7
9 Ducks	0	5	4
18 Woodcocks	0	7	0
6 Partridges	0	2	4

At Dover, his grace paid 8s. for 4 capons; at Calais, 1s. for 1 capon; at Dunkerque, 12s. for 2 capons; and 3s. for 300 eggs. On Thursday, 1st August, 1,000 eggs were eaten at the cardinal's supper, at Dover, for which 12s. 4d. were given. The total expense for the service of the Cardinal from 30th July to 1st December, amounts to £4,346 13s. 6d.

CHAPTER XIV.

A NEW WAR WITH FRANCE.—1522-1524.

A new League against France.—Means employed by Wolsey to raise subsidies.—Debates in the House of Commons, in which the Minister takes a part.—More elected Speaker of the House of Commons.—Supports the project of the Crown.—The subsidies voted.—Warham's opposition to Wolsey.—The Clergy.—Surrey invades France, and after a campaign of a few months, is obliged to re-embark.—Death of Adrian VI.—Wolsey's intrigues to obtain the Tiara.—Literary foundations at Oxford and Ipswich.

In May, 1522, Sir Thomas Cheyney took leave of the King of France.[a] To the ambassador's declaration, that Charles on leaving for Spain, had left his cause in the hands of his ally, the King of England, Francis replied with true nobleness of heart that he believed, that till that moment Henry never had any reason given him to complain of his conduct; that he had conscientiously kept his oath, and been faithful to his word; and that in his cause he well knew, with the aid of God, how to defend his crown; and added, smiling, that after such a rupture, he would not take a single step towards England.[b]

Francis could no longer be deceived. A league had been mysteriously formed against France under the direction of Wolsey. Francis, in order to occupy the King of England, thought of diverting his attention with regard to Scotland and Ireland. Seduced by brilliant promises, the Earl of Desmond, the chief of a powerful party in Ireland, engaged to raise the country as soon as the French army should have landed, and on the conquest of the island being effected, to share it with Richard de la Pole,[c] the sole representative of the House of York. Another adversary, whom Francis desired to oppose to his perfidious enemy, was the Duke of Albany, appointed, at the request of the Queen Dowager, Regent of Scotland.

Margaret had quarrelled with her husband, from whom she wished to be divorced, for she had heard that James IV., her first husband, lived three years after the engagement at Flodden, and that he was consequently still living at the time when she had given her hand to the Earl of Angus. Albany might be serviceable to France; the truce between England and Scotland had just expired. Henry offered to renew it on condition of the Duke of Albany being

(a) Despatch of Cheyney to Wolsey.—MSS. Galba, p. 225.

(b) Despatch of Cheyney to Wolsey.—Ib.

(c) Lingard.

expelled, to which Margaret would not listen.(a) Francis, in reply to the challenge, sent him by Henry through Clarenceaux, the herald-at-arms, laid an embargo on all English vessels found in the French ports, seized the British merchandise, and suspended the payment of the annual pension. Henry, by way of reprisal, placed the French ambassador under arrest, and ordered the French residents to leave London.

War was declared, but money was wanted to defray expenses. We are now arrived at one of the most extraordinary phases in Wolsey's life. The minister promised, and even guaranteed sufficient subsidies, provided the crown would second his measures. Commissioners vested with necessary authority were sent into each county to make an inquiry into its resources. They were also ordered to register in every parish the names of every parishioner from sixteen to sixty years of age, under his respective landlord.(b) On their sending in their reports, the king found, as Wolsey had anticipated, that the country was wealthy enough to defray the expenses of an extraordinary armament, and sufficiently populous to equip a numerous fleet. Henry was now quite ready to commence hostilities. He had money and men at his command. The cardinal's inquiry resembled that which William the Conqueror had devised.(c) On the 20th of August, 1522, the mayor, the aldermen, and the wealthiest merchants of the city were summoned to the cardinal's palace, and received with great courtesy by Wolsey.

After having communicated to them the instructions which the royal commissioners had received with regard to their fiscal inquiry, he added: "We must aid our king, and I can trust your readiness to oblige him. He only asks at this moment ten per cent. on your income for the services of the state. It is very little, as you must acknowledge. I must in consequence request you to let me know the value of your private property. You will not, I know, deceive me, for I believe I can depend on your loyalty."(d) Then one of the merchants, interrupting the cardinal, inquired: "Will your grace kindly inform us how we are to advance the ten per cent. to the king?" "In specie," replied the cardinal; "in plate, in jewels, as you like." "My lord," replied one of the aldermen, "about two months, since the city lent the king £20,000 in specie, although we are not rich in cash. You well know, my lord, that a merchant may have his stores filled and his coffers empty." "Therefore it is that I told you that his Majesty will take what you give him, money or jewels." The merchants returned a few days after. "Are you ready," demanded the cardinal: "can the king trust to your patriotism?" "My lord," replied one of the delegates, "you will not, we trust, compel us to declare on oath the amount of our private property, because, first of all, we know it not ourselves; and secondly, the wealth of a merchant is more fictitious than real, and reposes less on the merchandise that he has than on his credit. We will not, therefore, perjure ourselves by giving a valuation which would not be based on truth." "You are honest men, and I wish to show you that I also know how to be generous; I shall take as my basis the credit that you have mentioned. It is your fortune; let each of you then draw out bills according to his credit. It is not requisite for me to speak of the service that he will be thus conferring on the state, compelled, as it now is, to levy two armies, the one to chastise France, and the other to keep Scotland in check. I am positive that the city has more than £2,000,000 in merchandise." "Would to God," said one of the delegates, "that London was so wealthy; but that is perfectly impossible while so many foreigners enjoy our benefices." "Leave that to me," replied the cardinal, "I shall get it altered, if I think it right. I shall expect you on Saturday; you will give me a written declaration, and you may rest assured that I shall be prudent and not betray you."

The poor merchants, says the chronicler, went away sadly, assured beforehand that

(a) Herbert.—Rapin.—State Papers, I., where see letters from More to Wolsey.—Wolsey to King Henry VIII.
(b) Herbert.—Stowe.—Hume.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) Tytler.

their royal debtor would fail, and therefore they murmured against this obligatory tax. But they were too well acquainted with the cardinal not to be present at the appointed rendezvous. They, therefore, went to St. Paul's, where they met Dr. Tonneys, the minister's secretary, to whom they gave the requisite documents.(a) Is not Hall justified in pitying these London merchants, models of loyalty and truth, who feared to perjure themselves by giving an inexact account of their private fortune? But this tax on commerce was insufficient to support the armament that England was preparing. Henry, during the last eight years, following the example of his father, had dispensed with the services of Parliament. The want of money, however, compelled him to convoke the houses for the 13th of April, at Blackfriars.(b)

The king, at the opening of Parliament, sat on a velvet throne; and on his right, a little below him, were the Cardinal of York and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Tunstall, Bishop of London, delivered the opening speech. Sir Thomas More was elected Speaker of the House of Commons. On taking possession of the chair, he declined, according to custom,(c) the high dignity which the house desired to confer on him, and referred with the modesty of a rhetorician to his ignorance and inability. "How could he ever dare speak before a minister whose talents as a statesman were only equalled by an eloquence not inferior to that of Cicero? Would he not resemble Phormio discussing the art of war with Hannibal?"

The cardinal answered that his Majesty had been long acquainted with the experience of Sir Thomas More, and that he would certainly approve of the choice of the Commons. On the morrow, the question regarding the number of the cardinal's train was brought before the house, some of the members being of opinion that the minister ought not to be attended by so large a suite when he came to the house. More, in a strain of irony which elicited shouts of laughter, proposed that the minister should be attended with all the emblems of his various dignities; his cross-bearers, and the bearers of his mitre, hat, and seals of state; so that the cardinal, who doubtless wished that the secrecy of their deliberations should never be violated, could not, in case of indiscretion, accuse any of the honourable members.(d) His motion passed.

Wolsey replied to Sir Thomas More's whimsical projects, by coming to the house with an unwonted *cortége* of temporal and spiritual peers, and in a splendid suit of vestments such as he had never yet worn. He was the bearer of a royal message, which he communicated to the Commons. It was a declaration of war against the King of France, "who called himself the most Christian king, and yet violated his pledged faith, troubled the peace of the world, and traitorously invaded the domains of Charles V. Not satisfied with retaining the annuity he was bound to pay the King of England, by virtue of the treaties of Tournay and Terouanne, he had plundered the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, laid an embargo on some merchant vessels belonging to the city, excited Scotland to war, and supported the claims of Richard de la Pole; and on these grounds Henry saw himself compelled to appeal to arms." The minister, therefore, in the name of the king, demanded of his faithful subjects £800,000, nearly one-fifth of the property of each citizen, or 4s. in the pound. The message was received in silent amazement. Irritated at their conduct, Wolsey arose, and after casting an indignant glance at the house, thus addressed them:—"Gentlemen, I see among you more than one learned man. I am here as the king's representative, and I am surprised that no one has answered me." The house remained silent; whereon the cardinal turned round to Mr. Murray, near whom he was sitting, and said: "Speak, Mr. Murray." The honourable member arose, and sat down without opening his lips. The cardinal now addressed one of the most influential members of the house, and said: "And

(a) Hall.
(b) Lingard.
(c) It had been usual for persons, when proposed to be speakers, to decline that office, from sense of their own insufficiency.—John Hatsell's precedents of proceedings.—Roper.
(d) Rudhart.

you, sir, will you speak?" The member thus addressed turned away his head, whereon Wolsey, in a voice trembling with passion, thus spoke: "Gentlemen, your silence betokens guilt, unless it be the custom of the House to express its opinion through the Speaker. Sir Thomas More, will you speak?"(a) Sir Thomas More, bending his knee, replied, with more wit than courage, that the members were ill at ease in seeing among them a statesman with whom none in the kingdom dare dispute; that his presence was an infraction of their privileges; that it was utterly impossible for him, as Speaker, to reply to his grace, unless the members who had voted for him would consent to infuse the essence of their individual wisdom into the brains of their speaker.(b)

Wolsey arose, saluted the assembly, and left the house. In the evening, he sent for Sir Thomas More: "Would to God, Master More, said he, "that you had been at Rome, when I had you elected Speaker." "Begging your grace's pardon," said Sir Thomas, laughing, "I would rather have been at Rome than in the House, for I should then have had the happiness of seeing a city which I always had a great wish to visit."(c) The minister, a few days after, obtained for the Speaker a royal bounty of £100.

The debate on the bill of subsidies soon commenced in the House. The study of this bill would indeed afford no little fund of amusement to those who are anxious to have an idea of the financial resources of England at this period, as also of the knowledge of the Commons in the science of political economy. Sir Thomas More defended the government project, asserting that it was the duty of the house not to refuse the tax, under the specious pretext that it would be a burden to the country.(d) The first speaker opposed the measure, by endeavouring to show that, although a small number of merchants or landlords possessed great wealth, it must be admitted that it was not in specie. To grant the crown then a subsidy in cash, would take away from the circulation of capital indispensable to the material life of the people, would be prejudicial to commerce, and would tend to impoverish the kingdom. If the tenant paid the rent in corn or cattle, the landlord could not, without incurring great risk, pay in cash to the state. Another member observed that the king had already received a loan of £400,000 in cash, or 2s. in the pound. How then could the crown have the face to ask for another subsidy of £800,000?(e) It was a tax not of 4s. but of 6s. in the pound, which would be, indeed, burdensome to the nation. The nation, however she might exert herself, could never realise £1,200,000, since the floating cash in England did not amount to that sum, as might be easily proved. Supposing there were 15,000 parishes in England, each paying 100 marks, this would give a sum of 1,500,000 marks, or £1,000,000; but there were not more than 13,000 parishes in all England, and how many of these 13,000 were there which could pay 100 marks? Therefore, if they granted the subsidy asked for, they would have granted the crown, with the £400,000 already advanced, a sum of £1,200,000, a sum of money clearly much larger than the floating specie of the country.(f)

The supporters of the bill at first asserted that the nation was richer in specie than was pretended. They rejected the calculation of the opposition, and affirmed that England contained about 40,000 parishes. Arriving at the vital portion of the proposition, they proved that the opposition were entirely ignorant of financial questions; that the money paid into the treasury was not lost for purposes of commerce, but that it only changed hands. They compared the monetary circulation to that which takes place in the market where the same piece of brass or silver is circulated without ever being lost, and in its continual circulation, enriches all into

(a) Rudhart.—Roper.
(b) The members had indeed trusted him with their voices, but unless each could infuse the essence of their several wits into his head, he alone, in so weighty a matter, was unable to make his grace an answer.—Roper.
(c) Rudhart.
(d) Wolsey's letters in the State Papers' Office.
(e) Tytler.
(f) Parliamentary History of England.

whose possession it comes, thus representing ten times its real value. Others refused the subsidy on the plea that the army of invasion would spend in France the money it would take with it. The reply to this objection was as sensible as it was witty. "Do you think then, that if Francis made a descent on England, he would enrich our island?" Other speakers, like real courtiers contented themselves with praising English patriotism. They pointed to British arms every where triumphant, the French fleet annihilated, their harbours destroyed, their arsenals burned, and rich and well-peopled provinces united for ever to the crown of England, whose splendour and power they would increase.(a) During the debate, the attitude of the people had not changed. They pointed their fingers at the members that had been bought by the court, and followed them about saying: "Vote then, vote the shillings, gentlemen, we shall know how to pay you out."(b)

The members, undetermined how to act, adjourned their decision. Wolsey would soon have been able, had he been permitted to be present at their debates, to have quieted these men; but Henry at last, wearied by their delays, sent for Sir Edward Montague, the leader of the opposition. Montague obeyed the royal summons, and kneeling at his Majesty's feet, waited in that attitude for Henry's orders. The king smiled, and looking at him with the corner of his eye, inquired, "Will my bill pass?" Montague replied by bending down and kissing the prince's feet. "Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or," continued the king, laying his hand on his hair, "this head shall fall."(c) The royal speech, faithfully reported by Sir Edward Montague to the Commons, had a remarkable effect on the opposition. The debate was finished, and the bill passed. Henry VII. had left his tomb, and England had her tyrant back again. The cowardice of the Commons deserved to be well chastised.

The resistance of the clergy was still more serious. They were taxed fifty per cent. Wolsey, by a royal writ addressed to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, had convoked the clergy at St. Paul's, to take counsel on the correction of certain abuses which had crept into the Church. Warham saw through the trick, and refused to obey. Then the cardinal, by virtue of his power as legate *à latere*, summoned him to appear at Westminster. He could not now refuse obedience without infringing his duty as bishop, and therefore hastened to the old Abbey. He was then made acquainted with the real intentions of the cabinet. With a liberty of language which reflects great honour on him, Warham replied that his powers, like those of his clergy, were confined to grant subsidies voted in a lawfully-convoked assembly, but that he would strenuously oppose every measure passed in a synod presided over by the cardinal minister. Wolsey was compelled to yield. The synods of the two provinces were summoned to examine the royal proposition. At the Synod of Canterbury, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, energetically opposed the measure, inasmuch as it seemed to be contrary to the privileges of the Anglican church, whose ruin the existing government seemed determined to accomplish.(d)

The bishops were more anxious for their privileges than their revenues. They feared much less the extravagance of Wolsey than the despotism of the prince. The clergy voted a quinquennial subsidy of six per cent. Foreigners holding benefices in England were to pay double, with the exception of two by an express order from the cardinal, Erasmus and Polydore Virgil; the one, as we know, Wolsey's friend; the other, his bitter enemy.(e) The philosopher and the historian showed their gratitude by calumniating their benefactor at a later period.

(a) Let us, therefore, by all means, do what become us; and, for the rest, entertain so good an opinion of our soldiers, as to believe that, instead of leaving our country bare, they will add new provinces to it, or at least bring rich spoils and triumphs home.—Herbert.—Tytler.

(b) Voss.—Heinrich der Achte.

(c) Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off.—Grove's Life of Wolsey.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Howard.

During the debate in the Commons, the preparations for war had been completed, and the Earl of Surrey recalled from Ireland, took the command of the Anglo-Spanish fleet.(a) In the middle of June, 1552, he disembarked a few troops at Cherbourg.(b) After having laid that part of Normandy waste, he sailed for Morlaix, which he burnt; then, leaving the vice-admiral in command of the fleet, he disembarked at Calais, and took the command of the English army destined to invade France, having under his orders the Count of Buren, the emperor's general.(c)

The conqueror of Flodden Field gave an exact description of his valiant exploits to Wolsey.(d) He therein speaks of the castles he destroyed, the hamlets he pillaged, the villages he burned, the garrisons he put to the sword, and is at the zenith of his glory when he says: "The emperor will be delighted when the city is burnt, and that will be the case in three days."(e) The Duke of Vendôme, who at that time commanded the French army, was a prudent general, it being his maxim never to give battle unless obliged. Encamped near Abbeville, he watched over Bologne-sur-Mer and Hesdin, both defended by strong garrisons, connecting his movements with those of the Duke de Guise who had taken up his quarters under the walls of Montreuil. To threaten the enemy in the rear, to cut off his convoys, to harass him night and day, to attack his vanguard suddenly, to lay the country waste, were the tactics employed by the two French generals. Heavy rains coming on with the heat of summer, affected the English army with dysentery. Surrey, who was besieging Hesdin, was compelled to retire into winter quarters, after having lost 500 men in his retreat. Thus ended a campaign, commenced so disgracefully against France.(f) Surrey signalised himself in this war of a few months by the pillages and devastations committed by his army.(g)

The death of Adrian VI. revived all Wolsey's hopes; he had no fear of being deceived; he was ready to ascend the steps of the Vatican, but not barefooted as Adrian had done at his entry into the holy City: Charles V. would have had to hold the stirrup when the butcher's son dismounted. As soon as he heard of Adrian's death, he thus wrote to Henry: (we are at a loss to know how he could ape humility with one so thoroughly acquainted with his foibles as Henry.) It would have been his delight, said he, to have remained with his grace, happy in being serviceable to his country; but since God had willed it otherwise, he would sacrifice his dearest affections, and altogether unworthy as he was, would sit on a throne where, with Heaven's aid, he would not cease to labour for the triumph of Christianity.(h) Henry lost no time, but replied to his favourite by the same courier, that his greatest happiness would be to see him succeed Adrian, as it would be conducive to the interest of Christendom, the repose of Europe, the peace of the world, and the happiness and glory of England.(i) The conclave was about to assemble; Wolsey urged on the zeal of the English ambassadors at Rome by using his master's name. "My Lord of Bath," wrote he to Clerk, "the king hath a marvellous opinion of your cleverness—you know what I desire—do not allow yourself to be seduced by fine promises—be skilful; the king is of opinion that we shall have all the Imperialists on our side,

(a) See the commission given to Surrey by Charles and Henry.—Herbert.
(b) Hall.
(c) Herbert.
(d) MSS. Cott. Cal. D. VIII. p. 221.
(e) And the emperor's counsel here be content that the said town shall be burnt, which shall be done within these three days.—Ib.
(f) Hume.

(g) He returned to England after a short campaign of that useless pillage, cruelty and devastation, which rather remind us of a northman's ancient ravages than of cultivated warfare.—Turner.

(h) For which cause, though afore God I repute myself right unmeet and unliable to so high and great dignity, desiring much rather to devote, continue, and end my life with your grace, for doing of such poor service as may be to your honour, and wealth of this your realm, than to be Pope.—The original is in the archives of the Duke of Grafton.

(i) Having his perfect and firme hope that of the same shall ensue, in brief time, a general and universal repose, tranquillity, and quietness in Christendom, and as great renown, honour, profit, and reputation to this realm, as ever was.—Howard.

provided Charles keep his word. There are at Rome some young cardinals who are not rich, they may be bribed; make them splendid offers; promise them all that they want. Henry desires neither his name, money, nor presents to be spared. All your promises shall be accomplished: to work, and may the Lord prosper you."(a)

Every hour of the day brought Wolsey fresh hopes; Campeggio and the cardinal of Sion had promised him their votes. Charles had written to him from Pampeluna, promising to support him with the whole of his interest.(b) Clerk informed him of the favourable disposition of the most influential members of the conclave towards him; the cardinal who had the greatest chance of success, Giulio de Medicis, had been rejected by France. Wolsey despatched courier upon courier to his creatures: all his instructions terminated in the same way: "promise, my lord, promise all that you wish, presents, dignities, money, the king will honour our word."(c) But Wolsey's Simoniacal practices had been discovered at Rome, and the populace assembled each evening round the conclave to curse the foreigner who had put up the Fisherman's Ring to auction.(d) The voice of God was soon heard; not one of the young cardinals had been seduced by Clerk's offers; a murmur of indignation was heard when the cardinal secretary, charged to collect the votes, found Wolsey's name inscribed on one of the ballots, and even Charles at the last hour abandoned him.(e) Of the two popes with whom Wolsey had disputed the tiara, one Adrian of Utrecht, whom he had hoped to defeat by cunning, was one of the most candid souls that ever wore St. Peter's Ring; and the other, over whom he hoped to triumph by money, never used gold in any of his negotiations. The minister's pride would have been more deeply wounded, had not the Romans, assembling under the windows of the conclave, demanded an Italian as pope. The Cardinal of York consequently turned the election of Medicis into a question of nationality; those southern constitutions, whom Leo X. had accustomed to the exterior sight of art, required a sovereign who would erect an empire of form. A northman, represented for a while in the chair of St. Peter by a Fleming, imagined that to regenerate the mind, he must banish from the intellectual world every thing that appealed to the senses; the reform of which he dreamed while threading his way on foot to Rome, could only be achieved by spiritualism; the visible phenomenon seemed to him then incompatible with that religion of the heart which he so much desired to see prevail. But sooner or later, the revolution, which he attempted to achieve, would expire before the sensual tendencies of a people who regretted the material images of regeneration. The election of the Florentine, Giulio de Medicis, was regarded in the light of a victory of the south over the north. Scarcely was it

(a) "My lord of Bath,—

"The king hath willed me to write to you that his grace hath a marvellous opinion of you, and you knowing his mind as you do, his highness doubteth not but that this matter, shall be, by your policy, set forth in such wise, as that the same may come to the desired effect, not sparing any reasonable offers, which is a thing that, among so many needy persons, is more regarded than perhaps the qualities of the person. Ye be wise, and ye wot what I mean; trust yourself best, and be not seduced by fair words, and especially of those which (say what they will,) desire more their own preferment than mine. Howbeit, great dexterity is to be used, and the king thinketh that all imperials shall be clearly with you, if faith be in the emperor. The young men, for the most part being needy, will give good ears to fair offers, which shall be undoubtedly performed. The king willeth you neither to spare his authority, or his good money or substance. You may be assured whatever you promise shall be performed; and the Lord send you good speed.

"Your loving friend,

"T. Card. Eborac."

—The original is in the British Museum.

(b) The letter is in the British Museum. MSS. Cott. Vitell., II. p. 226.

(c) The one general for me and in my favor, by which you have ample authority to bind and promise on the king's behalf, as well as gifts or promotions, as also large sums of money to as many and such as you shall think convenient.—Burnet.

(d) Turner.

(e) It is true that during the discord and dissension among them, your grace's friends did attempt and made at sundry times, motions effectually for your preferment, "sed semper parum feliciter," for the multitude of them would never incline thereunto, ne hear of it.—MSS., Vitell, V., p. 233.

known, when Giulio Romano left the mountains of Umbria, whither he had gone into voluntary exile, and returned to Rome to finish his great battle of Constantine; when the disciples of Raphael entered their studios; when the Piazza di S. Pietro was filled, as in days of yore, with students; when the vineyards of the Esquiline were again searched, and the Vatican enriched with the *chefs dœuvre* of painting and sculpture. Wolsey, however, was satisfied in being able to account for an event, in which the finger of God had evidently shown itself. If the election of a pontiff had ever been the production of a human idea, then would the Church have long since lost that fixed idea; that systematic and consequent form of government; that supernatural individuality which she has possessed, to the amazement of her enemies, ever since her origin. Wolsey felt that it was of the highest importance for himself to conceal his disappointment. If he had shown any resentment, the newly-elected Pope might draw from him his power as legate, with which he had been vested by Leo X., and which Adrian, at Henry's request, had also conferred on him.

The minister's talent in wearing a mask, in time of exigency, is well known: yesterday, he had done all he could, with the aid of the Bishop of Bath, to corrupt the consciences of a few of the members of the sacred college; to-day, he confides to the same agent the joy with which his heart is inundated at the termination of the election. "Oh, what joyful news did your letter contain! I can assure you that nothing could have given greater pleasure to his grace or myself, than to hear of the election of Giulio di Medicis."(a) And, as if he apprehended that something might be done to compromise his future election, for Wolsey had not given up all idea of the Papacy,(b) he asked Henry to return public thanks for the accession of Clement VII. To hear him, one would have imagined that the accession of the Florentine was a triumph for England, whose faithful ally he would ever be; for Henry, to whom he was so deeply attached; for the Church, whom he would know how to defend; for literature, which he would protect. As for himself, poor man,(c) he was ready, in submission to the decrees of heaven, to thank the Holy Spirit for having thus miraculously inspired the Fathers of the Conclave.(d)

A few weeks after his coronation, Clement VII., in a bull, dated 9th January, 1524, (e) renewed the powers of legate *à latere*, which his predecessors had granted to the cardinal; but this time his powers were only to expire at his death; it was, in fact, a species of pontificate, which Clement created for the favourite of Henry VIII. By virtue of this bull, Wolsey became, in a certain sense, the Patriarch of England. Historians, even those who are actuated by the most unjust principles towards the cardinal, acknowledge that he only used this great power for the extension of literature.(f) In imitation of Leo X., Wolsey desired to form in his native land institutions similar to that which Rome possessed, under the appellation of the Roman College. Here, indeed, we feel ourselves at liberty to applaud the rivalry of the men of the North and South, who sought to excel in another—in a purely intellectual struggle.

It was, indeed, a noble idea of the cardinal's, to found two colleges, one at Oxford, the other at Ipswich; the former, of which he himself drew up the plan, would excel in splendour the most beautiful of the scientific establishments of Italy. He spent, in its foundation, the revenue of some monasteries which the Pope had secularized. After a few years, a semi-Gothic edifice was

(a) His grace and I both give unto your especial and heartie thankes namely for the dezyryd newes of the said election, which I assure you to be as much to the king's and my rejoice, consolation, and gladness, as possiblie may be devised or imagined.—Brit. Museum, MSS., No. 3839, Ays Col., No. 3232, Art. 4.

(b) Wolsey's letter of 7 Feb., 1529, to Gardiner.—Harl. MSS., No 283, p. 105.—Henry's Instructions, ib., p. 116.

(c) He finishes with "At my poor house."

(d) Of which good and fortunate news, such your highness hath much cause to thank Almighty God, for forasmuch as he is not only a perfect friend, and faithful to the same, but that also, much the rather by our means, he hath attained to this....I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned upon my person, knowing his excellent qualities most mete for the same....—Howard.

(e) Rapin de Thoyras.

(f) Hume.

seen to rise, with cloisters in the pointed style (afterwards destroyed), and a magnificent gateway, on which were carved the arms of the cardinal, who had had sufficient insolence to place his shield above the royal coat of arms.(a) Had not Wolsey's plan been somewhat modified, the quadrangular edifice would not have been unlike the principal wing of Thornbury Castle, built by Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, in whose death he had been instrumental.(b) The chairs of the two colleges were offered to masters of European reputation. Ludovico Vives came from Spain to teach civil law at Oxford.(c) He had been first mentioned to the cardinal by Katharine of Arragon. Erasmus was long tempted by the minister, who offered him the chair of theology; but he refused, so great a dread had he of the fog of England. The philosopher candidly acknowledged that he preferred Burgundy wine to beer. Lectures were delivered at Oxford, on medicine, philosophy and mathematics; and Greek and Latin were also taught there.(d) The cardinal paid the professors handsomely; and Henry, although seriously occupied with another plan for the invasion of France, was by no means forgetful of his favourite's foundation. More than one scholar thanked him in beautiful verse for his protection of literature, and sang of the success which awaited the prince over the enemies of England. Unacquainted with the mystery of Wolsey's politics, the scholar had no idea of the blood and shame which would tinge the laurels of the conqueror.

(a) Howard.
(b) Ib.
(c) Knight.—Turner.
(d) Fiddes.

CHAPTER XV.

TREATY OF THE DUKE OF BOURBON WITH ENGLAND.—1523-1524.

The Constable de Bourbon prepares to betray France.—He offers his services to England.—Henry instructs his ambassadors to treat with that Prince.—The Constable takes the Oath of Allegiance to the King of England.—The allies commence their operations against France.—The perilous position of Paris.—It is rescued.—The Constable besieges Marseilles.—Francis I. crosses the Alps.—Battle of Rebec, where Bayard is mortally wounded.—Battle of Pavia.—Francis taken prisoner.—England summons the Constable to invade France.—Reasons which prevent the Duke's entry.—Anarchy prevails among the Confederates.—Henry listens to the proposals of the Regent.—Peace with France.—To what it is to be attributed.

CHARLES V. had not been in the slightest degree disconcerted by the defeat of the English at Hesdin; and while the Earl of Surrey was on his way to Dover, he was doing all he could to arouse Italy against France. Adrian, shortly before his death, had signed a new league with Henry and Charles; the Venetians also joined the coalition, and undertook to maintain Sforza in the possession of Milan; the Florentines, since a Medicis was at the head of the Republic, also deserted France; Genoa, and the principal states bordering on the Mediterranean, hastened to rally round the emperor; some through fear, others through fickleness, but the majority through a feeling of ambition.(a) In a dispatch to the Bishop of Badajos, Jerome Adiern

(a) Hume.

informs us of the Emperor's plan.(a) Three armies were to invade France at the same moment, the first to skirt along the Ligurian coast, and thus descend on Provence; the second to traverse the Pyrenees to attack Bordeaux; and the third to cross the channel and invade Picardy.

France reckoned among her enemies every crowned head in Europe. But terrible as were these preparations, they were nothing compared to the danger arising from a secret conspiracy against her independence. Charles de Bourbon, who was ready to betray his prince and country, and sell his services to England, had been created Constable when scarcely twenty-six years of age. It was not the husband of Susanna de Bourbon-Beaujeu, the granddaughter of Louis XI., and daughter of Anne of France: not the heir of the most lovely fiefs in France, Auvergne, La Merche, Le Bourbonnais, La Forez, Le Beaujolais, that Francis had rewarded by this high dignity, but the soldier who had so gallantly "wielded his sword,"(b) and ever in the heat of the engagement, fearless of danger, and accustomed to sleep when on a campaign on the stock of a cannon, had always distinguished himself for his bravery. Susanna de Bourbon-Beaujeu was dead. Louise, mother of Francis I., fell in love with a prince equally distinguished for his valour as for his beauty;(c) but Bourbon, too noble to conceal his feelings, refused to listen to Louise, who, annoyed at this slight, changed her love to violent hatred, and resolved to be revenged.(d)

Louise, accordingly, persuaded Duprat the chancellor, to commence an action against the Constable, by claiming one portion of his fortune in the name of the king, as having fallen into the crown domain by the death of his wife; and the remainder in the name of Louise, Duchess of Angoulême, Susanna's heir-at-law. The property of the House of Bourbon was accordingly sequestered. Its domains were large, for Charles was lord of two principalities, two duchies, four earldoms, two viscounties, and seven seigneuries.(e) Reduced to despair, the Constable preferred, says Brantôme, abandoning his country to living in it in poverty; but, like Coriolanus, he was about to expatriate himself with his heart panting for revenge.

England's diplomatic measures had never been better organised than at this period. At certain courts, as Rome and Paris, she was represented by three or four ambassadors, nearly always persons of literary distinction, who corresponded with both Henry and Wolsey. To the former, their dispatches were short and precise; whereas to the latter they were long and minute reports. Wolsey wished to be acquainted with every thing that occurred; and if we may judge from his correspondence preserved in the British Museum, nothing, however minute and trifling, was kept from his knowledge.(f) He had heard, before any one else, through Wingfield, of the Constable's departure from Paris, and of his intention of revolting.(g) The Constable, before leaving Paris, had despatched an ambassador to Charles;(h) and, with his sword, offered him an army of 500 cavalry and 1,000 infantry, on condition that the hand of one of the emperor's sisters should be bestowed on him.(i) He called his rebellion an act of patriotic despair; and at Valladolid, as well as at Greenwich, he went by the name of the "Virtuous Duke of Bourbon."(j)

On his arrival at Annecy, on the 12th of May, Bourbon despatched, by one of his

(a) Brit. Mus., MSS. Cott., Nero, B. VII., p. 38.

(b) "He is stout, handles the sword cheerfully, fears God, is devout, pious, humane, and is very liberal."—Badoer, Relazione di Milano, 1516. Taken from the Chronicle of Sanuto.

(c) Brantôme, Disc. XX., p. 244.

(d) Hume.—Garnier.

(e) Ranke.

(f) Turner.

(g) As touching the Duke of Bourbon, he was late with the French king, and departed thence right evil pleased; for there is a great plea between the lady regent and him, and as for the marriage between him and the lady regent, it is nothing so.—Wingfield's letter, 10th April, MSS. Cott., Galba, B. VIII., p. 26.

(h) Harl. MSS., No. 295.

(i) The duke made the first overtures to the emperor: "certain practices have been by him set forth a good season past, and had lately been renewed, by sending a special and secret man unto the emperor to declare and show to him, etc."—King's instructions to Knight. MSS. Vesp. C. II., p. 58.

(j) The virtuous duke of Bourbon.—MSS. Harl. No. 295, p. 52.

household, a few lines to Wolsey: "My lord, I send you my chamberlain, the Sieur de Chasteaufort, and why he will inform you. I beg you to believe him for the nonce as if I were there, and through him to give your commands to me, and I shall willingly perform them."(a) Bourbon offered the crown of France to Henry King of England! Henry flattered himself that the Parisians would receive him with the same acclamations as they had formerly done the Duke of Bedford. To accelerate his triumph, he dispatched, without loss of time, an ambassador to Valladolid, who was commissioned to treat with Bourbon, provided the Constable acknowledged Henry as King of France, and was ready to take the oath of allegiance to him as such (b) A few days after, Charles commissioned the Comte de Rieux, Seigneur de Beaurain, to discuss the Constable's proposition with Wolsey. But de Beaurain was to enter into no engagement with the English cabinet, except on condition of England remaining faithful to the coalition, and uniting with the emperor to invade France.(c) On these conditions, Charles promised Bourbon the hand of either Katharine or the Queen Dowager of Portugal. De Beaurain arrived in England about the end of June, and according to his instructions, agreed on the plan of the compaign with the cardinal. He then left for France, and on the 31st of July, and had an interview with the Duke de Bourbon at Bourgen-Bresse.(d) Henry, who had no faith in vague promises, ordered knight, his ambassador at Brussels, to go to Bourg disguised,(e) and to assure himself of the Constable's feelings, by requiring, before every thing else, a communication of the Duke's plan as to how the crown of the Valois would be conferred on the King of England. To travel through France with instructions which would be comprised in not less than six pages folio, was too perilous a voyage for Knight.(f) Sir John Russell, as being endowed with a greater degree of courage, promised to have an interview himself with Bourbon, and left with a treaty,(g) signed by the king, which he gave to the duke in exchange for an engagement from that prince. The Constable promised to dethrone his companion-at-arms at Marignano, to wage war against his country, to fight under a foreign standard, and to deliver Paris into the hands of the Tudor; but as a price of his treachery, he was to receive a few provinces.(h) Bourbon evinced no emotion or regret on signing this criminal engagement. On his return to Paris, he pretended that he was too unwell to accompany Bonnivet, and that the air of the coutry was necessary for the re-establishment of his health; and accordingly, to keep up the deception, he was carried in a litter as far as Moulins.(i)

The allies were not long before they commenced their operations. The Spanish army took possession, on the 16th of September, 1523, of St. John de Lux, and on the morrow besieged Bayonne. After three murderous assaults, successfully repulsed by De Lautrec, the enemy retreated, and summoned Fontarabia to capitulate, which, through the cowardice of her governor, immediately threw open her gates to the enemy.(j) The conquest of this town rendered the confederates masters of the Bidassoa, and laid Guyenne and Languedoc open to their attack. During this invasion of the Spaniards, the Count of Furstemberg took possession, at the first summons, of Coiffy,

(a) MSS. Vitell., B. V., p. 184.

(b) Commission to Dr. Sampson, and Sir Richard Jerningham, 16th May, 1523, (it is in Latin.)—MSS. Vesp. C. II., p. 125. Two others of the 17th relative to the invasion of France.—MSS. Vesp. II., p. 127. A fourth from Pace, but which was not sent. Ib. p. 129.

(c) A copy of these instructions is in the British Museum. MSS. Vesp., p. 138, c. II.

(d) MSS. Vesp. C. II. p. 58.—See a letter from Wolsey, dated 3 July, printed by Galt.—Notionen aus den östreichischen Archiven in Hormayrs Archiv.

(e) By port and in habit dissimuled.—MSS. Vesp., p. 60.

(f) Dr. Knight's letter to Wolsey from Brussels, of 20th Aug., 1523.—MSS. Galba, B. I., p. 46.

(g) Instructions to Sir John Russell.—MSS. Vesp. c. II. p. 66.

(h) It is thought by the king's grace and his council, that a more honourable ground and occasion cannot be taken by the said duke, than to recognise the king's grace his superior and sovereign lord, making oath and fidelity unto him as to the rightful inhereditor of the crown of France. – MSS Vesp. p. 62.

(i) Turner.

(j) Rapin de Thoyras.—Turner

in Champagne, crossed the Meuse beyond Neufchâtel, skirted along the Marne, and advanced as far as Joinville, but without proclaiming any where the fall of Francis I. The Duke of Guise had only a body of 400 cavalry to arrest the progress of the enemy; but aroused by his appeal, the nobility of the province armed their retainers and harassed the enemy. They cut down the grass and trees, burnt the bushes, unmoored the boats fastened to the banks of the river, and drove before them the inhabitants of the villages, where the Germans might possibly find provisions and ammunitions. The Count of Furstemberg, being unprovided with cavalry, retreated across the Meuse with his soldiers worn out with fatigue and hunger,(a) and pursued in their retreat by an enemy who showed them no quarter. Furstemberg endeavoured to effect a resistance near Neufchâtel, but was completely routed.(b) His defeat was a severe check to the confederates; for the allies, confiding in what they had heard from Russell, imagined that France was weary of her king, and that, weighed down by wretchedness and despair, she was only waiting for an opportunity to be liberated from the yoke of a hated sovereign."(c) As the prediction had not been accomplished, the ambassador attributed the flight of the German troops to the money which Francis had distributed, thereby corrupting the fidelity of three captains.(d)

As soon as Henry had heard that the Germans had invaded Lorraine, the Duke of Suffolk was ordered to embark for Calais, whither the Count of Buren had arrived from Flanders to concert with the admiral plans for the forthcoming campaign.(e)

On the 20th of September, the English and Flemish armies effected a junction,(f) and formed a body of 30,000 infantry, and 10,000 cavalry.(g) Suffolk had intended to attack Boulogne; but acting under the advice of Wolsey, who desired him to march, without delay, on those provinces where the Constable had some interest, the admiral marched along the banks of the Somme, purposing thus to penetrate into the heart of France. During this march, the English army excited the people to revolt, or to gain their freedom, to use the language employed by the coalitionists, and, as the peasantry of the country were supposed to be faithful to England, Suffolk and De Buren were ordered to forbear from burning and pillaging.(h) La Trémoille, at the head of a few thousand cavalry, followed the confederates, harassing them in their march, cutting off their convoys, and massacring the laggards without mercy. Suffolk had left Hesdin and Doulens, as he would not remain at any place which would require to be besieged. La Trémoille hoped to give the enemy a check at Bray, but was himself attacked in so brisk a manner as to be obliged to retreat, leaving his artillery in the power of Suffolk. Bray capitulated on the 20th of October. The allies halted there but a few hours to pillage the "rebel town."(i)

The cry of "Liberty, liberty," had not been heard since they had seen the nobility and the peasants, and even the women facing death to save their country; but they destroyed every village and hamlet that they met on their march. They had crossed the Oise, had taken Montdidier and Compiègne, and had their vanguards posted at Senlis and Morfontaine. "To Paris," was now the cry heard on all sides. The King of England already imagined himself at

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.

(b) Turner.

(c) . . . .The most part of the realm would have drawn towards him, they being the sorriest people in the world that he did not come.—Russell's letter, 11 Nov.—MSS. Vitell., B. V. p. 217.—I think that there never was prince so evil beloved among his subjects as he is.—Ib.

(d) The French king did send a great sum of money among them, insomuch that three captains had three flagons full of crowns.—MSS. Vitell. p. 222.

(e) Knight's letter, Brussells 4th September. MSS. Galba, B. VIII., p 52.

(f) More's letter to Wolsey, 5th Sept.—MSS. ib.

(g) Rapin de Thoyras.

(h) Wolsey recommended to his sovereign that the army with proclamations of liberty, and forbearing to burn, should proceed, and march forwards to the places devised by the Duke of Bourbon, which would be easily taken without resistance.—Turner.

(i) Du Bellay.—Rapin de Thoyras.—Turner.

St. Denis; and Wolsey shared his master's delusions while reading Sir John Russell's dispatches "Sir," he wrote, "your army is every where held in dread.(a) We shall be very soon at Paris;" and More, whose knowledge of France was only through Skelton's satires or Suffolk's dispatches, which he read to the king, believed that she would scarcely offer any resistance, and that the admiral's next dispatches would be dated from the Louvre.(b) Paris was panic-stricken. The gates of the city were closed, and every precaution taken by the Parliament for her security.(c) Guards were placed on the belfries to see whether the English or Flemish troops were in sight, when, suddenly, a body of cavalry was seen marching from Lyons to the succour of the metropolis, under the command of the Duke of Vendôme. From them the Parisians learned that the Duke of Guise, after having defeated the Germans commanded by Furstemberg, was advancing by forced marches to the aid of Paris; that La Trémoille, recovered from the check he had received at Brey, had armed the country, and was manœuvring to cut off the retreat of the allies, and that the road between Senlis and Paris was covered with snow; that the plague which had accompanied the English forces from Calais was making frightful ravages in their camp;(d) that a serious misunderstanding had arisen between their two chieftains; and that the Flemings had refused to advance further.(e)

Three generals of acknowledged valour, La Trémoille, Vendôme, and Guise; the plague, famine, and snow: what more could be required to repulse the enemy? Paris was saved. On receiving the intelligence that the French army was at hand, the English admiral, who was hourly losing some of his men, determined to re-embark for England. Scarcely half the 40,000 men, with whom the campaign and been commenced, now remained. The English soldiers, cut up and weakened by the plague and famine, retreated from Senlis in deep silence. To justify his conduct, Suffolk sent Lord Sondes before him to the king, bidding him attribute his retreat to the heavy falls of snow, the long nights, the bad state of the roads, the wind, and the inclemency of the weather.(f) "I was aware of all this before your report reached me," wrote Henry to Suffolk. "I send you Lord Moulsey, with 6,000 men to replace your losses. You must on no account retreat." Suffolk was lost if he kept his position. He made the example of Bourbon a sufficient excuse for himself as the former had just struck his tent, owing to the severity of the weather, and the admiral accordingly returned to Calais, without thinking of Henry's anger, who for a length of time refused to receive him.(g)

Francis was at Lyons when he heard that Paris had been delivered by the retreat of the allied army. With his eyes bent on the Alps, he again determined to invade Italy, even while the English were menacing his capital. Of all that lovely Lombardy, of which he still called himself Lord, none remained save the Castle of Cremona, defended at first by thirty gentlemen, and then only by eight, whom death had spared.(h) At the appearance of Bonnivet, confusion was apparent in the ranks of the Italian confederates. Had the admiral taken advantage of this panic, and marched on Milan, it would have certainly fallen into his hands, at least, if we may believe contemporary historians; but he lost time, which was precious to him, at Monza, and afterwards at Vigeva, of which Bourbon took advantage by organizing a plan of defence. Colonna, acting under his orders, threw himself into the citadel of Milan, rebuilt its fortifications, and armed its citizens.(i)

Bonnivet attempted to reduce Milan by famine. He blockaded it, and took possession of all the advanced posts by which it was encircled, and whence aid could be

(a) .... Sir, they fear your army marvellously in France, and the saying is, your said army is at Paris.—MSS. Vit., B. V., p. 217.
(b) MSS. Galba, B. VIII., p. 87.
(c) Capefigue.
(d) Turner.
(e) Hume.

(f) Wolsey also gives the same reasons for the retreat of the Confederates, in a letter to the emperor.—Fiddes.
(g) Hall.
(h) Capefigue.
(i) Turner.

conveyed to the beseiged city, and the admiral for a moment believed himself master of Milan. The Milanese, who in their continual change of masters had only preserved a remembrance of the ill-treatment they had undergone from their feudal superiors, offered to expel the imperial garrison, if the French general promised not to allow his troops to enter the city. During this parleying, Leyva advanced from Pavia, and the Duke of Mantua from Lodi; Bourbon was manœuvring on the Adige, so that Bonnivet, having been encircled by the enemy, had no other way of retreat, save by recrossing the Alps; but the confederates, anticipating this step, cut him off at Rebec; the admiral sustained their attack with admirable coolness, and fell on the field.

Bayard, on learning his death, advanced to assume the command, but was himself soon mortally wounded. Being unable to keep on horseback, he begged one of his soldiers to place him at the foot of a tree, for he was unwilling, when dying, to turn his back for the first time on the enemy; then addressing one of his officers, he said: "Will you tell the king that I die happy? My sole regret is, that I am unable to serve him any longer." Then putting his sword to his lips, he kissed it with great affection, and looking heavenwards, with an eye beaming with faith, began praying. The night began to fall, and afar off, by the glare of the flambeaux used by the guard, the French army could be perceived retreating in good order, under the command of St. Pol.

The Marquis of Pescara, a gallant soldier, at the first intelligence of Bayard being deeply wounded, ran to embrace him, and by his fraternal and loving conduct, raised a smile on the dying soldier's countenance. Pescara had a tent erected for the knight, while a surgeon, to staunch his wounds, and a priest to hear his confession, were sent for. The priest was the first to arrive, heard his confession, and administered to him the Sacrament of Penance.(a) At this moment, the Constable made his appearance, and as he was compassionating the state of the dying prisoner, Bayard said: "Pity me not; I die as a man of honour; but I do, indeed, feel for you, who are fighting against your king, your country, and your oath of fealty. Remember that a tragical death has ever overtaken those who have drawn their sword against their country."(b) The hero lifted up his eyes to heaven and then expired in the servants arms, prisoners like himself, but less happy than their master.

Pescara had the chevalier's body embalmed, and commanded a guard of honour, composed of veterans, to convey it into France. The assembled populace of the various towns and villages through which they passed, knelt, through feelings of respect, as the melancholy *cortège* passed by. The Duke of Savoy had royal honours paid to his remains, and in Dauphiny, of which province he was a native, the clergy met the body in procession with their banners unfurled.(c)

The victory gained by the Constable aroused all the evil passions of the allied army. Henry had for a moment, while reading Suffolk's despatches, felt himself not a little daunted; and in the spring of 1524, had evinced symptoms of reconciliation with his good brother;"(d) but when informed of Bonnivet's defeat and Bayard's death, his idea of conquering France became more ardent than ever. A fresh plan of invasion was concerted in conjunction with Charles and Bourbon.(e) The Constable was to invade Provence; Margaret, Artois, and Suffolk, Picardy. But Henry, having become somewhat more prudent, was unwilling to invade a country where so many of his subjects had perished, without being first certain that Bourbon was master of a great portion of Provence.(f)

(a) At his request he called a priest to whom he might confess, and from whom he received absolution.—Tytler.

(b) My lord of Bourbon, it is not I that am deserving of compassion, since I die an honest man; but for mine own part I am constrained to pity you, when I see you serving in arms against your prince, your country, and your oath; for remember, my lord, that the death of all who have borne arms against their country has been tragical.—Ib.

(c) Du Bellay.—Brantôme.—Pasquier, Recherches, &c.

(d) The plan is in the British Museum.—MSS. Vit. B. VIII. p. 19.

(e) Ibid, p. 51.

(f) Neither the king's highness nor I will advise him to enter with so small a company, but that if little or nothing were done on this

The English king was exceedingly suspicious of Bourbon, though he had taken the oath of fealty to him; for how could he trust a man that had acted the part of a traitor towards his own sovereign? Was he not capable also of betraying him? Without the oath of allegiance, to which Henry, by the way, attached no importance, Wolsey would not grant him a single shilling, though in want of money; and Pace, who had received £1,000 on his account, was unwilling to advance it without a legal acknowledgment.(a) Bourbon was ready to repeat an oath that he had already taken. He still recognised Henry, as he had done before, as King of France; but he would not acknowledge owing him homage, since he was no vassal, but a free man, as much master of his own duchy as Henry was of England.(b)

In vain did Pace call reason and cajolery to his aid to triumph over Bourbon's obstinacy; his arguments as well as his caresses were perfectly powerless,(c) and Henry was obliged to be content with the oath as the Constable was pleased to take it. The unhappy Bourbon had not one instant of repose. He was like the Margaret of Göethe, hourly visited by the demon. Pace was his evil genius. "But by what title do you purpose entering France?" he asked of Bourbon. The Constable replied: "To recover all that legitimately belongs to His Grace the King of England, the emperor, and myself, the Constable."(d) But scarcely was he left to commune in solitude with a heart torn to pieces, perhaps by remorse for his treachery, than Pace would reappear. "Are you sure, if you have the active co-operation of England, to dethrone Valois?" "Yes, quite sure to expel him, and establish the King of England on the throne of France; tell the cardinal that I am confident of success."(e) "Oh! what a wise and virtuous prince," wrote Pace to Wolsey, while relating his conversation with him.(f) Pace desired to entangle his victim. Wolsey and Henry would be delighted could he do so. A Satanic contract must be signed before witnesses. Pace had enticed the Constable into a room in which were the viceroy of Naples and De Beaurain;(g) and, it may be, a crucifix over the chimney. He took a pen, and wrote the traitor's oath. Bourbon pledged himself to acknowledge Henry of England as King of France, and placed his signature and seal to this impious act. Pace was even happier at this transaction than when we met him, boasting of his attainments at an hostelry, in the county of Kent, before a great foxhunter, who was puzzled to know how a gentleman could have his children taught to read.(h) "Be not afraid," said he to his patrons, "the Constable will serve the king loyally; he will give him the crown of France. Fear not that he will keep it himself, or allow another to take it."(i) We might imagine that the soldier of Marignano

side he might yet be able to keep the field, besiege towns and places, and also to give the battle to the French king.—Wolsey's letter to Pace, 28th May, 1524.—MSS. Harl., No. 283, pp. 59, 60.

(a) Wolsey's letter.—MSS. Vit., p. 60.

(b) But, when I moved him to do homage, he said that the king by treaty had granted unto him his duchy, and all his lands free, and that when a prince had guaranteed freedom and liberty, he could ask none homage because one is contrary to the other.—MSS Vit p. 100.

(c) We had a long conversation, and finally he would condescend to none homage, but to the oath.—MSS. Vit. B. VI. p. 101.

(d) Under what title the said duke intendeth to enter France? He answered, Under this title: To recover all that appertaineth rightfully to the king's grace, the emperor, and himself.—Pace's Dispatch.—MSS. Vitel., B VI. p. 85.

(e) He said unto me that if the king would put to his hand, and not let slip the great and evident occasion he hath to recover the crown of France, he putteth no doubt by the aid of his intelligence, to expel totally the French king out of France, and to set the crown of that realm upon the king's head as true inheritor thereof, and then he asked me eftsoons to write unto the king's highness, and your grace substantially.—Ib. p. 101.

(f) I do signify to your grace, that I find him a very substantial, wise, and virtuous prince.—Ib. p 101.

(g) I thought convenient for the furtherance of the enterprise, to take his oath in the presence of two witnesses, the viceroy of Naples and M. Beaurain; and thus I do take this oath in the most ample manner I could get the same, which your grace shall receive here inclosed, and the same shall be made in form authentic.—MSS. Vitell., B. VI. p. 101.

(h) See ch. VIII.

(i) I see him utterly determined to serve the king truly and faithfully in the recovery of his crown of France, and not to make any

would have trembled while signing the downfall of his brother-in-arms, (for the reader will pardon our having just spoken of his remorse) but we were deceived, for on looking over Pace's dispatches we are surprised at observing that the Duke of Bourbon *did* tremble, *did* hesitate before he signed the fatal deed; but it was through a cowardly fear of being betrayed. He had been told that a monk had left Paris for London with secret instructions from the regent, and he suspected the King of England. (a) But he was haunted by another spectre—the Pope. He was aware that His Holiness had threatened to punish Charles, and Henry also, if he took the oath of fealty to the latter; (b) but we are ignorant as to the measures adopted by Pace to overcome his suspicions and fears. About the end of June, 1524, the Constable was at Burgos, a small village at the foot of the Alps, and had under his command 30,000 men. With this handful, he was about to invade France. (c) He must, indeed, have had wonderful confidence in his good star, or have despised the valour of his enemy. Bourbon had for some time imagined that his appearance alone would cause the peasants to flock to his rebel standard, as he and Henry were fully persuaded that France was weary of the Valois.

The English Mephistophiles again appeared before Bourbon, whom he followed from encampment to encampment in the vicinity of St. Laurent du Var. Pace wanted a fresh oath. In the presence of Popevins and three French gentlemen, whose names are not mentioned, Bourbon swore on his sword and his honour, that he would place the crown of France on the head of the King of England, or perish in the attempt. (d) He could now be safely allowed to go on; there would no longer be any fear of his being in want of money. The duke, after having occupied Aix and Draguigan transferred his head-quarters to Avignon (e) From this city, then under the government of the Holy See, he might, by the aid of detachments, excite the people dwelling on the banks of the Rhone to revolt.

Bourbon had conceived the plan of seizing on Lyons by a bold *coup-de-main*, as that city, from its situation on two rivers, was the key as well of Italy as of Provence; but when informed that Francis was there at the head of a large army, he felt certain that he would fail in the attack. Yet it was necessary that a blow should be struck, and that by the capture of some important city, he might induce Wolsey to send him the subsidies which had been so long promised. With Marseilles in his power, he would be master at once of Provence and the Mediterranean; he, consequently, resolved to make the attempt; (f) but even should he succeed, Marseilles was at a great distance from Rheims, where he had promised to crown Henry. (g) Bourbon was compelled, after a siege of forty days, to yield to the heroism of the soldiers, citizens, magistrates, and even the women, who fought from the ramparts in defence of their city. (h)

manner of practice to be king himself, nor to suffer any other than save only our king as true inheritor there.—MSS. Vitell., ib., p. 102.

(a) Beaurain showed unto me, that the duke was late put into a great perplexity for two causes; one that he was advertised, that a certain friar was once sent into England by the French king's mother, who had secret communication with your grace, which he supposed could not be to his purpose.—MSS. Vit. B. VI., p. 91.

(b) Second, it hath been showed unto him, that the Pope's holiness will convert all his power against the king and the emperor if he make any such oath, or give homage unto the king.—MSS. Vitell., ib., pp. 91, 92.

(c) Pace's letter, June.—MSS. Vit. B. VI. p. 101.

(d) He called me to him in the presence of the Sieur de Popevins and three other gentlemen of France, such as he doth most trust; and he in a very serious manner desired me to mark diligently what he would say, and to write the same to the king my master, and your grace. His words formally were these: I promise unto you, upon my faith, I will, by the help of my friends, put the crown of France upon the king our common master's head, or else my life shall be cut off.—MSS. ib., pp. 126, 127.

(e) Pace's letter, 21st Aug. (1524).—MSS. Vit., B. V., pp. 134, 193.

(f) Pace's letter.—MSS. Vit., VI., p. 122.

(g) The said duke had promised me that he would take the straight way as soon as lay in his power, and to strike battle, if he might, for the same purpose, to the city of Rheims therefore to crown the king.—Pace's letter to Wolsey, 26th Aug.—MSS. ib., p. 171.

(h) Conducteur de l'Etranger à Marseilles.

Marseilles saved the monarchy. Bourbon did not see the naval assistance which Wolsey had promised him for the bombardment of the city; and, as the allies had been again defeated, the Constable's retreat from before Marseilles was attributed to the insufficiency of his forces, and the poverty in which he was kept by Wolsey.(a) The Constable had not ceased to pray "his good cousin and father" to send him money;(b) but Wolsey only wished him success in his undertaking, and wrote to Pace, "In the name of his majesty, and in my name, I beseech you to watch over the noble duke; the king and I love him so dearly, that it would indeed grieve us deeply were any thing to occur to him;"(c) but not a stiver did he receive from England.

The confederates never once spoke in their dispatches of the conduct of the citizens of Marseilles. Nothing, of those noble ladies who had filled the ditches with rockets, which would have exploded under the feet of the Spaniards, had they become masters of the city; nothing, of that ancient tower of St. Paula, where the firing neither ceased day nor night; nothing, of those sailors who showed such dexterity in climbing the rigging of their vessels; nothing, of those riflemen whose sure aim had killed a priest whilst celebrating Mass in Pescara's tent; nothing, of Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde, whose image was carried in procession through the streets, and whose aid was invoked; nothing, of that foolish joyousness of the citizens who interred their dead while singing.(d) But we have evidence still remaining of the bravery displayed by the besieged, in the letter that Francis addressed to the mayor and other authorities of Marseilles, after the rescue of their city:—"Messire Charles le Bourbon assaulted the city three times; but the noble and valiant knights, with the aid of the citizens and our Lord, repulsed them so rudely each time, that many of his men were killed, some drowned, and some taken prisoners. Seeing this, at the third and last assault, after that he had heard that the king was at Avignon, at the Cape de Rousse, or the environs, levying an army wherewith to check his progress, and considering that he had no hope of succour, he decamped one night and drew off his army from before the above named city of Marseilles, but not without leaving a portion of his artillery, to his very great dishonour and shame, returning by the way he had come."(e)

Had Francis now expressed a wish for peace, after the Constable's defeat, he might have easily obtained it. At Rome, Clement VII. had foreseen the fate of the expedition, and had predicted its failure.(f) It was with heartfelt and sincere grief that he heard of these disputes between Christian sovereigns: and if they had but listened to his paternal voice, they would have taken up arms against the Turks, then menacing Germany. The Fall of Rhodes, that rampart of Christendom, which had been conquered by Soliman, had caused a great sensation at Rome, and by the words of the grand master, Charles de Villiers, who had gone to the Holy City to relate the miracles of prowess which his 3,000 knights had performed for the triumph of the cross, the Pope was deeply affected. From Rhodes, Soliman could easily overrun Sicily, Hungary, Germany, and even Italy. The Papacy, the advanced sentinel of civilization, besought her elder sons to turn against the enemy of the human race, but they refused to listen to her voice.(g)

On the 9th of March, 1525, the Lord Mayor and the aldermen traversed the streets of London, clad in their festal robes, and preceded by trumpets and clarions. In the public squares ran fountains of wine. At Tower Hill, the ambassadors of Flanders and Venice, meeting at the same time, drank wine together.

(a) Pace's letter, 11th Sep., 1524.—MSS. Vit., ib., p. 193.
(b) MSS. Vit., B. VI. p. 201.
(c) Ye shall on the king's and my behalf, desire him to have special regard to the security of his own person. The king and I, for the tender love we have to the said duke, should take in no small regret any adverse chance to his own person. Harl. MSS. 283., p. 56.
(d) Capefigue.
(e) Bib. Roy. MSS. No. 9902.
(f) B. Bath's letter from Rome, 2 Oct.—MSS. Vit., B. VI. page 203.
(g) Lingard.

At St. Paul's, the cardinal, radiant with vestments adorned with precious stones, celebrated the holy Sacrifice;(a) at which the king, seated on a velvet cushion, assisted. These festivities arose from the intelligence that Francis I. had just been taken prisoner, having been defeated by the Constable at Pavia.

Francis had seen his bravest officers fall around him. Wounded in his face and hand, all covered with blood, on foot as a simple soldier, for his horse had been killed, he continued fighting, and refused to surrender.(b) None of the Spaniards, who had surrounded him, knew who he was, and imagined by his helmet and armour that he was some officer of distinction. "Surrender," they cried with one voice; "we will not kill you." Francis, his arms enveloped in a scarf given him by one of his mistresses,(c) fought desperately, and would probably have fallen a victim to his rashness, had he not been recognised by Pomeran, the companion and accomplice of Bourbon, who ordered the Spaniards to pursue the enemy and leave the knight alone, as he had but a few minutes to live. "Sire," said Pomperan, in a low voice to his prisoner, "my master, the Constable, would indeed be happy, if your majesty would vouchsafe him an interview." "No, no," replied the king, "go and look for Lannoy; I shall only surrender my sword to him."

Lannoy happened to ride by at this time, and halted on seeing Pomperan and his illustrious prisoner:—"Sire, here is the viceroy." Lannoy now dismounted, advanced respectfully, and kissed the prince's hand. "Don Carlos," said Francis, "here is the sword of a king, who deserves no little praise; for, before surrendering it, he has slain many of your men. It is not then cowardice, but the chance of war which delivers it into your hand.(d) 'Sire," replied Lannoy, take my sword; it is not right that a king should remain disarmed in the presence of a subject.' (e) Francis had acted perfectly right in surrendering his sword to Lannoy, for he could not in the enemy's army have met with a more perfect model of the chivalric virtues. The viceroy had for a moment despaired of victory. He had been observed to lift up his eyes to heaven, and then, addressing himself to one of his lieutenants, and afterwards to his soldiers, said: "We have no other hope, save in God; imitate me;" and, making the sign of the cross, he gave the spur to his steed, and rushed into the thickest of the fight.(f)

Surgeons were then sent for. Francis, extended on a bed of straw, was soon surrounded by officers and soldiers anxious to obtain some souvenir of the hero-king.(g) Two surgeons arrived, and after examining his wounds, pronounced them to be not mortal, the steel of his breastplate, which was of excellent metal, having turned off the balls. While they were washing his face, and removing the dirt from his helmet, the Marquis of Pescara, Guasto, de Avalos, and other noble Castilians, assembled, with deep sorrow depicted on their countenances, round the captive monarch's bed. The Constable soon made his appearance covered with dust, blackened with powder, his clothes torn, making his way through the crowd, with the edge of his sword still

(a) Ellis.—I. p. 257. MSS. Galba, B. V. p. 107. Hall.

(b) Tytler.

(c) Er trug eine Stickerei an einem Aermel, die ihm in guten Tagen in Frankreich die Dame die er liebte gegeben, der er dagegen gelobt hatte, unter keinen Umständen vor dem Feind zurückzuweichen.—Ranke.

L'heureux présent par lequel te promys
Point ne fuir devant mes ennemys.
—Ep. du Roi.

(d) Leti.

(e) Lingard.

(f) Ranke, Schlacht bei Pavia, Deutche Geschichte in Zeitalter der Reformation.

(g) Etliche die Gürtel, die andern Sporn, davon gebracht; ein Jeder hat etwas vom König wollen haben—Herrn Georgen von Fründsberg ritterlicher Kreigthaten.—See for the Battle of Pavia—Epitre du Roy traitant du son partement de France et de sa prise devant Pavie, Leinglet et Grœbel. Tægius, de Obsidione urbis Ticinencis.—Reisner Historia Herrn Georgen und Herrn Casparn von Fründsberg.—Bucholtz. Ferdinand I.—Sismondi Histoire des Français.—Capella, Guicciardini P. Giovio, Du Bellay, and a German song (Lied) Ein schöes neuwes Lied von der Schlacht newlich vór Pavia geschehen: a true bulletin of George Fründsberg on this important matter. The *Lied* is the work of a northern poet, who has vowed eternal hatred against the southerns.—Soltau.

stained with blood which he had not had time to wipe off. Francis, who did not at first recognise the traitor, inquired who he was. At the name of Charles de Bourbon, he looked at his sword still reeking with the blood of his subjects, and fainted in Pescara's arms. Bourbon immediately took off his helmet, wiped his sword, and kneeling down, entreated Francis to allow him to kiss his hand.

The king, surprised at his audacity, turned away his head. "Ah, sire," exclaimed Bourbon, "if you had but followed my advice, you would not have been in this difficulty, and this field of battle would not have been stained with French blood." The king lifted up his eyes to heaven, and murmured, "Patience, the fortune of war has betrayed me."(a) A horse was prepared for Francis, and he was taken to Pavia. When the captive monarch, on nearing the gates, perceived an immense crowd assembled to witness his entry, he besought the general, under whose escort he had been placed, to spare him the shame of being paraded through the streets of a city he had so long besieged, and, accordingly, he was led by a short but steep road to the Carthusian monastery, where the poor brethren did all in their power to offer him those consolations which religion alone can inspire.(b)

During the progress of this melancholy *cortège*, a courier was sent to Madrid, bearing despatches hastily drawn up by the Constable. "Sire," exclaimed the envoy on meeting Charles, "Victory! the French army has been cut to pieces, and Francis is a prisoner." The emperor, stupified with amazement at this unexpected and astounding intelligence, gazed steadily at the messenger for a few seconds. His blood, says the historian, seemed to have mounted to his face, generally so pale. "Victory!" he replied, as one awaking from a dream, and disappeared, repeating the word "Victory!" His first act was to threw himself before an image of our Blessed Lady, where he remained in prayer for more than an hour, with his head reclining on his hands. The people surrounded the palace, shouting "Victory!" Already were fires lit in the public squares, lights burning in the windows, bells chiming their joyous peals, priests clothed in surplices, and the Castilians ready to celebrate, by their national dance, the happy news of the capture of Francis I., when, from a signal given by the emperor, these joyous manifestations were interrupted. Charles desired them to act as he had done,—let all pray. "Now for Jerusalem," exclaimed he, in a transport of warlike joy, to which his courtiers replied by the same cry, "To Jerusalem!" He had no idea of delivering Jerusalem;(c) his object was to enslave Italy, just escaped from the yoke of Francis I., and his motives were seen through by Wolsey. The emperor's moderation was soon put to the trial.

Morone, chancellor to the Duke of Milan, after the expulsion of the French, demanded the investiture of Sforza in the duchy; but Charles at first refused his consent, and it was not until he had been earnestly entreated by the Pope, that he consented to grant it, but on such conditions that the duke would be regarded rather as a subject of the emperor than a vassal of the empire.(d) On uniting himself to the allies, Leo had stipulated that if the holy league were victorious, Parma, the patrimony of St. Peter, and Ferrara, should be given up to the Church, and Charles had promised this on the gospel.(e) On the death of Leo X., Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara, struck a medal with the legend "*The lamb has been delivered from the wolf.*" The wolf was the Pope, the lamb the duke, who, during the vacancy of the Holy See, had seized on Reggio and Rubiera. Adrian during his brief pontificate, had scarcely time to protest against this act of usurpation. Now that Italy was delivered, Clement called on the emperor to expel Alphonso, and the viceroy ironically replied to the Pope, that if His Holiness felt any affection for Charles, he would

(a) Turner.—Grove.
(b) Tytler.

(c) Letter from the Mantuan ambassador (Suardini) to the Marquis of Mantua, 15th March, 1526.—Sanuto.
(d) Robertson.
(e) Robertson.

even consent to sacrifice Modena to the prince, who would not again torment the Holy See.(a) Such was the master whom the Papacy had given to Italy. Julius II. had died of grief, because he could not expel the French, and Clement had called to his aid that very Fründsberg who had recruited hordes of robbers in the Black Forest, and in the hostelries of Wittemburg, whose exploits we shall shortly present to the reader's notice.

On first hearing of the battle of Pavia Wolsey and Henry imagined that heaven had afflicted Francis, in order to bestow the tiara on the minister and a new crown on Henry. Both dreamed of forming a fresh alliance against the poor captive: but this gigantic project required a considerable sum of money. An appeal was consequently made to the nation, and the clergy called on to pay 12½ per cent. This fresh demand was resisted on the plea that the king's ordonnance was contrary to their privileges, that the king could only levy money by the authority of Parliament, and they would only pay what the synod had already required of them.(b) The king, in a proclamation, protested that he had asked for nothing, but would be willing to accept a gratuity. This expedient proved a complete failure. The commissioners were told that an act of Parliament had rendered the granting of gratuities illegal. The citizens of London would not be seduced by the bland language employed by Wolsey.(c) Perhaps Henry, to intimidate the nation, had thought of taking some lives; but he renounced this harsh measure, on hearing that 4,000 men had taken up arms in the county of Suffolk to resist the government commissioners. The king retreated before this popular demonstration. It was not convenient to be engaged in a civil war, at the very moment that he wanted all his forces to march to the conquest of France.

Bourbon, whose praise was celebrated in every language, living and dead,(d) felt no emotion on seeing his liege sovereign a prisoner. After the victory of Pavia, Sir John Russell visited the prince, to congratulate him, and at the same time to remind him of his obligations to England. Bourbon had not forgotten them. In speaking to Pace of "the good fortune and victory it had pleased our Lord to vouchsafe him over his enemies," he adds: "you and your good council may well understand what is our opinion of matters, respecting which I have had a long conversation with Sir John Russell, who I feel certain will detail to you at length every thing that occurred."(e) But the Constable laid down certain conditions in addition to his first treaty. He asked no less than 200,000 crowns to march on Paris, through Dauphiny, Savoy, and Burgundy; adding, that he depended on an active co-operation from England to second the Spaniards by penetrating into Picardy. Without artillery, decisive success was out of the question; therefore he begged the king to send him a park of artillery immediately.(f)

While the English agents were urging Bourbon to advance, Henry had dispatched an embassy to Margaret of Flanders,(g) with instructions to congratulate her on the defeat of the enemy of the House of Burgundy; to frighten her on the danger of Flanders while such a firebrand as Francis was able to pitch a tent in Christendom; and to beseech her not to abandon her faithful ally England, at so critical a moment, as her claims on Normandy, Gascony, Guienne, and Anjou, were incontestable. But England was about to receive her first check at Margaret's court; she received Henry's congratulations very coolly, and his counsels with still greater indifference. The time for sounding

(a) Giberti agli oratori in Spagna, 22 Oct. 1524.—Sanga, 21 Nov., Lettere di principi.

(b) Lingard.

(c) Hall thus speaks of the clamours raised against Wolsey. "The poor cursed; the rich repugned; the light wits railed, and in conclusion, all people cursed the cardinal, as a subverter of the laws and liberty of England."

(d) The Spaniards composed the following verses on the Constable:—

Calla! calla! Julio Cæsar, Hannibal y Scipio!
Viva la fama de Bourbon.

(e) Brit. Mus. MSS. Cott., Vitell., B. VIII. p. 76.

(f) Russell's letter, 11th March, 1525.—MSS. Vitt., ib. p. 77.

(g) Instructions to Fitzwilliam and Wingfield, April, 1525.—Brit. Mus., Galba, B. VIII. pp. 143, 144.

Charles had also arrived. By virtue of the treaty of Bruges, he was summoned to invade Guienne, and to march on Paris. But to this proposition, which the ambassador communicated in a tone of great *hauteur*, the emperor replied that he had no money to carry on a war in the heart of France. Complaints were then made to Charles of the liberty enjoyed at Milan by Francis, who was in the habit of hourly receiving and sending dispatches; and who, though a captive, yet truly reigned among the Spaniards:(a) but Charles, like a noble-minded sovereign, refused to aggravate the prisoner's position, by ordering him to closer confinement.

Francis was right when he said to the Constable: "Patience, fortune will not always persecute me thus." When the king sat down to dinner at the Carthusian monastery at Pavia, Lannoy presented him with the ewer, the Marquis of Guasto with the bason, and the Constable with the napkin, as if he had been at the Louvre.(b) At Pizzighitone, a fortress where he was imprisoned for a short time, when he wanted money, he found the courtiers eager to lend him their purses.(c) At Milan, the Pope, the republic of Venice, and Sforza secretly proposed to form a league with him against the emperor.(d) At a later period, Charles, at Madrid, offered him his liberty, provided he would accept the hand of his sister Leonora, Queen Dowager of Portugal, Queen Claude being dead; guarantee Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne to Henry, and Provence to the Duke of Bourbon; but Francis refused even to entertain such a proposition.(e)

Anarchy had taken possession, after the battle of Pavia, of the counsels of the allied sovereigns who had united against France; and all were eager to retract their words. Henry withheld his subsidies; Margaret wished to be at Peace; Bourbon wanted money before he could pass the Alps; Charles V. only thought of enriching himself at the expense of his allies. Complaints and recriminations were heard on all sides. The Constable inquired who that mysterious monk was whom Louise had sent to London to plot with Wolsey. The cardinal was annoyed at not receiving any letters from Charles.(f) Henry accused the Spaniards of culpable inactivity. Wolsey must indeed have been greatly exasperated, or he would not have used such gross language while speaking of his master's allies. "The emperor," said he, "is a liar; his aunt Margaret a wanton; his brother, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, a child; his lieutenant, Bourbon, a traitor."(g) Charles complained of this language in a public audience he had with Sir Richard Wingfield and Dr. Sampson, who endeavoured, with great timidity, as if ashamed of their task, to apologise for the minister. "No, no," replied the emperor, "the cardinal is exceedingly passionate; he has used, I know, this language, and I will tell you when. It was on the occasion of my claiming the promised subsidies," when he replied, "that his majesty had something else to do with his money than to give it to such creatures."(h)

(a) I assure your grace the French king hath too much his liberty; for that so many messages be suffered to come and go between him and his mother, by reason hereof he is ascertained of all their doings in France, and giveth his advice as well as though he were present. —MSS. Vit. B. VII., p. 119.

(b) B. Bath's letter.—MSS. Vit., p. 126. Sandoval.

(c) Sandoval.

(d) Capitula fœderis inter Romanum Pontificum Clementum VII., Regem Gallum et ducem Sfortiam adversus Carolem V.—Hist. Herrn Georgen Fründsberg. Ziegler, Hist. Clem. VII. Ap. Shelhorn, Amæn.

(e) Russell's Letter from Milan, 25th April. MSS. Vitell., B. VII., p. 126.

(f) Not a single letter from Charles V. to Wolsey is to be found in the British Museum, written in A.D. 1525. From the battle of Pavia till the 30th November, 1526, the emperor only wrote one letter to the cardinal.

(g) His majesty said also, that your grace had named him to be a lyar, observing no manner of faith or promise; that my Lady Margaret was a ribawde; Don Ferdinando, his brother, a child, and so governed; and the Duke of Bourbon a traitor.—MSS. Cott. Vesp., C. III., p. 55.

(h) Then he said that your grace answered, that the king's highness hath other things to do with his money, than to spend it for the pleasures of such four personages, expressing the aforesaid words.—MSS., ib., p. 15. An ill-understood allegory has made many doubt of the virtue of Margaret of Austria, whom we must not confound with Margaret of Burgundy, who died in 1503. She had granted an annuity

Wolsey only waited for a favourable opportunity to quarrel with Charles, and with this the emperor soon furnished him. By the treaty of Windsor, on the 21st of June, 1522, Charles had promised to marry the Princess Mary of England; but she was two young. The emperor was now twenty-six, and his subjects, apprehensive that his death might leave Spain without an heir, urged him to marry; so that Charles found himself compelled to beg the King of England to free him from his engagement with his daughter. This was certainly one of the most cruel blows Henry had yet received, and he at first refused his consent; but on the 6th of July, he signed a commission annulling the matrimonial clause of the treaty of Windsor.(a)

We can perceive the new position in which the battle of Pavia had placed Charles, who now felt no fear in calling Wolsey a passionate man, when before he was wont to style him his father and friend. The friendship between Henry and Charles was severed. The change of the English policy at this period was not the dictate of generous compassion for the captive monarch, but a dread that the emperor, having became too powerful, might possibly aspire to universal dominion. Henry and his minister wished to be reconciled with the conquered prince through motives of interest.

The interviews with the monk, Margaret's secret agent, became more frequent. The interest felt by the court for the royal prisoner was no longer concealed at Greenwich. Henry offered himself as a mediator between Charles V. and the King of France. He would burst the captive's chains asunder without his losing any portion of his dominions. The emperor wanted money, and the King of England would bargain for the price of his ransom. Charles was accordingly informed of the arrangement while on a visit to Henry at Greenwich, and negotiations were commenced between the English cabinet and Louise, who entered into the matter as Wolsey had imagined she would, with all the ardour of a fond and doting mother, promising all that was asked of her.

On the 1st of September, 1525, a herald-at-arms announced that peace had been concluded between the high and puissant Kings of France and England.(b) By the treaty of the 20th of August, signed at Moore Castle, France consented to pay

to Jean Le Maire de Belges, who in 1509 called himself "a stipendiary historiographer of the Lord Archduke and the Princess." Le Maire addressed several pieces of poetry to his benefactress, and among them are two couched in sentiments breathing a higher passion than that of gratitude. The poet thus speaks to Margaret:

"Vous savez bien que les dieux qui tous voyent
Tel bien mondain, tel heur donné n'avoient
Que de plus grand ne jouict oncques âme.
Vous cognoissez que pour maîtresse et dame
J'avois acquis par dessus mes mérites
La fleur des fleurs, le choix des Marguerites..
Bien peus'en faut que celui se maudie
Que me donna et grace et melodie,
Et trop m'aprit et dictiers et chansons
Dont autresfois tu aimois les doux sons..
Tu me baisois et disois mon ami,
Si cuidois-je etre un dieu plus q'a demi,
Et! qui dirai-je autres grands privautès.
* * * * * * *

This piece was signed *Le Maire de Belges par son amant vert.* The epitaph written by the poet himself was couched in a similar strain:

Sous ce tombel cher et facheux conclave
Git l'amant vert noble et fidelle esclave
Dont le haut cœur de pur amour pur ivre
Ne peut soffrir perdre sa femme et vivre.

These epistles appeared in 1510. Who was this green lover? the poet, as most of the critics who have examined the works of Le Maire believe. But in the middle of the XVIII. century, an anonymous letter was addressed to the Abbé Gouget alleging that the pretended *Amant Vert* was no other than a green parroquet, an excessively rare bird in France and the Netherlands, at the commencement of the XVI. century. The Abbé Gouget was convinced of his mistake, and decided that the *Amant Vert* was a bird, a native of Ethiopia, which had been given to the Archduke Sigismund of Austria, uncle of Maximilian, who had presented it to Mary of Burgundy, the wife of his nephew. On her death the parrot came into the possession of her daughter, who kept it for a long time as a pet bird. On Margaret's leaving for Germany it is supposed that the favourite pined away from grief at losing his mistress. What is exceedingly curious is, that the Abbé Salier in an article on the life and works of Jean Le Maire de Belges, inserted in the XIII. volume of the "Mèmoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres," feels no hesitation in accusing the poet of having entertained sentiments of love for the princess.

(a) MSS. Vesp., C. III., p. 67.
(b) Hall.—Turner.

Henry 2,000,000 crowns, at six months' instalments of 50,000 crowns;—to grant him, after the payment of this debt, an annuity of 100,000 crowns for the term of his natural life;—to assure to Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, sister of Henry and Dowager Queen of France, the enjoyment of her dowry for the future, and to discharge the arrears in half-yearly instalments of 5,000 crowns;—to pay the cardinal in the course of seven years, and at stated periods, 30,000 crowns, as a compensation for the see of Tournay, and 100,000 crowns besides, as a mark of gratitude for the services which he had rendered to the royal family.(a) Skelton no longer remarks that the "butcher's son" wished to betray his country. In truth, his object was to ruin France, since he could not dismember her.

England, ever wont to deceive her allies, took every necessary precaution against being herself deceived. Never was there a period at which princes more abused the holy gospels than at the epoch which we are now describing. It was on the inspired volume that France must lay her hand when swearing to guard the treaty she had just made. Margaret swore that she would maintain the convention during Francis's captivity. Francis swore, at Madrid, to fulfil all its clauses. Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Rheims, swore in their turn to observe it, under pain of the confiscation of their domains, to make Francis observe it as far as they could, and for accomplishment of that purpose, to adopt every means in their power.(b) But at the same moment, the Procureur and the Avocat Général of the Parliament of Paris, entered a protest on a private register against the treaty; so that Francis, once at liberty, might on this protest refuse to fulfil his engagements.(c)

(a) MSS. Cal., D. IX., pp. 67, 78.

(b) The Ratification is dated 27 Dec., 1525.
(c) Lingard.

CHAPTER XVI.

ANNE BOLEYN 1523-27.

Birth and family of Anne Boleyn.—Her childhood.—Selected as Maid of Honour to accompany Mary, sister of Henry VIII., when she went to France.—Anne in the service of Queen Claude, and Margaret, Duchess of Alençon.—Her character.—She returns to England.—Her intention of marrying Sir Thomas Percy.—Henry falls in love with her, and conceives the design of separating from Katharine of Arragon.—The King's pretended remorse.—He imparts his scruples to Wolsey.—The conduct of the Minister.—Katharine of Arragon.

The reader, doubtless, recollects Anne Boleyn, who, by a royal whim, accompanied the Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII., to France in 1514, as one of her maids of honour, when she left England to marry Louis XII. It was in one of those fits of caprice, to which he was most subject, that Henry sacrificed the happiness of a sister of sixteen, who was herself in love with Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and one of the handsomest courtiers of his day; however, the mutual love of the youthful couple had no effect on the monarch, who, by giving Mary's hand to Louis XII., had avenged himself on Ferdinand of Arragon, who had presumed to enter into a treaty with France without first consulting him. Mary was, therefore, in the eye of her brother, a

pledge of reconciliation with a rival power, and, as it were, a challenge to the crafty policy of Ferdinand.(a)

The family of Boleyn, Bullen, or Boulen, as it is spelled either way, was of French origin.(b) Geoffrey Boleyn had married the daughter of Lord de Hoo and Hastings, and was, in 1424, the head of a company of merchants, and, during the wars of the Two Roses, sheriff of the city. His courage and honesty, "for he wielded the sword as well as the mercer's yard,"(c) obtained for him, in 1457, the dignity of Lord Mayor. Geoffrey amassed great wealth in commerce, and gave £1000 at his death to the poor of the city of London.(d) He left two beautiful manors to his heirs, Blickling Hall, in Norfolk, which he had bought of Sir John Fastolf, and Hever Castle, in Kent, which the Cobhams had sold him. His son, William Boleyn, retired from business and frequented the court, and, thanks to his good fortune, was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Richard III.(e) Thomas, son of Sir William Boleyn, and father of Anne, distinguished himself in the time of Henry VII. in the expedition against the insurgents of Cornwall. He had married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Surrey, (f) (afterwards created Duke of Norfolk,) then governor of Norwich Castle.(g) Created knight at the commencement of Henry's reign, and shortly afterwards nominated ambassador to France, Sir Thomas Boleyn never ceased to be a favourite. The people, who are always inclined to account for what they cannot understand, believed that Sir Thomas was indebted for the attention of his sovereign to the influence of Lady Boleyn, and scarcely had the grave closed over the remains of one who had been the *belle of*

(a) See Chapter V.

(b) A deed of 1344, mentions a Seigneur Vautier Boulen, who was a vassal of Baudoin, Duke of Avesnes near Peronne. Dreux de Radier, Mem. hist. et crit. et anecdot. des reines et regentes de France, IV. 219.

(c) He not unfrequently exchanged the mercer's yard for the sword.—Strickland, IV. 151.

(d) Speed.—Fabian's Chronicle.

(e) Turner.

(f) Turner.

(g) Dugdale's Baronage.

all the court balls,(h) than it was bruited abroad that Anne was the fruit of an adulterous connexion between the Earl of Surrey's daughter and Henry, Prince of Wales.(i)

(h) The Lady Boleyn was one of the reigning beauties of the court of Katharine of Arragon, and took a leading part in all the masks and royal pageantry which marked the smiling commencement of the reign of Henry. —Miss Strickland, IV., 152.

(i) Sanders was the first in his "De Schismate Anglicana," (published in 1585,) to declare that Anne Boleyn was the natural daughter of Henry VIII. Sanders says that he advances this fact on the authority of Rastal, the author of a life of Sir Thomas More, which has never been published.—(Le Grand Histoire du Divorce de Henry VIII.) Sanderus has been refuted in the Anti-Sanderus, printed at Cambridge in 1593. Burnet in his "History of the Reformation," only repeats the arguments employed by the writer of the Anti-Sanderus. "Henry was only fourteen, (being born on 18th June, 1491,) at the birth of Anne Boleyn; now it is highly improbable that a boy of that age would have corrupted the wife of another man, when his brother, although two years older than himself, was deemed incapable of consummating his own marriage." The physiological argument and conclusion thence arrived at, from the sickly constitution of Prince Arthur, seems to us of very little consequence. If Anne, as some historians believe, was born in 1507, the Prince of Wales would have been sixteen, and not fourteen at the time of her birth. Henry's age is even now the most powerful reason adduced to prove that no connexion could have possibly existed between a woman of thirty and a child of sixteen. "Henry VIII," says Miss Agnes Strickland, "was a boy under the care of his tutor at the period of Anne's birth, even if that event took place in the year 1507, the date given by Camden." Those who wrote in the reign of Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, well understood the necessity of dates in a question of such importance, as Lord Herbert says that Anne was born in 1501. M. Laly-Tollendal ("Biographie Universelle,") is of opinion that she was born in 1499 or 1500, because it is proved that Anne Boleyn was one of the maids of honour that accompanied Mary of England into France in 1514, and is highly improbable that a child of seven years of age would have been appointed maid of honour to a queen about to establish herself in a foreign country. M. Crapelet, in his "Notice sur Anne Boleyn," thus replies to Laly-Tollendal: "What makes it highly probable that Anne Boleyn was but seven years of age when she accompanied Queen Mary to France, is, that the King of England sent his sister under the care of the Duke of Norfolk, grandfather to Anne Boleyn, and that her father Sir Thomas Boleyn, (whose

Anne's early years were spent at Blickling with her mother, her sister Mary, her brother George, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, the melancholy poet, who, though he was yet very young, seemed deeply enamoured with the damsel in whose innocent amusements he shared.(a) More than once had they played together under those lovely oaks, the ornament of Blickling, and which were at that time about 200 or 300 years old.(b) Anne, at her mother's death, in 1512,(c) removed to Hever Castle, where she had, as her governess, a lady of the name of Simonette, who taught her music, sewing, embroidery, and English and French.(d) She corresponded with her father in both languages, and she indited the following epistle to Sir Thomas Boleyn, on hearing of her appointment as Maid of Honour to Queen Mary :—

"Monsr., je antandue par vre lettre que a ves envy que toujours...onnette fame quan je vindre a la courte et ma vertisses que la rene prendra la peine de visser a vece moy de quoy me regoy bien fort de penseer parler a vece ung personne tante sage et onnette cela me farra a voyr plus grante anvy de continuer a parler bene franseais et aussi es pel especiale man pour sue que mellaves tant recommande et de me man vous a versty que les gardere la meux que je poure mousr. Je vous suplye descusser sy ma lettre et male escripte car je vous assure que le et ettografié de mon attandement sule la ou les aultres ne sont faits que escript de ma main et Simmonet me dit la lettre, mais demeure afan je ai fy moy meme de peur que lon ne saces sanon que je vous mande et je vous pry que la loumire de votre vue net libertte de separre la voullonte qu dites aves de me edere car hile me samble quettes ascure on.. la ou vous poves sy vous plet me vere declaracion de vre paroile et de moy soues sertene que miara seoffice de peres ne dingratitude qu sut en passer ne et fasera mon avecsion queste ede libere de vivre autante sainte que vous plera me commander et vous prommes que mon amour et fondue par ung si grant formette que la nara james pouvre de sane mettre recommande bine humblemantre a diminuer et feres fin a mon pourpon a pre vre bonne grace et scripte a Uevre de.

"Vretresbumble et tresobiessante fille,

"ANNA DE BOULAN."(e)

This letter was never written by a child of seven years of age. Anne must have been ten; and Henry, not being more than twelve at her birth, could not have been, as Sanders wishes to prove, her father.

At Boulogne, where Mary, Queen of Louis XII. landed in 1514, that bevy of young women who formed her *cortège*, were, with the exception of Anne Boleyn, who accompanied the royal bride to Abbeville,(f) ordered to return to England. We are acquainted with Mary's history;—a widow after three months' marriage, longing, while yet wearing weeds, for the handsome Suffolk, whom, thanks to the intervention of Wolsey, by overcoming her brother's obstinacy, she at last married. Mary, on sailing for England, recommended her maid of honour to the notice of Claude, Queen of Francis I. These maids of honour had no regular service to discharge. They accompanied their royal mistress to all public ceremonies, court festivities, church, balls, tournaments, where they

son George was already one of the royal pages,) followed her as ambassador to France. It is moreover worthy of notice, that the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn occurred in 1532, and that by placing her birth in 1500, she would have completed her thirty-second year, and can we possibly believe that Henry VIII., (a man of such strong passions,) who was himself forty, would have fallen in love with a woman of thirty-two?"—(Notice Historique.) Miss Strickland is of a different opinion to either Camden, Sir George Twysden, or M. Crapelet. She says that Anne was born in 1500 or 1501, being at a loss to understand how a child of seven, who would herself be in want of a nurse, could have been a maid of honour to Mary. The most convincing argument in our humble opinion against Sander's accusation of incest is the silence of Reginald Pole.

(a) Miss Strickland, IV., 153.

(b) Miss Strickland, ib.

(c) Howard's Memorial, by Mr. Howard, of Corby. Lady Boleyn was buried in the church of Lambeth, but the chapel where her remains were interred was destroyed in the Revolution of 1640.

(d) Miss Strickland, IV., 154.

(e) Preserved in the original MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, CXIX. Ellis's original letters illustrative of English history, with notes and illustrations. Second Series, II, 10, 12.

(f) Lingard.—Fiddes.

endeavoured to show off their beauty to the greatest advantage. Brantôme makes mention more than once of this feminine squadron attendant on the Queens of France, and, inclining as a chronicler to malevolence, even speaks lightly of their virtue. We can well imagine that in so gallant a court as that of Francis I., the character of these guards in petticoats must have incurred great risk; and unhappily ridicule, instead of scandal, ensued, when any of Claude's attendants fell from the path of virtue. It was, to use the language of the age, a pardonable weakness, which called rather for pity than censure. One alone was pure from even a shade of suspicion, and that was Claude, who, like Katharine of Arragon, was an ornament to her sex and station.(a)

It is no easy matter to say whether Anne was able to resist the entreaties of Francis's courtiers; but it is an indubitable fact, that she was spoken as lightly of as her companions, and Francis used to boast of having had his share of the young maiden's favours.(b) We are not astonished either at the gallant monarch's triumph or indiscretion, but only at the epithet which he employs to designate his mistress.(c)

It is uncertain how long Anne remained with Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, who was called the tenth Muse and fourth Grace, on account of her great beauty and talents.(d) Margaret was at that period living, if any credit can be attached to a modern historian, in a state of incest with her own brother. A letter recently discovered by M. Genin, throws a new light on the life of the princess. He states that her husband, the Duke of Alençon did not die of grief at having occasioned the defeat at Pavia, but of remorse, on account of his wife's gross and immoral conduct.(e) Even if we reject the accusation of incest, of which M. Genin accuses Francis and the mother of Jeanne d'Albret, founded, solely on an ascetical expression occurring in a letter which he cannot or will not understand, still we must regret that so youthful and lovely a girl as Anne Boleyn should have been introduced into the world by a princess of so light a character as Margaret, Duchess of Alençon. At Paris, amid the brilliant and charming women who attended her court, the duchess was wont to read her favourite author Boccacio aloud, or to recite some love scene in language a little too light for our age. We are informed by one of her panegyrists,(f) that Anne did all in her power to attain the French cast of countenance, which afterwards attracted the attention of the English court; but we also think that her soul must have been tainted by coming into contact with the debauched gentlemen, irreligious priests, and effeminate poets, who made Margaret's court their favourite rendezvous. Had they in such an assembly only read the stanzas, entitled "*Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*,"(g) we might have feared for her faith; but they also read the Italian poets, and therefore we have every reason to tremble for her innocence.

Several portraits of Anne Boleyn are still in existence by Hans Holbein or his pupils, and are to be seen at Windsor, Hampton Court, Oxford, Genoa, Rome, Florence, and Paris; and the beauty of the young English maiden can be even now perceived, though after the lapse of three centuries. Sanders gives her no flattering portrait, for he says, "She was a brunette,(h)

(a) Katharine corresponded with Claude. In the British Museum, (MSS. Cott. Cal. I. p. 1.) is a letter from the Queen of England "to my good sister and cousin, the Queen Claude of France."

(b) Le Grand.

(c) *La Haquenée du Roi.*—Sanders.

(d) Crapelet.

(e) Nouvelles lettres de la reine de Navarre, addressées au roi Francois I. son frère, publies d'après le MSS. de la bibliothèque du roi par M. Genin.—The Protestant journal *Le Semeur* has examined and completely refuted M. Genin's accusatien in two numbers in December, 1842.

(f) Crapelet.

(g) A poem of which Margaret was the author, and which was proscribed by the Parliament.—See Audin's Histoire de Calvin. —"Le Miroir de l'âme Pécheresse" appeared for the first time in 1531.—Beza, Hist. Eccl. —Brantôme.

(h) De Schismate Anglican. One of the finest portraits of Anne Boleyn is in the collection of the Earl of Warwick. It has been engraved by Scriven. The portrait at Genoa in the palace of Durazzo inspired Lady Morgan with the following reflection, (Italy) "This portrait

of a fine figure, oval countenance, but very pale, with bad teeth, deformed in her right hand, and a swelling in her neck." Had Anne really resembled this portrait, we think that England would never have apostatized from the Church of the Living God. She was as much celebrated for her natural beauty as for her coquetry, and a poet has compared her eyes to two bright stars.(a) She was very clever, a good musician, playing well on the flute and violin,(b) accompanied herself on the lute, danced too well for an honest woman, and even composed verses. She was quoted at Paris and Nerac as a model of taste; it was Anne Boleyn who led the fashion of the day. None could put a gold pin so well in the hair, or a pearl bracelet on the forehead.

Anne returned to England in 1523, and was, immediately on her introduction at court, surrounded by admirers. The poet, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the friend of her childhood, paid his addresses to her, but was refused.(c) Thomas Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland, was more successful. They met for the first time at one of the cardinal's masquerades, and confided to each other their mutual love.(d) But their affection was not of long continuance; Henry, for a long time disgusted with Katharine, saw Anne Boleyn and fell in love with her. They also first met at one of the cardinal's masked balls at his archiepiscopal residence, at Battersea, formerly called Bridge House, and afterwards York House. This ball took place in a magnificent room, the walls of which were ornamented with valuable paintings. When the building was destroyed, a gold ring given, according to Manning,(e) by the king to his partner, with the legend: "*Thy virtue is thy honour*," and which she lost during the evening, was found.

Anne and Percy took no precaution in concealing their love from the world; while the minister, in whose service he was, would be in conference with the king, Percy was with Anne in Katharine's ante-chamber, among the maids of honour attached to the queen, where he proposed an immediate marriage.(f) The object of these secret meetings was unknown to Katharine and Wolsey, but Henry soon perceived that he had a rival, and ordered the cardinal to separate the lovers.(g) Wolsey, on his return from Westminster, sent for Percy, and, in a long interview, the details of which have been preserved by Cavendish,(h) advised him to give up all idea of Anne Boleyn. He expected obedience, but met with so great an opposition that he was obliged to appeal to the youth's father. The Earl of Northumberland, on hearing of the king's anger with Percy, returned in haste to London, reprimanded his son, and compelled him to marry; and, accordingly, a few weeks after, Percy led Lady Mary Talbot, one of the daughters of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to the altar.(i) As a punishment for her attachment to Percy, Anne was obliged to leave Katharine's service, and retire to the solitude of Hever Castle,(j) but a few miles from the royal residence at Greenwich. Sir Thomas Boleyn made no complaint against the cardinal who had thus foiled all his child's expectations; but Anne resolved to have her revenge at the earliest opportunity. She had been deprived, she knew not why, of the heart and hand of one whom she loved, of the hope of an immense fortune, and of a fine title. She had therefore every right to curse the very name of Wolsey.

is extremely curious for its costume; but we can see nothing in Anne Boleyn, a slight woman with red hair, which could have excited the adulterous passion of Henry VIII." The poet Wyatt even praises the two fingers she had on her right hand; "but that which in others might have been regarded as a defect, was to her an occasion of additional grace." We are told in the "Dictionnaire des Sciences Medicales" (art *Cas. rares.*) that she had six fingers on each hand, and was mulumammiferous, and in the "Dictionnaire Historique de Chaudon et Delandine," that she had a swelling in her neck and a tooth too many.

(a) Whose eyes like twinkling stars in evening clear.

(b) Chateaubriand's Memoires (inédites) quoted by Jacob.

(c) Wyatt's Memoirs.

(d) Cavendish.

(e) Manning's Surrey.

(f) Miss Strickland, IV., 171.—Cavendish.—Nott's Life of Surrey.

(g) Crapelet.

(h) Miss Strickland, IV. 168, 169.

(i) Lingard.—Hume.—Guthrie.

(j) Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

These events occurred in 1523, and not in 1527, as some historians would wish us to believe, being interested in concealing from their too credulous readers the real date of this royal act of jealousy. As it is certain that Henry conceived his scruples of conscience (to use Burnet's official expression) respecting the validity of his marriage with Katharine in 1526, if Anne had appeared at court in 1527, it is evident that she could have nothing to do with his scruples; but now-a-day's Burnet's dates, as well as those of his followers, are acknowledged to be false. Percy married the daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, on the 12th of September, 1523,(a) and on the 19th of May, 1527, succeeded to the titles of his father, who died about that time.(b) Anne was, therefore, in England in 1523. She was not exiled more than two months,(c) and reappeared more lovely than ever at court, thinking no longer of Thomas Percy.

Henry, before he attempted to seduce the daughter,(d) bought the father's silence. Sir Thomas Boleyn was created Viscount Rochford and Treasurer of the royal household, and on the same day, Anne was presented with a magnificent set of diamonds by her royal lord. Sir Thomas Boleyn offered no opposition to the king's wishes, nor was he tormented by any scruple of conscience. He had shut his eyes when his eldest daughter, Mary, had fallen a victim to Henry's blandishments, and now he sold his second daughter's honour for a viscountcy; but Anne, brought up at the court of Francis, was not so simple as her sister. She knew how a woman could resist and yet encourage. In this respect, she was like Poppœa, as described by Tacitus, who treated the affairs of the heart as if they had been matters of diplomacy.(e) When then the king, after having addressed to her a sonnet, more poetical than amorous,(f) spoke to her of his affections, she replied like the heroine of one of the Duchess of Alençon's tales, "Your concubine, NEVER; your wife if you will."(g)

Anne had profited by having been educated in Margaret's school. This was doubtless the first time that Henry had found a woman unwilling to yield her honour at his solicitation; but her refusal fascinated the despotic and debauched monarch, and inflamed his passion for her. The reader will remember his behaviour to Montague when he wished to be obeyed, he had only to lay his hand on a head, and say it shall fall or bend, and immediately it would be beneath the ground. Here was a mistress whom he desired to have; and to obtain her he implored, promised, swore, but all in vain. It might have been supposed that he was treating with Francis, but the young maiden, perfect in the art of coquetry, resisted. Her conditions were ever the same,—a THRONE.(h)

The opposition displayed by Anne Boleyn, which some historians(i) have imagined was serious, lasted more than a twelvemonth; but it was invariably tempered with those little arts which one of Margaret's scholars could so well bring into play. Anne, while at London, had had frequent interviews with the king. She saw him in Katharine of Arragon's apartments. She was his constant partner in the ball-room. She was the queen of his festivities. Absent from London, she would at one time receive letters, at another presents, from her lover. One day "he sent her his portrait set in a bracelet, with

(a) The marriage of my Lord Percy shall be with my Lord Steward's (Shrewsbury) daughter, whereof I am glad; the Chief Baron is with my Lord of Northumberland to conclude the marriage.—Letter from Anne's cousin, the Earl of Surrey, scribbled the 12th day of September, 1523.—Archives of the House of Percy.

(b) Brooke's Succession.—Miller's Catalogue of Honours.—Benger's Anne Boleyn.—Collin's Peerage, by Sir Edward Bridges.

(c) Benger.

(d) Pole.

(e) With her, love was not an affair of the heart, but a matter of diplomacy.—Miss Strickland, IV., 150.

(f)
The eagle's force subdues each byrde that flyes,
What metal can resyst the flaminge fyre,
Doth not the sunne dalze the cleareste eyes?
And melte the ice, and make the froste retyre?
The hardest stones are piercede thro with tools;
The wysest are, with princes, made but fools.
—Nugæ antiquæ, I. 388.

(g) Card. Pole, Apologia.

(h) Card. Pole.

(i) Turner.—Miss Benger.

a wish that he could be with her whenever he wished." At another time, "a buck killed late yester-even by his hand, with a hope that while eating of it she would think of the hunter." She also wrote to Henry; but none of her letters are in existence. If, however, we are to judge by his replies, they must have been couched in language calculated rather to whet than to weaken his passion. It seems that Henry, emboldened by some expression penned in rather too affectionate a tone by Anne, was not quite so delicate in his language as he should have been, and had accordingly given great annoyance to his mistress. Henry, truly repentant for what he had said, consoled her by assuring her that "Heaven alone could put an end to his torments; and that if God heard his prayers, Anne would soon, together with the crown, share the royal bed." And the following note succeeded in appeasing his mistress: "Nevertheless, it by no means becomes a gentleman to treat his wife as a servant. However, I shall obey you, if thereby you will be more at your ease than you have been in the position assigned by me. I heartily thank you for still occasionally thinking of me. 6 n. A. 1 de A. o na. v. e. z." (a)

(a) The library of the Vatican at Rome possesses seventeen autograph letters from Henry to Anne Boleyn (Cod. No 3731), of which eight are in French, and nine in English, all signed by him. The king's writing is very legible; they are written on a kind of cartridge-paper and have no superscription or date. The first is thus terminated: *Vostre loyall serviteur et amy*; the third: *escrit de la main de celluy qui a est et toujours sera vostre immuable, H. Rex*; the fourth: *escripte de la main de celluy qui voulontiers se moureroyt vostre H. R.* A letter, deficient in the Vatican collection, and which has been published by Mr. J. Hearne, is thus worded: "*Votre loyall et plus asseure serviteur, H. autre A. B. ne cerche R.* Mr. Gunn has published a very exact edition of these letters in the *Pamphleteer*, Nos. 42 and 43, which have been published by M. Crapelet, under the title of "*Lettres de Henri VIII. a Anne Boleyn.*" At the commencement of this collection are lithographic portraits of Anne and Henry VIII. Anne's is copied from the one in the Latin version of the "History of the Reformation," by Burnet, (Geneva), and which is an exact copy of Holbein's, with this difference, that the old master has represented Anne with her dress cut low, while M. Crapelet, with a modesty which we are far from censuring, has made the queen's dress somewhat higher. From a portrait at Rome, it seems that Anne, when quite young, was not ashamed to sit to Holbein without a veil.

Historians have asserted that Wolsey first suggested the idea of a divorce to Henry,(b) (but Wolsey himself indignantly rejected the idea as an insult);(c) Longland, the king's confessor, the Bishop of Tarbes, and a few other theologians, of no distinction,(d) were of like opinion,(e) but they had not perused Henry's letters. Had Anne consented to have been his mistress, Henry would never have dreamt of a divorce, but she wanted a bridal wreath and a crown, and then she would belong, soul and body, to the monarch. It was then that the king thus wrote to her: "Assuring you that henceforward my heart will be yours alone, desiring that my body may be so, and it will be if God will, whom I pray earnestly for the arrival of that day." It is certain that Henry's first scruples respecting the validity of his marriage with Katharine of Arragon, were after he had seen Anne Boleyn, a marriage blessed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and which Julius II., as we are aware, had authorised by a special bull. Henry opened the Old Testament and read, in Leviticus xviii. 16: "Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife; because it is the nakedness of thy brother." Thus the Mosaic law formally prohibited a marriage between a brother and sister-in-law; this was indeed a ray of hope for his heart, tormented by his passions. From that moment the monarch felt great "remorse," and believed that he would be accursed by God as long as he cohabited with Katharine, with whom, however, he had lived without the slightest scruple for eighteen years. But he took care, after reading the above verse in Leviticus, to close the sacred volume; for had he but turned over a few more leaves, his eyes would have glanced on the following: "When brethren dwell together and one of them dieth without children, the wife of the deceased shall not marry to another, but his brother shall take her, and raise up seed to his brother." (Deut. xxv. 5.) (f)

(b) Pole.
(c) Cavendish.
(d) Le Grand.—Hall.
(e) Pole.
(f) Le Grand.

Such was precisely Henry's case at the death of Arthur.

The king communicated his doubts to certain casuists; but, notwithstanding the scruples of a timorous conscience and the fears of a disputed succession, he could not conceal his wishes, and they descried the secret thoughts of his innermost heart. Henry, weary of Katharine, who was sick and infirm, desired to marry again. Theologians, tired of living in their presbyteries, desirous of an abbey or a bishopric, examined the sacred text, and concluded that no dispensation could legalize marriage with a brother's widow; but when shown the text in Deuteronomy, and being at a loss for a reply, they determined to deny the validity of the bull; first, on account of its not being sufficiently explicit; secondly, because it had been granted on a palpable falsity; and lastly, because Henry had never recognised it.(a) Henry could scarcely repress his joy. He had found friends and accomplices. However, as it was essentially necessary that he should be guided by a living authority, though he had a text from holy writ, even from the book of Leviticus, on his side, he laid his scruples before the cardinal.(b) Whether Wolsey was ignorant of the value at which Anne prized her beauty, or that he imagined that this *penchant* of the capricious monarch would pass away, or that he hoped to influence Katharine to take the veil, his eminence promised to do all in his power for the granting of the divorce; but when a few days later, Henry mentioned to him the name of Katharine's successor, the minister, throwing himself at his royal master's feet, implored him, with clasped hands, to renounce an idea so full of melancholy presentiments for himself and his country; but his prayer was useless.(c) The king, who in his love-fit had consulted every one, had just received a written consultation from his ambassador at Rome.

Pace laid no weight on the text from the Vulgate, but believed that the Hebrew would be more to his purpose. However, before giving his opinion, he wished to consult Robert Wakefield, as learned an Hebraist as Reuchlin, but as poor as Job, without, however, the simplicity of the dove. Robert replied from Oxford, that he was ready to enter the lists of controversy, and to dispute as well *viva voce* as with his pen. He imagined, on second thought, that it might be one of those idle questions studied in the schools, and only given him to try his skill, without bringing him profit or honour. He therefore requested to have a few lines from the king, in order that he might be certain that he was not deceived; and with the royal letter in his hand, he was ready to defend Leviticus or Deuteronomy, or *vice versâ*, as his majesty pleased.(d) and with an erudition of which England could not possibly form a conception.

While the island was being thus agitated to deprive Katharine of her titles as queen, wife and mother, what was she herself doing? Luther drew her portrait without being aware it: "The woman that fears God is a treasure a thousand times more valuable than a pearl from the East. She possesses the confidence of her husband, whom she loves. Her husband is her joy, her happiness, her life. She obeys without a murmur, works without ceasing, and watches over her household affairs. She rises early in the morning, allots their work to her servants, gathers the fruits, plants, and prunes. She does not sleep the whole night. She thinks of the wants of her family. In the day, she works with her fingers at the spindle, and is never idle for a second. The poor come and knock at her door: quickly she replies 'come in,' and gives them alms. Does any one complain of hunger, she quickly gives him bread. She succours all that are in distress. See how carefully and cleanly she dresses! Her house is the picture of neatness. She opens her lips at proper times, and her tongue only gives utterance to words of charity. The bread that she eats is not the bread of idleness; her children sing her praise, and the world blesses her."(e)

(a) Lingard.
(b) Lingard.—Polydore Virgil.
(c) For he is said to have gone repeatedly on his knees to the king, to dissuade him from it, but in vain.—Howard.

(d) Richardi Pacei, Decani Sancti Pauli ad Regem Henricum Octavum, 1526. Le Grand.
(e) Tisch-Reden.

Luther, while drawing this Scriptural portrait, would seem to have had Katharine of Arragon in his eye. During the eighteen years that she had been married, God had afflicted her in soul and body. Her beauty faded before she was stricken in years. She was afflicted with a chronic complaint, from which she was a great sufferer. It often prevented her from sleeping. All her children, save Mary, were in heaven. In vain had she besought God to give her a son, the sole object of Henry's wishes. He had not granted her prayer; but she resigned herself to His holy will. She knew that her faithless husband lavished his caresses, of which she was wont to be so proud, on others, and yet she never murmured. The splendours of royalty had no attraction in her eyes. Seated near a small table, Mary at her feet, her maids of honour around her, she delighted in tapestry, sewing, or turning the spindle. Ever calm, affable, and good-natured, she was an affectionate mother, a doating wife, an admirable Christian, and endued with every virtue that could adorn a woman. There are many who, on seeing her kindness to Anne Boleyn, her maid of honour, would think Katharine dull, in not perceiving, with true feminine quickness, that she was her rival; but such persons do her great injustice, as Katharine, purified by prayer, shut her eyes and ears to all that passed around her. She seldom went out; and, when obliged to appear at court, left as soon as she could, to return to her beloved solitude. Had it not been for the unanimous praise bestowed on her for her charities, the citizens of London might well have doubted her existence. The poor alone knew her worth. Anne Boleyn, who had in Katharine a second mother, seemed also to dote on her in return, and used to read every evening to her mistress. Look at her; neither her voice nor hand trembles, and not a tear falls on her prayer-book.

CHAPTER XVII.

PROJECT OF THE DIVORCE.—1527.

An intrigue concerted between Henry and the Bishop of Tarbes against Katharine.—The Queen learns that she has been betrayed.—Wolsey's share in the matter of the Divorce.—The Minister sent to France.—The pretext under which his exile is coloured.—Wolsey deceived by the King.—Fails in his negotiation of marriage with Margaret and Renée.—Returns to England.—His interview with Henry.—The King's book on the question of the Divorce.—His letter to his Mistress.—Did Anne yield her honour?—Expedients adopted by Wolsey.—The poet Wyatt.

The walls of her hermitage were not by any means so thick as to prevent Katharine hearing that she had been betrayed. Francis was no longer the emperor's prisoner; he had been, by the treaty of Madrid, affianced to Leonora, sister of Charles V.; but the marriage had been postponed in consequence of his having refused to fulfil the terms of the treaty by which he had regained his liberty. It was then that Henry of England, hoping thereby to involve the two sovereigns in a quarrel, offered his daughter, the Princess Mary, then only eleven years of age, to Francis; the proposition was accepted,[a] and his ambassadors, the Bishop of Tarbes and the Viscount de Turenne, signed, on the 30th April, 1527, a treaty, wherein it was agreed that Mary should marry Francis, on her gaining the age of puberty, if he were unmarried, or his second son, the Duke of Orleans.[b] Before the French ambassadors left England, Henry gave a magnificent festival in their honour at Greenwich, when three hundred lances were broken, and a ball given in the evening in the queen's apartments.

Hall has left a detailed account of the *fetê aux flambeaux*, where the "ladies were rather angels descended from heaven than

(a) Herbert.

(b) Lingard.—MSS. bib. du roi Loménie.

mortals."(a) "M. de Turaine danced," says the French journal, "by the king's command, with the princess, and the king with Mrs. Boulan, who had been brought up in France by the late queen."(b)

Was the treaty of marriage, which was to cement the two crowns, really a serious matter? It had been arranged that Mary should marry Francis or his second son, the Duke of Orleans. An alternative so singular is enough to make one hesitate as to the validity of the treaty; and suspect that it was a cloak to conceal a mystery which time alone would unravel. Gabriel de Grammont, Bishop of Tarbes, one of the French plenipotentiaries, was commissioned by Henry, with the *denouement* of the intrigue.

A few days after the treaty had been signed, and when about to return to France, the bishop appeared not a little dejected, and, as it were, dissatisfied at the completion of a negotiation which had caused such rejoicing in England. His sorrow, altogether diplomatic, was observed at Greenwich, and its cause demanded. For nearly a whole week, the prelate refused to assign any motive for his anxiety, when, at last, he replied with great embarrassment, that he was fearful that the projected marriage would never take place; and on being urged to explain himself, he first hesitated, and then said, that in his opinion, Katharine's marriage was a nullity in the eyes of God and man, and that several grave theologians coincided with him. The farce had been well acted. Henry appeared as if struck by a thunderbolt. His object by this pretended scruple of conscience, was to persuade the people that the first doubt on the validity of his marriage with Katharine had been suggested by a foreign bishop. The word DIVORCE, would, consequently, when the plot was perfectly rife, cause less scandal in England, less fear at Rome, and less astonishment among foreign courts. France would readily join in a trick which would be certain to make Charles and Henry irreconcileable enemies.(c) The word divorce was never to be used when the matter was spoken of. The expression, "*matter*" would not be so likely to excite anxiety in the breast of the queen and the people; and therefore it was agreed on that that term should be invariably used in their official correspondence.(d)

Katharine learned with sorrow that she had been betrayed by one whom she had loved as her own child; that Henry was desirous to brand her with the crime of incest, and Mary, his child, as the fruit of his sacrilegious marriage, and to place the crown of St. Edward on the head of his mistress. Maternal love made Katharine a heroine. She resolved, at the foot of the crucifix, to defend even to death her sacred rights as mother, wife, and queen; and not for an instant did she flinch from her resolution. She is the strong woman of holy writ who obtained courage by the contemplation of heaven. Her anger at first fell on that creature, who, not satisfied with robbing her of her husband's heart, was trying to sell herself for a crown. Henry was present at "*this short tragedy*,"(e) which he abridged by swearing that if he had consulted theologians (for Katharine was acquainted with every thing,) it was only to tranquillise his own conscience. The queen replied that she came a virgin to his bed, and that she should leave it pure; that it was insulting God to ask theologians, whether during eighteen years Mary's mother had not been living in incest; and added, resuming her wonted serenity, that the king would not doubtless refuse her that which he would grant to the humblest of his subjects,—the aid of English and foreign advocates to defend her threatened rights.(f)

From that time, Katharine was as much under *surveillance* as the convict in the cell. Her maids of honour and her attendants were ordered to communicate the slightest action performed by their mistress. Wolsey had a hand in this odious plot against the liberty of a woman. He congratulated the king on discovering the mission of Francis Philippes, whom the queen had sent to

(a) Hall.
(b) Journal 5 Mai, MSS. de Brienne.
(c) Raynal, Hist. du Divorce de Henri VIII.
(d) State Papers, passim.
(e) Lingard.
(f) State Papers, I. 195, 197.

...ious pretext of carrying ... of consolation to her aged and ...mother, but in reality to communicate "*the secret matter*" to Charles,—a secret which it was essentially necessary to keep from his knowledge.(a)

It was important that the character Wolsey was to play in this melancholy business should be now arranged. He had not suggested the divorce, since it was not conducive to his interest to replace a woman like Katharine of Arragon, (inimical to all mundane matters, and completely absorbed in her exercises of piety, and influenced by no other object of ambition than by the wish of working out her own salvation,) by a woman of Anne Boleyn's character, or any other young person of royal blood, who would replace him in the king's affections by her charms and youth. Any other woman but Katharine was a master which he gave to the prince, whose guardian he had hitherto been, and therefore it was that he threw himself at Henry's knees when he heard him pronounce the name of Anne Boleyn, as Katharine's successor, to endeavour, by his supplications and tears, to prevent such a catastrophe more fatal to his own happiness than to that of his royal master; but when he perceived that his tears, feigned or real, his prayers inspired by fright or selfishness, were ineffectual, he arose from his knees a convert to the scheme of the divorce, but determined that he should himself select the new queen.(b)

The reader will remember that at the time of Katharine's marriage, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, at first through genuine scruples of conscience, asserted that the Divine law transmitted by Moses positively prohibited any union between a brother and sister-in-law.(c) The question decided by the Sovereign Pontiff in favour of the new law, had been as yet only superficially examined; and it is highly improbable that Wolsey, amid his incessant employments, had had either sufficient leisure or even wish to examine the mooted point more seriously. When Henry, thanks to the investigations of the theologians who were Anne's partisans,(d) had opened the Book of Leviticus, and with his eyes willingly blinded, had read the sentence of God against those bands of affinity, Wolsey, influenced by the counsels of Warham, tormented by his evil passions, deceived as to the king's inclinations and faithful to his vocation of a courtier, declared himself in favour of the divorce.(e) But it is no difficult matter to perceive that, in every line that he wrote about this period, he believed that the dissolution of the marriage could only be pronounced by the Pope, that great authority to which he would be always submissive. Wolsey could not bring himself to believe that any attachment of Henry's could last. He had seen the king fall in love so often, and then immediately forget his *inamorata*, that he imagined it would be the same with Anne. Anne, once seduced, would be abandoned, as had been her sister Mary. Thus constrained to be an advocate for the divorce, he was still far from wishing to see Sir Thomas Boleyn's daughter Queen of England.

Anne had her revenge on the minister by having him sent into exile. When he

(a) And as touching the going of Fraunces Philipes into Spayne, fayning the same to be for visiting of his mother, now sikeley and aged, your Highness takith it surely in the right, that it is chiefly for disclosing of the secrete matier unto th' Emperor, and to devise meanes and wayes how your entended purpose might be empeched.—State Papers, I, 220.

(b) Thunderstruck at this disclosure, the minister threw himself at the feet of his royal master, and remained *several hours* on his knees reasoning with him on the infatuation of his conduct, but without effect.—Miss Strickland, IV., 179.—Lingard.—Carte.

(c) See Chap. I.

(d) She herself sent her own priests, grave theologians, as a proof of her zeal, who were not only to affirm that you might repudiate your wife, but even to say that you would commit a very grievous sin in retaining her for an instant; and who were to denounce the wrath of God against you if you should hesitate. This was the first beginning of the whole affair.—Pole.

(e) And as I said unto Master Sampson, if your brother had never knowen her, by reason whereof there was noo affinite contracted; yet, in that she was married in and *facie ecclesiæ*, and contracted *per verba de præsenti*, there did arrise *impedimentum publice honestatis*, which is noo lesse *impedimentum ad dirimendum matrimonium*, thenne affinite, whereof the bul makith noo expresse mencion.—Wolsey to King Henry VIII.

left for Paris, the citizens of London, acquainted with the king's passion for his new mistress, felt persuaded that the minister had only accepted the embassy, in order to negotiate a marriage between the King of England and one of the French princesses.(a) Such was the report circulated both in France and Spain,(b) and therefore the populace assembled in the streets of the city to see the cardinal's *cortège* pass by, and everywhere saluted him with prolonged huzzas.(c)

Wolsey was by no means accustomed to these acclamations of joy. It was a homage paid to the statesman, who, at first, had refused to participate in the plot against Katharine, and at a later period yielding to the storm raised against him by his enemies, had left home to form a family alliance with France, provided the queen would consent, as he hoped, to retire into a convent. His exile, though veiled by so specious a pretext, deceived no one. He left for the avowed purpose of arranging certain articles of the treaty as yet unsettled. He had been suddenly appointed at the instigation of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lord Rochfort, to take charge of this diplomatic mission.(d)

This disgrace was concealed on the following plea. Rome, as we shall see in the next chapter, had fallen into the hands of the Imperialists. Clement VII. was a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo, and Wolsey had gone to France to enter into some arrangement for his deliverance. He had seen through the snare, but, too crafty to evince any dread, had left London, as in days of yore, attended by his usual *cortége*, and preceded by his
only at the moment of em
wrote to the king earnestly entreat
to defend him against his enemies who had leagued together for his destruction. (e) Wolsey's mind was of too high a caste not to have a presentiment of the future. One more step, and he would have arrived at the height of his ambition. He at least touched it in thought when compelled to stop. He was no longer to contend with emperors or kings, but with an angry woman,—a power more to be dreaded than any other, and which was fully prepared to hurl him into an abyss with his mitre, his crosier, his scarlet robe, his two crosses as legate, his wealth, and the symbols of his worldly dignities.

Wolsey was received in France with the homage usually paid to crowned heads. Couriers preceded him one day in advance to prepare suitable apartments for him. At the gate of each town, the authorities waited for him; and under the cathedral porch a priest addressed him in Latin. The prisons were thrown open at every town through which he passed; and by virtue of letters-patent from Francis, he was authorised, like a king in his first entry into a city, to pardon every crime, excepting murder, rape, high treason, sacrilege, coining, and arson.(f) Wolsey found instructions from the king awaiting him at Paris, which were calculated to make him forget that he was an exile. Henry had instructed his ambassadors to give some letters to the Duchess of Alençon, congratulating her on her brother's delivery, and thanking her for the share she had taken

(a) And that he was going to the continent, to concert a marriage between Henry and the sister of the French sovereign.—Turner.

(b) On the 33rd of August, 1527, Dr. Lee alluding to this rumour wrote, "I shall order my answer according to the instructions of my Lord Legate."—MSS. Vesp. C. IV. p. 198.

(c) In passing through London, there was a gret number of people of every sorte on the stretes that I passed by, which continually, in countenance, behaviour and words, made demonstracion of favour, good wil, and harty love, with open acclamations and prayour to God, that I should wel spede in this my journay and shortly retourne again.—Wolsey to King Henry VIII.—State Papers, I. 196.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Assuredly trusting that your highness, of your high vertue and most noble disposition, wil defende the cause of your most humble servaunt and subjecte.—Wolsey to King Henry VIII.—State Papers, I. 195.

(f) "That he may in all cities and boroughs through which he shall pass, on his journey towards us, deliver all and every the prisoners then confined in those places; and to forgive, acquit, and pardon all matters, crimes, and delinquencies committed and perpetrated by such prisoners, in the same manner and form as we do, and have been accustomed to do, at our first visiting cities and boroughs of our said kingdom;" but he excepts "the crimes of high treason, murder, rape, sacrilege, coining, and burning houses."—Howard.

-ve zealous in labouring
-ss of their mission.(a) Had
dismissed his mistress? Wolsey had every reason to come to such a conclusion, from his instructions, but he was deceived. The scholar had profited by his master's lessons, and now played with him who had so long made a dupe of every crowned head. The matrimonial negotiation would be a failure, and of this Henry was fully aware.

Francis consented, after a well-feigned opposition, to reject the hand of the heiress presumptive to the throne of England, whom the Duke of Orleans would marry as soon as he was of age, unless the non-performance of that matrimonial clause, or *some other unexpected event*, should disturb the harmony of the two courts, or suspend the execution of the treaty.(b) These precautions fully prove Henry's determination to divorce Katharine and the cardinal's docility. Both sacrificed their consciences; the one to overcome the virtue of a young girl, the other to retain his position as Chancellor. As it was necessary to quiet the Queen, by depriving her of even the hope of an appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff if she refused to take the veil, Wolsey, (who was anxious to be invested with unlimited power in the trial about to take place,) stipulated that as long as Clement VII. was detained by the emperor as a prisoner, the sentence, which he, as legate, pronounced, should be executed in spite of every prohibition from the Pope, whatever might be the rank of the condemned party.(c) The minister had gained one victory. Would he be as successful with the Duchess of Alençon or the Princess Renée, as he had been with Francis I. Both these women suited Wolsey's policy. Margaret, abandoned to dissipation, would occupy her time in those pleasures by which he would surround her. Renée would remain in her oratory absorbed in prayer, which she loved as much as Katharine.(d) With Margaret or Renée, as Queen of England, he had a chance of dying Lord Chancellor.

Unhappily the minister failed in both his negotiations. Margaret replied that she could never consent to replace in the royal bed one who had slept there for eighteen years, without remorse, and perhaps be the cause of her death.(e) Besides, she was not free, as she was engaged to the King of Navarre; (f) a circumstance of which Wolsey was perfectly ignorant;—but not so with Henry. It was at Compiègne that the cardinal disclosed to Louise the project of divorce, and the hope that the King of England entertained of obtaining the hand of the Princess Renée.(g) But he soon had cause to repent of this step, as it was a new trap laid for him by his master. Renée was not in the slightest degree disposed to sacrifice the rights and repose of Katharine to the caprice of a debauched husband; and Francis refused giving his consent to a match which would give England an hereditary claim in Brittany, as that province was Renée's dowry;(h) besides, she was betrothed to the Duke of Ferrara.(i) What an humiliating position for Wolsey! Condemned to destruction if he pronounced the divorce, as he pledged himself to do, by the hand of Anne Boleyn, or by the pretended discontent of the sovereign, if he failed in his double mission. Wolsey had not expected that his pupil, weary of a yoke of fifteen years, would finish by obtaining his emancipation. So long as he was employed in deceiving an ally, breaking sacred engagements or his word, taking life, impoverishing a nation, or dictating to Parliament, Henry was ready to

(a) 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 praise to her for her great labors, pains, and travail, sustained in his behalf, by whose dexterity the same hath taken this good effect. And so they shall in their doing have met with such intelligence as they can attain; entertaining her in the avance of all such things as they shall see the case to require. The instructions were signed Henry, H. T.—MSS. Cal. D. IX., p. 169.

(b) Lingard.—State Papers, I., 234, 652, 268.

(c) State Papers, I., 135, 253, 256, 263.—Rymer, Fœdera XIV., 203, 227. — Rossi, Avvenimenti d'Italia.

(d) Ten years after this date, Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, apostatized.—Audin's Hist. de Calvin.

(e) Polyd., Virg., XXVII.

(f) Harl. MSS., No. 295.

(g) Le Grand.

(h) Le Grand.

(i) MSS. Vesp. C. IV., 177, 181.

obey him; in his interest the king had acted hypocritically and despotically. Now, when he had served so long as an instrument to the will of one man, the king revolted, and wished to govern. Wolsey was playing with fire. At the pinnacle of power, he learned that Henry wished to be divorced from his wife, and believed himself obliged to listen to the whims of a discontented husband. But the slave of yesterday had become hard to please. He wanted a wife such as his inflamed passions represented to his mind. He met with opposition; and, accordingly, to possess her he would crush the idol which his royal hand had made. The king again became a theologian. By arguments taken from the Angel of the Schools, he had triumphed over Luther, and successfully defended tradition. The ink that had performed such wonders in the contest with the monk of Wittemberg was not yet exhausted. There remained sufficient for Henry to defend himself and oppose the universities of the kingdom. He returned with greater ardour than ever to the Book of Leviticus, as Wakefield,(a) the student of Hebrew at Oxford, had advised him; and by the aid of a few lines, written more than 4,000 years ago by the Hebrew legislator, he wished to prove to the world that he had been living in incest for eighteen years, and that his daughter Mary (his only child) had been conceived and brought up in sin. He began his work, and composed a treatise interlarded with citations from the Bible, establishing the nullity of his marriage, and proving that it was high time, for the sake of public morals, to dissolve it.(b) While the theologian was at work, the lover had not forgotten his mistress, to whom he thus wrote: "My little heart, this letter will inform you of my uneasiness since your departure, as it has seemed much longer than a fortnight. I think it proceeds from your kindness and the fervour of my love; for otherwise it would have seemed impossible that so short an absence could have caused me such grief. But now that I shall again see you, it seems as if my sorrow was half diminished; and I feel great pleasure in composing a work that will be of service to us both. I have worked to-day for more than four hours, which, with a slight headache, compels me to write a short letter, desiring, especially in the evening, to find myself in my sweetheart's arms, whose pretty little ——— I hope soon to kiss.(c) Written with the hand of him who has been, is, and shall be yours by his own will."

A dramatic poet could make no use of such a letter as this, inasmuch as it would deprive the personages introduced into his piece of that unity of character so indispensable for imaginary heroes. But the historian is in the service of another muse. Truth is always required to flow from his pen. If this letter was really written by Henry, what becomes of those celebrated words of Anne Boleyn, "YOUR CONCUBINE, NO! YOUR WIFE, YES!"—an answer dictated by modesty and virtue, and made by the young maiden when first tempted by Henry. If it were true that Anne fell from the path of virtue, how could she now dare to expect the throne? How came one so crafty to fall, especially as she had the example of her elder sister before her? How was it that Henry, whom historians invariably represent as a libertine, did not at once, repel from him a woman who had been so imprudent as to yield to his desires? These difficult questions have been resolved, or attempted to be resolved, in a modern work, in which the author becomes a champion for the honour of Anne Boleyn. "If a few expressions in these letters shock the reader's delicacy, he must attribute this licentiousness to the time in

(a) Pole.—Knight's Erasmus.
(b) Lingard

(c) "Wyschyng myselfe (specially an evenynge) in my swete harte harmys, whose pretty dukkys I trust shortly to cusse. Writtyn with the hand off hym that was, is, and shal be yours by hys wyll." Mr. Sharon Turner (History of Henry VIII.,) in speaking of his letters, says, that "*their respectful language is an irresistible attestation of Anne Boleyn's virtue*," and, as a proof, quotes the above letter, omitting the words "*whose pretty dukkys I trust shortly to cusse*,".....adding in a note, "*I omit eight words, expressing the endearments he desired.*" Miss Strickland, on referring to this, says, "It is, nevertheless, difficult to imagine any woman of honourable principles receiving and treasuring such letters from a married man."—IV., 178.

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which they were written, for we know that that age was scarcely civilised, and that numerous examples might be given where less reserve is employed in the choice of terms. Those even who are not very partial to Henry, have been compelled to admit that there are only two or three faults to be found in the whole of his letters, and that they are rather an evidence of his piety than otherwise."(a) Does the edified reader believe that Anne yielded her honour to Henry's lustful desires?

On his return to London, Wolsey found his master more smitten than before he had left; the happy lover had, during the absence of his minister, collected all the arguments he could find against his marriage with Katharine. Wolsey, for we must be just, did all he could to dissuade Henry from his passions, but his prayers and tears were alike useless. (b) The minister was far from being disheartened. Wyatt, probably at Wolsey's request, again came forward to offer his hand to Anne, whom he had never ceased to adore. But what could Wyatt offer worthy of an ambitious woman's acceptance;—a crown of laurels? Anne aspired to a diadem sparkling with diamonds. Through a feeling of gratitude, or acting as a coquette, she seemed captivated by the poet, and her tablet, or girdle, was the reward (if Sanders is be to credited), which she bestowed on the friend of her childhood.(c) It is indubitable that Henry felt great alarm on hearing of this prize which Wyatt imprudently exhibited to his friends. An explanation of rather a lively character took place between the monarch and his well-beloved, but the prince's anger was appeased by Anne assuring him that her tablet was not a free gift, but had been stolen from her.(d)

The reconciliation of the lovers was a fresh subject of sorrow to Wolsey. But how came he to be still at the head of affairs? The taking of Rome by the Imperialists was looked on as an event that might destroy the equilibrium of Europe. England stood still in need of the cardinal's genius to continue the arbitress of the world. Wolsey's work was not finished. He was accordingly kept in office to accomplish it, and perhaps to prepare a way for the divorce.

(a) Crapelet.
(b) Miss Strickland.—IV., 179.

(c) Sanders. Wyatt was not banished the court, as this historian says.
(d) He soon took an opportunity of reproaching Anne Boleyn with giving love tokens to Wyatt, when the lady clearly proved, to the great satisfaction of her royal lover, that her tablet had been snatched from her, and kept by superior strength.—Miss Strickland, IV., 181.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SACKING OF ROME.—1527.

The Imperialists march on Rome.—Clement VII.—The Pope's alarm at the approach of Bourbon.—The English urge him to defend himself.—Why?—The Constable arrives under the walls of Rome, and encamps on Monte Mario.—Siege of the City.—Death of Bourbon.—Sacking of Rome.—Behaviour of England towards the Holy See.—The Plague breaks out in Rome.—Clement capitulates.—He flies to Orvieto.—In what way he revenges himself on his enemies.

After the battle of Pavia the German soldiers, whom Fründsberg had brought from the Black Forest, spread themselves over Italy. Badly disciplined, ill-clothed, and worse fed, they pillaged and murdered wherever they bent their steps. The Pope and the Emperor had made them fine promises, but, after the defeat of the French, they scarcely gave them enough to eat; and to the complaints of these turbulent auxiliaries the reply ever was: "To-morrow." In all the wars of Italy, as the reader must have remarked, Spaniards, Imperialists, Italians, and Swiss, invariably utter the same cry, "Money;" and, in consequence of the deficiency of money, these wars carried

on on so extensive a scale, beyond the Alps, were always barren of fruit. When Maximilian I. was on the point of entering Milan, the Swiss ran to arms to demand the money due to them, and the Emperor, unable to pay, was compelled to leave Lombardy. At the time that the Mountaineers armed themselves, in obedience to the appeals of Schinner for the purpose of aiding Sforza, it was suddenly rumoured that they had halted on the road, and had refused to fight until they had been paid.(a) Charles, the sovereign of so many kingdoms, could not advance 20,000 ducats,(b) and in England the people mutinied, and refused to pay a subsidy, (£800,000) which would ruin the country. The King of France, a prisoner at Madrid, not having sufficient money for his ransom was compelled to leave his two sons as hostages, and to be bailed by Henry VIII. before he could leave prison. Bourbon and Lannoy addressed themselves to the Pope, as head of the league, for money to pay their soldiers, but Clement, himself poor, asked for time, assembled his cardinals, and, after much exertion, sent the constable a few thousand ducats sufficient to feed the starving soldiery for two or three weeks. Then came complaints more bitter than ever; and at last murmurs were no longer heard, but threats so insolent that the viceroy seriously proposed to the Pontiff to put the insurgents to the sword. It was then that the Venetian ministers, alarmed for the tranquillity of Italy, besought the Pontiff to advance 200,000 sequins,(c) or to prepare to defend Rome.(d)

(a) See Chapter VII.

(b) Nearly all Charles's resources came from Portugal, then the wealthiest country in the world. He acknowledged that without the assistance of the Queen of Portugal, he could not have taken possession of either Tournai, Milan, Fontarabia, or triumphed over Francis I. (MSS. Vesp., c. III., p. 62.) He had borrowed from England, when he came to the throne of Spain, 100,000 florins, and 150,000 crowns, and an indemnity of 133,705 florins, which he took to pay annually to Henry VIII., not a sequin of which had been paid for the last four years. — MSS., ib., p. 115.

(c) We have moved the Pope's Holiness to take heed, and to defend himself, for that we see no other remedy.—Russell's letter to Wolsey.—MSS. Vit., B. IX., p. 58.

(d) Casali's Letters, 1527, 1st and 2nd of April.—MSS., ib., p. 88

Clement is an admirable representative of the Medicis of the day, such as Machiavelli and Guicciardini have described; fickle and changeable, ever seeking after fresh ideas, but abandoning them as soon as discovered; venturesome and bold in his projects, but irresolute when the time for acting arrived; suspicious as well of men as of the future; capable of governing himself, but incapable of mastering his own imagination; obstinate to stubbornness, and yet, if required to surmount an obstacle, timid to weakness,—pretending to judge the world, and frightened at the slightest opposition; and yet allowing himself to be as easily deceived as a child; indifferent to good or bad fortune, to pleasure as well as to greatness, generous and liberal to a fault, and at times economical to avarice; ever seeking for fresh alliances, and ready to break through treaties which he had repented of having contracted; in a word, a southern soul which could be as easily led as intimidated.(e)

Clement was alarmed at the constable's summons; we pardon him his anxiety. One of the German generals was that Fründsberg, who had sworn that he would take back to Germany the Pope's skin. Luther had thus addressed this body of banditti in his "Warning to the Germans:" "The Pope of Rome is no longer a saint, but the greatest sinner in existence; his throne is not sealed in heaven but nailed to the gates of hell. Who gave him power to exalt himself above God, and to trample His precepts and His commandments under foot? Prince, be master; the supreme power which the Pope exercises at Rome he has stolen from you. We are no longer any thing else than the slaves of consecrated tyrants. We bear the title and arms of the empire; the Pope has its treasures; for us the straw and for him the corn."(f)

Bourbon's soldiers, weary of eating straw, wished for the golden corn hoarded

(e) His Holiness is subject to a remarkable timidity, not to say pusillanimity: which, indeed, it appears to me, is commonly the case in Florentines. This timidity renders his Holiness very irresolute.—Suriano, Rel., di 1533.

(f) An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation, von der christlichen Standes Besserung.

up in his Holiness' stores. They called to mind the patriotic hymns of their poet Hutton against those insolent prelates who treated the Germans as cooks and grooms;(a) their national pride was exasperated at the bare remembrance of the insults which the German Pope, who had flitted by like an accursed shade on the Chair of St. Peter, had suffered. The time had now arrived when the man of the South would be made to atone for his insults to the man of the North. "To Rome! to Rome!" was their cry at the termination of their morning and evening prayer, and as their "Father in God" had approached Worms singing, so they also sang as they marched into the Holy City, not the canticle "*My God is a fortress,*" but that wild war song,

"Sonnez, sonnez trompettes
Sonnez, tous à l'assaut!
Approchez vos engins,
Abattez ces murailles,
Tous les biens des Romains
On les livre au pillage."(b)

What could Clement do at the approach of Bourbon, Fründsberg, and all those miscreants who made no secret of their diabolical intentions if they succeeded in taking possession of Rome?(c) Cunning, threats, prayers, in a word, every expedient suggested by despair or weakness, was had recourse to; he had no other arms. According as he was influenced by fear or hope, he aroused the anger or solicited the help of the Emperor, master at that time of Italy. If Charles accused Clement of ingratitude, Clement, in return, complained of his insatiable avarice (d) For a moment the Pontiff turned his eyes towards England, but Henry refused the title of Protector of a League which Clement had just formed, in conjunction with Sforza, Duke of Milan, and the Republics of Venice and Florence, to save the Italian independence. In vain did he appeal to the generosity of Francis, against whom he had not long since entered into a league; the king could give him no aid. What could he do at this critical moment? Charles, after God, could alone save him; he implored his aid.(e) But Charles had not sufficient money to arrest, on their onward march, this horde of barbarians, who would certainly have died of starvation, had not the Duke of Ferrara, acting against his duty both as a Christian and a patriot, come to their assistance.(f) Clement would, at the last moment, have given the money, had not the English ambassadors urged him to keep it until the Germans had crossed the Alps. In what way can we explain this extraordinary conduct of the English agents, when we find them in their secret dispatches asserting that even the emperor had no control over these men?(g) They were delighted at the fictitious courage which this "timid" Pope, as they called Clement, showed at their instigation; if war continued to desolate the country, it was in consequence of their having urged the Pontiff to a fool-hardy resistance.(h) Every thing tends to prove that faithful to the instructions of the court, they spurred Clement on to an unequal struggle, and, in case of his defeat, they intended to purchase his consent to the divorce at the price of an armed intervention in favour of the Holy See. Anne Boleyn's influence was felt even in Italy; for her the unhappy Pontiff was deceived; for her Rome exposed to the fury of the Germans; for her the peace of the world sacrificed.

Betrayed by treacherous advice, Clement immediately levied an army of a few thousand soldiers, who were sent to stop the enemy in their progress. They were at last going to break the yoke under

(a) See Adolf Müller's Leben des Erasmus.
(b) Turner. This piece is preserved by Brantôme.
(c) Ranke aknowledges that it was only after the Battle of Pavia that Fründsberg conceived the project of attacking Rome.
(d) Pallavicini.

(e) Lingard.
(f) ..... If his army had not received victuals and other necessaries from Ferrara, they could not have remained there two days. —Sacco di Roma, attributed to Luigi Guicciardini, quoted by Turner.
(g) We also think that it lieth not in the emperor's power to cause the lance-knights and Spaniards to go out of Italy.—MSS. Vit., B. IX., p. 92.
(h) It is not to be thought little, considering the Pope's fearful nature to have *returned him into the war*: but he hath desired us, since *we have* brought him thus far, to advertise as well as the king's highness, as also the French king of his necessity; and their help not wanting in whose promises he trusts.—MSS. Vit., B. IX., p. 97.

which the Papacy had so long enslaved Germany: full of their Luther, they spoke of ruining that city where antichrist had established his seat. The moment had arrived to pluck the Papal tiara from his corpse, to place it on the head of their emperor.(a) Frundsberg's camp resembled the hostlery of the Black Eagle, at Wittemberg, whose walls resounded with the ribald laughter of those who denounced the Papacy as the "daughter of hell." How delighted would the Saxon monk have been with the soldiers of Frundsberg. Jacob Ziegler, who had for a length of time been employed in the Roman Chancery, placed himself after his apostacy at the disposal of Bourbon, and was ordered to draw up the speeches, correspondence, and dispatches of the constable.(b) No sooner here the news reached the German camp that the Pontifical troops were in movement than an immense shout was heard of "To Rome! to Rome!" A heavy fall of snow obstructed the passage through Bologna. Bourbon consequently went by Cotignuola, and passing rapidly by San Pietro in Borgo, on 12th April, 1527, slept at San Stefano, on the banks of the Piave.(c) The army had suffered considerably from thirst and hunger in its march across the Alps; their food consisted of grass, buried under the snow, dry leaves and thistles, which they found growing near the ditches, and their drink was water obtained from the rivers. But none of them murmured at their distress, since they were urged on by the Monk of Wittemberg; they awoke from their sleep with the cry of "To Rome!" and went to rest singing, "*Sonnez trompettes.*"

His Holiness' lieutenant gave the first notice of the appearance of the enemy. At Rome they endeavoured to stop their further progress by offering them money, but the barbarians were too exacting in their demands. At first, they required 60,000 ducats, then 100,000, afterwards 150,000, and, as their horses advanced further in the snow, 200,000 and 300,000 ducats! Henry has kept *au courant* with the enemy's movements by his ambassador.(d) At a distance, they might have been taken for a horde of those Vandals whom God had formerly used as an instrument to chastise guilty nations. When close at hand, they resembled one of those masquerades which may be seen in Italy at the Carnival. Each soldier wore any costume he pleased. Some had on the skins of wild beasts; others wore cassocks or dalmatics as cloaks. Some had donned the surplice over their breast-plates; others, the black habit of the Augustinians; and others again, the white habit of the sons of St. Dominick. Their arms bore the same appearance as their clothes. Some carried clubs; others lances, six feet long; some swords; others bows. The confusion of tongues was no less striking; for German, Italian, Spanish, and French, might have been heard spoken in Bourbon's camp.

From San Stefano, the constable menaced both the banks of the Arno and the Tiber, Rome and Florence. In November, 1526, Fründsberg had reviewed his troops, amounting to 11,000, in the Place du Dôme, at Méran, in the Tyrol.(e) At San Stefano, the body under his command amounted to 18,000 infantry, 3,500 cavalry, and 12,000 men of different arms.(f) A great number of Italians, attracted by the hope of plunder, daily joined the constables's forces.(g) Never had Italy been more alarmed since the descent of the barbarians. They burned and destroyed all that came in their way. Edifices, sacred and profane, images of saints, statues and pictures, fell a sacrifice to the fury of these enraged barbarians.(h) Cardinal Campeggio, confined to his bed with a fit of

(a) Jacob Ziegler, Acta paparum urbis Romæ. MSS.
(b) Schelhorn, de vitâ et scriptis Jacobi Zieglen.
(c) Turner.

(d) 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 now come to 300,000, and the furthest to be paid in six days. English ambassador's letter to Wolsey, 26th Sept.—MSS. Vit., B. IX., p. 97.
(e) Hormayr's Archiv.
(f) Letter from Florence, 27th April.—MSS. Vit., B. IX., p. 99.
(g) Turner.—Sacco di Roma.
(h) English Amb. Letter.—MSS. Vit. B., IX., p. 100.

gout, arose to prophecy to Cardinal Wolsey, that Rome would soon be destroyed unless God raised up another Leo to arrest the progress of this new Attila. "These men, who have descended into our beautiful country, can never have been baptized. They are Mahometans, Moors, Jews."(a) "More cruel than the Turks," wrote in their turn the English ambassadors, "the Germans destroy every thing. We saw them thrust a crucifix into a priest's brains, and then burn them both; and we afterwards saw them flay another priest alive.(b) They have already destroyed in churches, abbeys, monasteries, and private houses, more than the value of a million of gold."(c)

Faithful to their instructions, the English ambassadors urged on the unhappy Pontiff, who eagerly listened to their suggestions, and with the hope of being supplied with men and arms from England, as they had promised him, continued the preparations for defence,(d) while the Duke of Ferrara excited the Germans to punish his Holiness' ambitious obstinacy.(e) After a demonstration against Florence and Arezzo, the constable marched (28th April, 1527) against Rome; it was the same road as that which Luther had taken fifteen years before, when, by order of Staupitz, he visited the Eternal City. On the 2nd May, Bourbon arrived at Viterbo, whence he drove before him the Papal troops whom Clement had sent against them, under the command of Ranuccio Farnese; and in the evening encamped on Monte Mario,(f) where the Labarum had appeared to Constantine the Great. At sunset the constable might perceive the cupolas of Rome, St. Paul, the Vatican, St. John Lateran, the gardens of Sallust, the Ponte Mole, and the yellow waters of the Tiber. On the morrow (5th) at dawn, a herald summoned the Pope to surrender the city to her legitimate master, Charles V.; Clement bid him retire unless he wished to be shot. Rome was incapable of sustaining a siege; her fortifications were bad; overlooked by seven hills, she might be easily burned; a City of Priests and Monks, she could not depend on the courage of men better adapted for prayer than fighting. In the studios around the Vatican several artists were working in the evening, who would have willingly sacrificed their lives to have preserved a picture or a statue; but they fled before dawn, leaving to the mercy of the barbarians a few half-finished paintings and unsculptured marbles. When Florence had been menaced, the goldsmiths, the silk, and other merchants, and a crowd of artisans flocked to her defence; but at Rome, every one that lived in ease and luxury belonged to the court.(g) The constable employed the 5th in making the necessary preparations for the scaling of the walls. In the evening, he collected his troops on a mountain, then beautifully shaded as it is now, with those lovely Italian vines sang of by Virgil, and in sight of the Great City addressed his men. His speech was like that of a leader of banditti, who, to inflame his comrades' courage, referred neither to glory nor to prosperity, but used metaphors comprehended by men accustomed to murder and pillage. He pointed to those splendid edifices then in view, to those churches sparkling in the dying rays of the sun with their precious stones, those palaces made of gold, those villas filled with valuable furniture. "All this wealth belongs to you," said Bourbon; "your Martin Luther has promised it to you.(h) Stretch forth

(a) 28th April, MSS. Vit., p. 101.

(b) These men work more cruelly than the 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 brains a crucifix, they burnt both the priest and it, and flayed another.—English Envoy's dispatch.—MSS. Vitel., B. IX., p. 97.

(c) In churches, crucifixes, monasteries, abbeys, and houses, burning to the value of a million of gold.—MSS. ib., p. 92.

(d) I promise you that his Holiness is *propense toto corde ad bellum acriter agendum*.—Letter to Wolsey, 25th April, 1527.—MSS. Vitell, B. IX., p. 100.

(e) The auth *r del sacco* intimates that Ferrara might have been conciliated, and speaks of the "*ostinatione* di Clemente" and "l'ambitione della chiesa" as preventing it.—Turner.

(f) Ranke.

(g) The Romans were persuaded that the emperor would take Rome, and make it his residence, and that then they would enjoy the same advantages as they did under the government of the clergy.—Vettori, Sacco di Roma.

(h) De Rossi. The most circumstantial, as well as the most authentic details respecting

your hands and take them; for, recollect, behind you are hunger and poverty."

At the time that the constable's army was bivouacking on Monte Mario, a friar of the name of John Baptist, was running through the streets of Rome, crying out, "Do penance, for the day of the Lord is at hand." The Protestant historians who mention this religious, describe him as having hollow cheeks, disordered clothes, and as being a copyist of the Dominican Savonarola.(a) Having arrived opposite St. Peter's, he ascended an alcove, above which was a figure of that apostle, and thence cried aloud to the gaping multitude around him, "Do penance, or you will die, all whoever you are; cardinals, priests, nobles, and you people, do penance, for the wrath of the Lord will soon be poured out on you. And thou also, O Pope, who exaltest thyself above God, and who sittest in the temple of God, thou who damnest and savest, as if thou hadst heaven in thy hands, do thou penance." When he had descended from his temporary pulpit, some of the gentlemen standing about struck him in the face, and drove him away, but John Baptist still continued to prophesy. As he would not be silent, the Swiss guard arrested him, and as they were conducting him to prison, he waved his hand over the city, as if he wished to curse her, and then exclaimed, "Woe to thee, Rome! Woe to ye, her citizens!" Then turning round to his guards, said, "Do you remember the example of Micaiah. Hezekiah struck him in the face, and the king had him put in irons. I swear to you that the Lord will leave his holy place where he dwells, and will descend from heaven to trample under foot all that is great on earth, and I shall not long be your prisoner."(b)

At dawn, on Monday, (6th May), the Imperialists descended from Monte Mario in great confusion, the cavalry being mingled with the infantry, and more like a body of banditti rushing down to attack an isolated farm than a regular body of soldiers. They could not besiege Rome, as they had been compelled to leave their cannon covered with snow at the foot of the mountains, but they hoped to succeed by a *coup de main*, with the aid of a few hundred rope-ladders, which they had planted during the night. When their rope was exhausted they used some willows, growing in the vicinity of the villas. The Germans gained possession of the Porta Portese, and the Spaniards that of Santo Spirito. Fründsberg was not among the assailants; attacked with a fit of apoplexy whilst endeavouring to pacify his soldiers, he fell from his horse to rise no more, having round his neck the gold chain with which he intended to strangle the Pope, "because honour is due to every lord, and much more so to the Head of Christendom."(c) Philip Sturm had succeeded him in the command of the lancers. A thick haze concealed the movements of the enemy from the sentinel posted in the dome of St. Peter's to watch them.(d) The Duke of Bourbon was at the head of the Spaniards with a willow ladder in his hand. To be recognized by his men he wore a white waistcoat over his steel breast-plate.(e) The Germans met with no opposition until they reached the ancient walls which defended the city. Claudius Seidensticker was the first to scale the ramparts, brandishing his sword over his head. He was followed by Michael Hartmann and a few of the more active

the sacking of Rome, is to be found in "*Memorie storiche dei principali avvenimenti politici d'Italia, seguiti durante il pontificato di Clemente VII., opera di Patrizio de Rossi fiorentino, publicata per cura di G. T.*"

At Cologne, a book, bearing the following title, was published in 1776, "*Ragguaglio storico di tutto l' accorse, giorno per giorno, nel sacco di Roma nell' anno* 1527, *scritto da Jacopo Buonaparte samminiatese, che vi si trovo presente.*"

The narration of Giacopo Buonaparte is only a reproduction of Book II. of Guicciardini, which describes this remarkable event. A very cursory perusal of the narrative of this historian will convince the reader that the account given by Guicciardini is entirely taken from the unpublished memoirs of De Rossi, which were published afterwards (in 1837) at Rome.

(a) Reissner, Herrn Georgen von Frünsberg Kriegsthaten—V., 112, 113.

(b) Ich werd nicht lang euer Gefangener sein, ir werdt auch nicht lang über mich Gewalt haben.—Id. ib.

(c) Brantôme.

(d) Ranke.

(e) Turner.

lancers. The fog, instead of clearing off, became more dense, as if God (so at least thought some of the disciples of the new gospel) had concealed himself in the cloud to guide these new Israelites.(a) Bourbon planted his ladder near the Porta del Spirito Santo; after having climbed up a wall about a cubit high, he was in the act of jumping on a piece of land wetted by the rain, when suddenly a clang of a body was heard, and that rattling noise peculiar to a dying person. Bourbon had been shot in the side by, according to some writers, a priest,(b) an artist of great renown, Benvenuto Cellini, if we are to credit the Florentine goldsmith;(c) but whether it were a priest or an artist that shot the fatal bullet, the just anger of God was avenged. Captain Jonas covered the constable's body with his cloak and had it conveyed to the steps of St. Péter's,(d) where he breathed his last gasp, amid the cries of "Blood! Blood!" reiterated by the Spanards.(e)

The walls were scaled in an instant, the Porta Portese, and Del Spirito Santo broken open, the Swiss, who offered an ineffectual resistance, killed, or repulsed, and the Borgo entered. From Adrian's Mole, where Clement had taken refuge, the prancing of the enemies' steeds, the cries of the fugitives, and the joyous acclamations of the conquerors could be distinctly heard. After having traversed the Bridge of St. Angelo, the Spaniards spread themselves through the city. The Piazza Navona was their rendezvous, and the Piazza del Campo Fiore that of the Imperialists, both at the centre of the commercial wealth of the city. Thence, at the given signal, they started to pillage and rob. The Germans, half starved, only thought of eating. They broke into the wine vaults and hostelries, and ate and drank as much as they could, and, when thoroughly intoxicated, commenced the work of plunder. They wanted gold and jewels, and succeeded in getting so large a quantity, that in the evening they amused themselves with playing for 200 crowns at every cast of the die. The loser left the party, broke into a house, and soon returned loaded with spoil, which he threw on the drum, that being the carpet around which the players were assembled, and the game recommenced. Stretched on a litter made of cardinals' robes, the Imperialists sent for "The Black Prophet." John Baptist joined his hosts in drinking wine, until being intoxicated he expressed a wish to preach, and, on silence being proclaimed, he thus commenced: "My dear comrades," said the monk, on seeing the scarlet cassocks covered with mud, pastoral crosses hanging suspended on the necks of lancers, wooden rosaries in the hands of drunken soldiers, gold and silver ciboria passing from one to another, filled with wine in lieu of a cup, "my dear comrades, rob and pillage all that you can meet with," and then recommenced drinking.(f)

(a) Ranke.

(b) Brantôme.

(c) "We came to the wall of the Campo Santo, and there we saw this wonderful army, which was already using all its efforts to enter. At the part of the wall, where we met, were many young men of those without lying dead, where the fighting was most desperate, and there was as thick a cloud as one could imagine; so I turned to Alexander, and said, "Let us withdraw to the nearest house possible, for that is our only hope of safety. You see how those mount the walls, and these flee." The said Alexander, being terrified, said, "Would to God that we had not come;" and so in great excitement turned round to go away. I stopped him, saying, "Since you have brought us hither, we must do something worthy of men;" and I pointed my arquebuse where I saw the thickest and closest group of combatants, and took an exact aim at one whom I saw elevated above the rest, the thickness of the cloud preventing my seeing whether he was on horseback or on foot. I suddenly turned to Alexander and Cecchino, and told them to fire off their arquebuses; and I showed them how to do so, without being struck by the firing of the besiegers. This having been done once or twice, I looked carefully out from the wall, and I saw an extraordinary tumult below, which arose from one of our shots having killed Bourbon; and it was he, as I afterwards learnt, that I first saw raised above the rest."—Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini.

(d) Ranke.

(e) Sacco di Roma. The constable's body was at first interred in the Sixtine Chapel (Ranke), and afterwards conveyed to Gaëta. The following inscription was placed on Bourbon's tomb:—

Aucto imperio, Gallo victo,
Superatâ Italiâ, pontifice obsesso,
Roma capta,
Carolus Borbonius in victoria cæsus,
Hic jacet.

(f) Herrn Georgen von Fründsberg Kriegsthaten. by Reissner.

Satiated with meat and wine, and excited by the darkness of the night, they conceived the idea of a masquerade, with flambeaux, in derision of that captive papacy which they believed they had for ever destroyed. Asses were brought, on which rode some lancers vested in the cardinals' robes. Wilhelm de Sandizell, with a paper tiara on his head, represented the Pope. On arriving opposite the castle of San Angelo, the party stopped; the cardinals dismounted, knelt before Sandizell, and kissed his hands and feet, and received his benediction, which he gave with a glass of wine. A voice then exclaimed, "Let us elect a Pope." "Yes," cried others, "a Pope not created after the image of Clement; a Pope who will obey Cæsar, a Pope who will not desire either war or blood."(a) "Luther!" replied the crowd. "Let those who desire that Luther should be Pope hold up their hands," and all lifted up their hands, shouting, "Long live Pope Luther!" When about to separate, one of the lancers (Grunenwald) addressed the following words, as a farewell, to the captive Pontiff: "What pleasure would it give me to embowel thee, thou enemy of God, Cæsar, and the world"(b) During this scene of drunken revelry Clement was praying for his enemies.

One of the orders of the day forbade the soldiers entering the Ghetto armed. They spared all those who had not been baptized; but the inhabitants of the other *rioni*, even the partisans of Colonna, great enemies of the Pope, were pillaged. Guelfs and Ghibelines shared the same lot.(c) When a cardinal refused to give up his treasures, his hands were tied behind him, and he was placed on a donkey; he was led through the streets of the city, and maltreated and spit on by the soldiery.(d) The Spaniards were insatiable; the strong boxes of the wealthy were not sufficient to satisfy their avarice. They coveted all that had even the colour of gold or silver. Not one of the three hundred churches of Rome was spared. They robbed the altars, the sacristies, the pulpits, the tabernacles, the niches. They turned all they could lay their hands on into money, even the reliques of the saints, which they sold, with a gun held to his throat, to the first passer by whom they chanced to encounter. They tore off the illuminated figures of the silk binding from the MSS. in the Vatican, and sold them by auction on the Piazza di San Pietro. That splendid library commenced by Nicholas V., and enriched with so large a collection of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Syriac MSS., became the prey of adventurers that could not read, and who used them for the lighting of the fire of their night-guards or their kitchen. Cochlæus, he whom Luther called a "child of darkness," shed tears of genuine sorrow on hearing of these cruel and barbarous acts.(e)

The "*Assertio septem sacramentorum*" of Henry VIII. was somewhat more fortunate. Henry had had it covered with cloth of gold.(f) The soldiers, under the leadership of the Prince of Orange, whom the army had unanimously elected as their commander, tore off the cover, and left the book, which is still to be seen in the shelves of the Vatican in its humble sheepskin binding. For three months, not for a few weeks, as some imagine, Rome was a prey to those savages. How many statutes were there broken! how many pictures destroyed! how many MSS. torn! how many treasures of goldsmiths' work melted down! The churches of St. Peter, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, and other Basilicas, were transformed into stables, and the Papal bulls used as litter for the horses.(g)

(a) Id. ib.
(b) Id. ib.
(c) Ranke.
(d) Reissner.

(e) The greatest loss, and that most deplored by the learned, was caused by the barbarian soldiers in the Vatican Library, where was a most valuable collection of books, which the fury of the barbarians to a great degree scattered, or cut and tore into pieces.—Cochlæus, quoted by Bernino, Historie di tutte l'Eresie. IV., 375.

We have often lamented, whilst writing our ecclesiastical annals, the loss of many documents, contained in the papal archives, which would have thrown much light on the history of the times.—Raynaldus, Annales Ecclesiastici, Ann. 1527.

(f) Covered with cloth of gold.—Wolsey's letter to Clerk.—MSS. Vitell, B. IV., p. 70.

(g) Reissner.

We have elsewhere spoken of the festivities at Rome on the occasion of the discovery of the group of Laocoon in the baths of Titus.[a] It was during the pontificate of Julius II. After sixteen centuries, this *chef d'œuvre* of the principal statuaries of Rhodes, Agosander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, was discovered. On that day, verses were as plentiful as wine on the Festivals of Bacchus. Flowers and hymns, composed in its honour, were thrown before the statue as it passed along in triumph on the ancient Via Flaminia. The women at the window clapped their hands, and the artists, arranged in columns, uncovered their heads. Michael Angelo shed tears of joy. Raphael, still a child, prostrated himself on the ground, and Sadolet left off his commentary on St. Paul, to sing of the discovery of the ancient marble in Latin verse.[b] This statue, placed on a marble pedestal, was in the gardens of the Belvidere, when a band of marauders, who had originally started to plunder Monte Cavallo, passed in front of the Belvidere, entered the garden, perceived the statue, which they threw off its pedestal, and mutilated with as much spite as if the high priest and his two children had been alive.[c]

We remember the eloquent and touching complaints of Raphael in his letter to Leo X., against the cruelty of time "whose venomous tooth" had lacerated the noble monuments of antiquity.[d] He did not anticipate the soldiers of the Prince of Orange would be yet more cruel.[e] They even removed the bronze nails which fastened the stones of the Coliseum,[f] went into the vaults of the churches to steal from Julius II. his ring,[g] from others their pectoral crosses or mitres, and if they found any difficulty in taking off the ring or crown, they carried away both the finger and the ring or the head and the crown. Historians of every kind are unanimous while relating the scenes of which Rome was then the theatre, in compassionating the victims and condemning the miscreants for the devastation committed by them. One historian alone coolly and minutely describes each phase of these horrid scenes, we mean Reissner, the author of "*Herrn Georgen Von Fründsberg Kriegsthaten*," and endeavours to make that leader of the Barbarians a hero. He must have been present at some of Luther's sermons; for all, according to him, that happens to the Pope, is only the just chastisement of heaven against modern Babylon. The days of antichrist are completed. The great whore, now prostrate on the ground, will never rise again.

The reader will have an idea of Reissner's style from the following circumstance:—It had been forbidden, under pain of death, to introduce any sort of provisions into the castle of St. Angelo. A poor woman, on being informed that the Pope and the cardinals were compelled through hunger to eat horseflesh, compassionated the state of the prisoners, and, picking some lettuce, endeavoured to have it conveyed to them, but she was taken and hanged in front of the Pope's apartment. By an act of refined cruelty, which even savages would never have imagined, her children, and the lettuce which she had gathered, were tied round the gibbet during the time of the execution. Reissner relates this tragedy in the same tone as if he were speaking of a drunken scene in one of the hostelries at Frankfort.

(a) Audin, Leo X.
(b) Opera Sadoleti.
(c) Reissner.
(d) Venenoso morso del tempo.—Raffaello d'Urbino a Papa Leone X.—Roscoe.
(e) To disprove the antiquity of Laocoon's head, a slight mark in the neck of the high priest has been observed. Pliny positively says that the group was of one block; and at the period of the discovery of the marble, San Gallo imagined that an admirable copy had been discovered instead of the original. (Lett. pitt.) This was also the opinion of Michael Angelo himself; but they were both deceived. (Fea Miscellanea.) We are aware that the Prince d'Aremberg has asserted that he has in his possession the ancient head of Laocoon, and he might quote the passage we have just presented to our readers from the history of Fründsberg. No mention is made of the mutilations committed by the soldiers of the Prince of Orange, and it may not be impossible that the head of the high priest was detached from the group, carried off and sold, and came at a later period into the prince's collection. We do not ourselves believe this to be the case.
(f) Melchiori, Guide to Rome.
(g) Reissner.

He has omitted a circumstance in the sacking of Rome, which we would not have ventured to have reproduced had it not been related by an eye-witness, Marcello Alberini. One day, some soldiers came and asked the curé of a parish to come and administer the last succours of our holy religion to a dying woman. He hastened to the spot, taking with him the holy viaticum, when, instead of a woman, he found a horse in the throes of death, to whom they wished to compel him to administer the sacred host, but the priest preferred death to sacrilege.(a)

Let us now take a peep at the two courts in whose hands was the destiny of the captive. On hearing of Clement's captivity, Charles went into mourning, suspended the public rejoicings which he had commanded in honour of the birth of his son Philip,(b) and ordered processions throughout Spain to obtain from heaven the deliverance "of the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth," when only one word from him to his officers would have been sufficient to have secured his liberty.

In England, Wolsey ordered the *Miserere* to be sung in all the churches of the kingdom, and prescribed a fast of three days to propitiate the anger of God, and to obtain from His mercy the liberation of a Pontiff whom the English agents had precipitated into an unequal combat. Clement from his prison implored help from the King of England. Wolsey, affected by the tears of the Holy Father, went to the king "Sire," said he, in an accent bespeaking a heart overwhelmed with grief, "God has appointed you Defender of the Faith; see in what a condition the Church of Christ is in; the Head of that Holy Church is a prisoner; our holy brethren, the cardinals are also prisoners without any hope of rescue. Assist them, Defender of the Faith, and heaven will aid you."(c) "My lord," replied Henry, "I deplore this great catastrophe, and know not how to express my sorrow. Yes, I am Defender of the Faith; but there is no dispute on a subject of faith between the Pope and the emperor, but a quarrel altogether earthly. What can I do for Clement, a prisoner of war? Neither I nor my people can deliver him. My treasury is at your disposal, my lord, do with its contents as you please."(d)

The reader must be on his guard lest he should be deceived by these declarations of attachment on the part of England to the unhappy Clement. If Wolsey had advanced money to pay for the Pope's release, Henry's reply would have indeed been a a noble one; but the treasury had long since been exhausted. They could have only hoped to effect his ransom by a subsidy from Parliament, for which purpose that assembly must be convoked, a bill presented and discussed, and the money levied, measures which would necessarily require time. The king's pity was therefore only a mockery. It is apparent from this circumstance that Wolsey had lost his influence over Henry since the king's unhappy acquaintance with Anne Boleyn. Even the tone of his language proves this. He prays to-day when yesterday he would have only presented a bill which Henry would have approved of without even looking at it. The king's "nightbird,"(e) Anne Boleyn, had long since foretold Wolsey's fall. God at last took pity on his people, and sent his angel to deliver them. The plague broke out in Rome. That mass of human flesh, which the soldiers allowed to rot in the streets, (for when the Tiber was not a hand to receive their victim it was not interred,) corrupted the air, and the miasma brought on the plague. Pursued by this scourge, which, as if by a sort of miracle, spared the citizens, the leaders of the Imperialists consented to treat with the Pope.

The young Prince of Orange laid down his conditions in the very room of the Sovereign Pontiff. It was there that he lodged.(f) They were exceedingly severe. A sum of money was demanded for his ransom, which it was impossible for him to

(a) Marcello Alberini, quoted by Bernino Historie di tutti l'Eresie, IV. 375.
(b) Hall.
(c) Hall.

(d) Hall.
(e) Wolsey used so to call the king's mistress.
(f) Der Prinz von Oranien hatte die Zimmer des Pabstes inne.—Ranke.

pay immediately; but it was agreed on that he should be restored to liberty on his paying a portion, and that the Imperialists should evacuate his states as soon as the debt had been discharged by means of the candlesticks, crosses, vases, sacerdotal ornaments and reliquaries, which had been concealed from the rapacity of these conquerors(a) As a guarantee for his word, the Pope consented to leave Modena, Parma, Piacenza, Ostia, and Civita Vecchia in the hands of the Spaniards.(b) The unhappy Pontiff was placed under the *surveillance* of Captain Alarçon, "whose destiny it was to guard sovereigns as that of Charles V. was to make them."(c)

On the 17th February, 1528, the barbarians, more than half of whom had died of the plague,(d) left Rome. They had left; the sound of their drums and trumpets were heard at a distance. "Then," relates an eye-witness, "there was a slight buzz heard in the streets of the desolate city. Here a young maiden would half open a window, which she would immediately shut. There a mother would come out of her hiding-place, holding the hands of her children half dead with hunger; in another place would voices be heard from the vaults of one of the churches from some poverty-stricken refugee; further on, a monk, concealed in one of the sewers of Tarquinius Priscus, would cross the Campo Vaccino in search of his brethren. Friends and relatives would call one another by name, and if they chanced to meet would shed tears of joy."(e)

The Imperialists returned by the way of their mountains. They had now no fear of being overtaken while on their march by either storms or hunger, for they marched under a beautiful sun, with abundance around them. Reformed Germany, aroused by the preaching of Luther, looked on them with pride and kissed their faces, became swarthy by the sun of modern Babylon, pressed those hands which had been lifted up against the priests of Baal, touched those arms which had been stained with the blood of so many idolaters, and repeated their war-song "*Sonnez, sonnez trompettes.*" The days of Clement's deliverance, stipulated by the convention, would soon arrive. The Spaniards were to have taken him to the fortress of Spoleto or Perugia, according as the prisoner himself liked, but the Pope deceived the vigilance of his guards. He made his escape during the night in the disguise of a gardener, and fled to the fortress of Orvieto.

On the morrow, tired as he was, he ascended the pulpit. The people were deeply affected at the sight of this old man, worn out by suffering, who, out of all his wealth, had scarcely been able to preserve an old white cassock. A remarkable testimony of the fascination which the Pontifical Majesty will always exercise on man.(f) The population of Orvieto pressed round the pulpit whence the Pontiff was about to address them. After having gazed in silent adoration at a crucifix, resplendent from the light of the tapers on the altar, Clement, in a low voice, uttered the following heart-touching prayer: "O my God, pardon my enemies, as I pardon them the injuries and insults they have inflicted on the Church, the Invisible Head of the Church, who is in heaven, and the Visible Head who reigns on this earth." He stretched out his hands and blessed his persecutors, "Because," says an old historian, "the Pontiff knew that his blessing would be of use to them in heaven."(g)

(a) Ranke.—Le Grand.
(b) Sacco di Roma, p. 100.
(c) Genoude.—Hist. de France.
(d) They went on the 17th day of February, 1528, much diminished in numbers, as there were not more than 1,500 horse, 4,000 Spanish infantry, 2,500 Italians, and 5,000 Germans. All the rest had died of the plague.—Sacco di Roma.
(e) Alberi, MSS. at the Minerva, Rome.
(f) Guicciardini.
(g) Therefore, being re-established in his former dignity, he again blessed all his enemies, and absolved them from whatever censures they might have incurred, because he well knew what advantages would flow from the blessing bestowed on his enemies.—Sacco di Roma, p. 113.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DECRETAL.—1528.

Wolsey's fresh anxieties.—He consults theologians and turns towards Rome.—His agents with the Pope.—George Cassale tries, but in vain, to bribe the Cardinal dei Santi-Quatri.—A double commission signed by Clement VII.—They do not give satisfaction at London.—Intrigues recommence.—New agents sent to England.—Edward Fox.—Gardiner.—Stafile.—The Decretal.—The Plague in England.—Katharine, Henry, Anne Boleyn, and Wolsey, during the epidemic.—Letters from Anne to the Chancellor.

In the midst of these melancholy events, Anne Boleyn was doing all she could, aided by her numerous retainers, to work the downfall of Wolsey, in the background. The minister, on his guard, did all in his power to frustrate the enemy's plots. Wolsey's object was to collect the necessary matter for the dissolution of the marriage; to try the spiritual question in England; to persuade Katharine to take the veil; to thwart, by his interest, the ambitious projects of the favourite; to wear out the king's passion, and, if threatened by his mistress, to vindicate at the last moment the rights of the legitimate wife.

On taking leave of Francis and his mother, Wolsey dropped a few mysterious words, which the courtiers preserved: "If Madame Louise's life was spared another year, she would see a lasting union on the one side and a disunion on the other:"(a) and Wolsey, as if he imagined that he was not understood, "begged her to remember his words and to recall them to her memory at the moment that it should be required."(b) The project of the "disunion" of the Houses of England and Burgundy, and the "union" between the houses of Tudor and Valois, to which the minister alluded in this confidential enigma, could only be effected by the marriage with Renée, daughter of Louis XII., since Margaret was betrothed to the King of Navarre.(c) The Bishop of Bayonne saw through the cardinal.(d) "I believe," said he, writing to his correspondent, M. de Montmorency, "that the Chancellor by advocating this divorce is anxious to bring about the marriage of Henry with Madame Renée." The crafty diplomatist felt sure that the marriage would take place if "*nothing happened to prevent it*;" he was right in speaking thus reservedly, but he referred to certain political events, and, like Wolsey, seemed to have no dread for Henry's love for Anne Boleyn.(e) In rejecting the king's plan, Wolsey fulfilled his duty as became a faithful servant. A marriage with Anne Boleyn, was, in his opinion, a melancholy and disgraceful affair; disgraceful, because, while at Paris, he had heard certain circumstances connected with her life; melancholy, as it might lead to a serious rupture between Charles (Katharine's nephew) and Henry. Wolsey, we must acknowledge, might have effaced from his book of life many a black page, had he returned the Great Seal to his master.(f) But he left, considering how he could account for the language he had just used to the sovereign, and again did he sacrifice his conscience to a piece of parchment, entrusting to his

(a) Lettre de M. du Bellay, évêque de Bayonne à M. le grand maitre.—MSS. Béthune Vol 8603, p. 121. Le Grand.

(b) MSS. Béthune. Le Grand.

(c) According to Polydore Virgil, Wolsey officiously substituted Renée in the room of the Duchess of Alençon.—Lingard.

(d) MSS. Bethune, v. 8605. Le Grand.

(e) MSS. Bethune. Le Grand. Guicciardini XVIII., 111.

(f) Cavendish. Fiddes. Lingard.

care the Great Seal, but not without a struggle. If Wolsey could have mustered sufficient courage to have cast from him those dignities which he had so dearly purchased, his mind would have become stronger, and Katharine would have required no advocate to defend her cause; but, unhappily, the luxury of the world had corrupted him, and he must live in luxury, for it was his element; he would surely die were God to deprive him of his grandeur. To resist the gnawing of that worm which gave him no rest, either by day or night, he determined to consult, not a few obscure theologians, whose opinion had been purchased, but upright men, whose testimony would quiet his conscience. An assembly was accordingly convoked at Hampton Court, at which Sir Thomas More, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, theologians, doctors in law, and jurists, were invited to be present.(a) The question of the divorce was clearly proposed. Wolsey, to prove the nullity of the marriage, had recourse to no other arguments than those, as was the duty of a courtier, which the king had used in his last treatise. Sir Thomas More, when called on for his opinion, excused himself on the plea of ignorance in theology; the bishop, more courageous than the layman, after having duly weighed the reasons adduced by both parties, declared himself against the divorce.(b) The other members of the council fully agreeing with Fisher, they separated. Wolsey, as if tormented by a conscience ill at rest, determined to convoke another assembly of eminent men, who would perhaps be more obliging. The cardinal prepared his subject and was very eloquent,(c) but the only concession he could get was that there was sufficient ground for Henry to refer the question to the Holy See, whose decision the clergy would respect.(d)

(a) Sir Thomas More's letter. Singer's Appendix to Roper.

(b) Fiddes; where Fisher's letter is given.

(c) "In the first instance your cause, with those who had taken up its defence, was defeated in all the schools of the kingdom."—Pole. "Few of their doctors agreed with their opinion."—The Bishop of Bayonne, in Le Grand.

(d) Rymer, XIV., p. 401.

Wolsey now turned his eyes towards Rome; it was his star of hope and safety. He had men devoted to his interest near the Pope: George Casale, a man adapted for every undertaking; the Dean of the Rota, Stafile, who had not much opinion of what in the world is called honesty;(e) Dr. Knight, an humble slave to all that resembled a minister, and some young cardinals, who, in the sacking of Rome, had lost all their fortune. It was by means of these agents that Wolsey hoped to deceive a credulous and timid Pope. Casale, commissioned to act the principal part, had two missions to perform; he was to advocate and corrupt. He must just show his Holiness that the Pope, in the opinion of a great number of theologians, had no power to dispense in the first degree of affinity;(f) that the bull of Julius II. (g) was null and void; that it was founded on the supposed intention of the Prince of Wales to marry Katharine of Arragon, when he had never manifested such a desire; that it attributed to Henry VII. and Ferdinand a chimerical desire of peace and friendship, which family connexions would render more lasting, when no motive of jealousy or hatred existed between the two sovereigns.(h) The ambassador was to urge the throes of agony which so pious a king as Henry must have undergone, since the ray of light had penetrated into his soul.(i) Now, the nullity of the bull, abuse of power on the part of Julius II., the terror of Henry would give way before a decretal, conferring on the Archbishop of York, Legate of the Holy See in England, powers to examine into and judge the question of the divorce. The cardinal sent Casale the model of a dispensation which the Pope should send with either his signature or seal.(j) The whole of the argument to be employed by Casale was in the king's little work; the master had spoken, the scholar was only required to repeat *verbatim* the lesson of the crowned

(e) See his character (MSS. Bethune, Vol. 8535) in a letter from Racine to M. de Montmorency. Orvieto, 28 April, 1528.—Le Grand.

(f) Cardinalis Wolsey Epistola ad Dom. Gregorium Casalium.—Brit. Mus. MSS. Vitell., B. IX.

(g) See Chapter II.

(h) Burnet.

(i) MSS. Cott., Vit., B. IX, p. 9.

(j) MSS. Vit. Ib.

theologian before presenting it to the Pope. Casale was to stop in the ante-chamber of the Cardinal dei Santi Quatri, who was supposed to have great influence with his Holiness. At the sacking of Rome the Imperialists had pillaged his palace, and he bore not his loss either like a Christian or a philosopher.

Wolsey commissioned Casale and his brothers to tempt the prelate's probity; "Endeavour," writes he to them, "to have a private interview with the cardinal, and observe adroitly what may be done to seduce him, and tell me as soon as possible if he would like to have rich vestments, gold vessels, or horses. I shall so manage as to prove to him that he will not have to deal with an ungrateful or unkind prince."(a) Casale did as the minister recommended him; Knight offered the cardinal 4,000 crowns and his secretary 30. "The cardinal," says Strype, "returned the corrupting present;"(b) but does not add that the secretary did the same. Never did a minister, before that period, use so many pens and so much ink as Wolsey. As he imagined that he would always have the management of affairs he was exceeding dilatory: he gave and revoked instructions; recalled couriers when nearly at the gate of the Vatican; continually changed his interpreters and agents, and, in order to gain his point, made craftiness and sentiment, politics and religion, theology and canon law, subservient to his purposes. Clement deserves our pity not only as Pope but as Sovereign; as Pope he had been deceived in being told that the majority of the English divines approved of the divorce; of the king's religious scruples; of the nullity of Julius II.'s bull; of Katharine's intention, sickened and disgusted with the world, to retire into a convent for the purpose of taking the veil; but the discontent of the nation, the silence of Sir Thomas More, the protest of the Bishop of Rochester, the adulterous life led by Henry, the tears of the unhappy Katharine were kept from his knowledge. A bishop (Wolsey) whose attachment to the Holy See had never been doubted, asked Clement, in the name of religion, to dissolve a knot that weighed heavily on both parties; a knot tied without a sufficient acquaintance with the case and authorised by a surreptitious bull, notwithstanding the formal texts of Holy Writ prohibiting a similar marriage. As a sovereign he was deceived by pretended affection. How could his holiness be otherwise than deeply affected at the English ambassadors visiting him while he was at Orvieto, kneeling down and kissing his hand respectfully? They were the first marks of affection that he had received during the last six months, the first protest of a crowned head against the outrages committed by the Imperialists. Clement could not imagine that their commiseration was hypocritical, for he did not perceive that Knight and Casale, the ambassadors of the King of England, with a petition in their hand, had come to bribe him with their hypocritical devotion.

At the end of December, 1527, the ambassadors presented him two commissions to sign, drawn up by Edward Fox. By the first, Clement accorded to Wolsey or Stafile the necessary powers to examine into and judge on the question of the divorce; in the second, he authorised Henry to re-marry after the divorce of Katharine, provided the marriage was canonically dissolved.(c)

Fox, or rather Henry, whose instrument he was, was exceedingly crafty, for the commissions had been drawn up at the dictation of the sovereign. As it was dreaded that Anne and Percy might be betrothed, the Pope granted Henry permission to marry again, (provided he had been canonically divorced), even if the bride elect were affianced, provided she were a virgin.(d) Another precaution, yet more crafty, was had recourse to. If the king could not legitimately marry Katharine, since Arthur had known her carnally, how, in conscience, could he obtain Anne Boleyn, whose sister he had seduced? The impediment was the same.(e)

(a) MSS. Vit., Ib.

(b) Knight gave the cardinal 4,000 crowns, and his secretary 30; but the cardinal returned the corrupting present.—Strype, Eccl. Mem App.

(c) Lingard.

(d) See the bull itself in Appendix (H.)

(e) Lingard.

What was Henry to do! He acknowledged that Clement VII., by requesting him to grant a divorce had the power to dispense within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the Book of Leviticus, which, however, he refused to Julius II. A clause was accordingly foisted into the commission by which the king was permitted to marry a woman of the second degree of consanguinity, or the first of affinity, through the fruit of an illicit marriage.(c) Of the two deeds, the second, which allowed marriage in case of a divorce, was accepted and signed, with a few alterations, by Clement. The first, appointing an ecclesiastical tribunal, was sent to the Cardinal dei Santi Quatri, whose opinion the Holy Father wished to have; the ambassadors were evidently caught in their own trap. The bull which they so eagerly solicited, and which Clement granted without asking a question, would be of no use to the monarch until the important question of the divorce had been definitively settled: they might in case of extremity have used against the dispensation, granted by Clement VII., the same line of argument that Henry had adopted against the bull of Julius II. If they accused the first bull (to do away with its validity) of containing specious nullities resulting from false enunciations, what could be said in favour of a document similar to the one drawn up by Fox, where the Pope accords to Henry permission to marry any widow, provided she be not his brother's widow,(b) though the contradictory teaching of the Books of Deuteronomy and Leviticus had not been submitted to the tribunal, the constituting of which the ambassadors now requested?

The Cardinal dei Santi Quatri, whose honesty was equalled by his knowledge,(c) but who did not believe that cunning was prohibited by the command of God, understood the secret thoughts of His Holiness, and the importance of the act which he was called on to examine. The parties charged with the business requested an ecclesiastical tribunal before which the controversy was to be tried: if all the judges were of the Anglican clergy, their sentence could have no effect until the Pope, the supreme head of all spiritual jurisdiction, had solemnly approved of it. The prelate therefore introduced into the plan such modifications that the case would necessarily after the judgment of Wolsey or Stafile, return to Rome to be revised. Several years would consequently be spent in the trial, and the cardinal, as well as Wolsey, hoped that time would cure Henry of his foolish love, and induce him to give up every idea of the divorce. Besides Katharine might die of the organic disease under which she was labouring, and then Henry would recover his liberty, and there would no longer be any occasion for the trial. The cardinal, it has been thought by some, confided in Wolsey's well-known skilfulness to defeat Henry's plans. He must have been made acquainted with the instructions addressed to Dr. Knight, bidding him desist from taking any further steps in the divorce. Did the cardinal thus publicly oppose Henry through remorse? Was Henry afraid of public opinion? Had the star of Anne Boleyn commenced to wane? Such suppositions were highly probable. Clement, however, made a great sacrifice by signing these commissions,(d) as there was a probability of incurring the anger of the emperor. So when the English ambassadors came to take leave of the Pope, they could remark that sorrow had printed long furrows on his countenance. "There are the documents;" said Clement to them, "in signing them I have consulted my own heart; it is on my part a mark of gratitude towards your master, rather than an act of prudence; my personal security, it may be my life, depends on his generosity. You are at liberty to make what use you please of the commission entrusted to Wolsey; however, if you will wait until the Imperialists have evacuated the territories of the Church, which will secure me from the anger of Charles,

(a) See Appendix (H.)
(b) Dummodo relicta fratris sui non fuerit.
(c) Casale's letter to Wolsey, Dec. 20, 1527. MSS. Vit. B. IX., p. 215. The Bull was signed Dec. 23.

(d) This fact is made known by a dispatch from Stephen Gardiner, who says of the Pope: "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 knowledge*."—Strype. Eccles. Mem. App.

I shall send you a new commission, and your master, without compromising an ally, will obtain what he wants.(a)

The bull and the commission, on their arrival at London, were found to be, the one confused, the other captious. The dispensation was only conditional; besides, by the insertion of certain restrictions the Pope was at liberty to revoke it, *e.g.*, he granted this dispensation "as far as he could without offending God,—notwithstanding every prohibition of the Divine right and other constitutions and ordinances, which he relaxed as far as the apostolic authority could extend."(b) Both were signed by the Pope, who, although he had made his escape from the Imperialists, yet might be regarded as the prisoner of Charles V. at Orvieto.(c) Fresh concessions were asked for from London; three others were added to the two agents who had directed the preliminaries of the negotiation at the commencement of 1528, viz., Stafile, Gardiner, and Fox. Stafile, who at first kept himself aloof, and whom it was no easy matter to deceive, for being brought up in Italy, he was on his guard against every species of craft. Gardiner, secretary to Wolsey, who knew nothing of intriguing, but who could speak and write; and Edward Fox, almoner to the king, who was sufficiently versed in canon law as to be able to oppose the theologians of Rome.(d)

In the event of their succeeding, Fox and Gardiner were promised mitres, and Stafile a cardinal's hat.(e) Casale was again instructed to tempt the Cardinal dei Santi Quatri, His Holiness' favourite.(f) He had at first offered money which he had returned; they now hoped to be successful as they purposed bribing him with either horses or plate;(g) nay Henry's agents went so far as to bribe the Pope, by asking from Venice the restitution of Ravenna and Cervia,(h) but in case of failure they were commanded to intimidate His Holiness; thus did they hope to extort from Clement his consent to the two first documents which these new agents had with them. The first was more explicit than the dispensation had been; the other a decretal bull, where the Pope, resting on the authority of the Book of Leviticus, would decide that the Divine law rejected as incestuous an union which the Book of Deuteronomy had decided to be legitimate.

Anne Boleyn was no longer the damsel who had speculated on her chastity to ascend the throne; she was, according to the opinion of the negotiators, an angel of virtue, whom the king loved with a pure love. The Pope, filled with affection for Henry, and not wishing to refuse him any request compatible with the honour of the Holy See, signed the fresh dispensation, which was dependant, like the first, on the legal dissolution of Katharine's marriage by an ecclesiastical tribunal. He, however, hesitated with regard to the decretal, and, by his orders, a congregation of cardinals and theologians was convoked. Henry had at this assembly some zealous partizans; but the majority were of opinion that the decretal, if given in the form required, would decide a point of controversy, condemn the Book of Deuteronomy, and insult the memory of Julius II.(i) After a long debate, without any conclusion being arrived at, Gardiner had an interview with the Pope, and mingled with such address threats with prayers, that Clement consented to convoke a second assembly, when it was agreed that Wolsey should be commissioned to examine into the validity of the dispensation of Julius II., since "in the opinion of many learned men" the bull appeared to have been obtained on false grounds. A document was therefore drawn up on the 3rd of April, not in the terms demanded by the agents but in the most ample form that the Papal Council would admit. The act authorised Wolsey to obtain the assistance of any bishop he pleased; to examine summarily, and without any judicial form, into the value of the bull granted by Julius II., and of the marriage contracted between Henry and

(a) Burnet. Lingard.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras.
(c) Histoire du Divorce de Henri VIII., attributed to Raynal.
(d) Raynal. Le Grand.
(e) Burnet.
(f) Burnet.
(g) Lingard.
(h) Lingard.

(i) Lingard.

Katharine; to declare, notwithstanding any appeal arising therefrom, whether the dispensation was valid or surreptitious, the marriage valid or illegal, and to pronounce, if there was occasion for it, the divorce.(a)

When Fox returned to England on the 3rd May, bringing with him these two documents, Henry and his mistress could scarcely restrain their joy.(b) One would have imagined that the Sovereign Pontiff had given his consent to their immediate marriage; but Wolsey seemed quite worn out. Alarmed at the great responsibility conferred on him by Rome, for he was called on to decide on the legality of a bull, the validity of a marriage, and the interpretation of a text of holy Scripture. He shrank from the power delegated to him by authority less through humility than fright. It is by no means rare to see culprits, even more guilty than Wolsey, suddenly frightened; a sudden light of grace sent by God to awaken the sinner, if he be prepared to do penance, or to increase his condemnation, should he close his eyes and ears to the operation of Divine grace. We may say that, like Saul on his way to Damascus, Wolsey heard himself called by name, he arose, and, filled with the Spirit of God, went to his master, and declared he was ready to sacrifice for his sake reputation, fortune, grandeur, blood, all, save his conscience; that with one foot in his grave and ready to appear before God, he had sworn to grant no other concession to the king than that which equity required; that as sovereign judge, by virtue of the Pontifical authority, if he found that the bull of Julius II. had been legitimately granted, he would say so in his sentence.

A short passage, written by an eye-witness will show us what torments that soul must have undergone who feared to leave the world after having lost his God.(c) "It has been told me on excellent authority, that the king employed some very severe language to him because he (Wolsey) seemed somewhat cooled on the question of the divorce, and assured him that the Pope would never consent to it. He was wont occasionally while walking with me to speak of his private business and life until this hour, by what means he had arrived at his present dignity, and how he had behaved, and assured me that if God would vouchsafe him the grace of seeing the hatred of the two nations quenched, and firm and lasting friendship established between the princes, he would immediately retire to serve God the rest of his life and would make it a point of conscience to abandon all public business."(d) And as if he had a presentiment of his own death, he hastened to bring the buildings with which he was occupied to a termination, to legally endow his colleges,(e) to assist his professors, to assure them enough to live on when superannuated, and to make himself beloved and blessed. But all these noble resolutions fell to the ground at the first attack from the devil. When he gave one hand to God, he leant with the other on power, and earth was stronger than heaven.

To keep the seals of state and to preserve peace in his soul, Wolsey required a Roman prelate,(f) who would secure the judges from every suspicion of partiality; a commission or "pollicitation," which the Pope could not revoke in any emergency; and lastly a decretal, where the Head of the Church would make the text in Leviticus dogmatical, if it were possible He had cast his eyes on Campeggio, whom the Court of Rome would easily grant him. To obtain the "pollicitation," the following trick was resorted to by his emissaries at at Rome; (we must beg leave to assure our readers that we are writing sober truth, which "is often stranger than fiction," and not romancing.) They were to tell the Pope, as if in great grief, (g) that, by the

(a) Lingard.—Rymer, XIV., 237.
(b) Dr. Fox's letter to Gardiner.—Strype's App.
(c) Lingard.

(d) Lettre de Mr. du. Bellay, évêque de Bayonne, à M. le grand maistre.—MSS. Bethune, V. 8505, p. 39.—Le Grand.
(e) MSS. Bethune.—Le Grand.
(f) And felt anxious that the decision should rest rather upon the responsibility of a Roman cardinal, than upon himself.—Tytler.
(g) Therefore ye shall by some good way find the means to attain a new pollicitation, with such or as many of the words and additions which I devise as ye can get, which ye may do under this colour:—Shew to the Pope's Holiness, by way of sorrow, how your

courier's negligence, the packet which had left Orvieto for England had been so soiled in the carriage by the wet, that the "pollicitation" was perfectly illegible, and had not been laid before his majesty; and that consequently they begged his Holiness to deliver them a duplicate unless he wished them to be accused of negligence. They also said that they were delighted to add that they remembered the exact expressions of the document, and would dictate them to the Chancery secretary; whilst he was engaged in writing they were to use other "frequent, full, and available words," which he would in all candour transcribe; and the document thus corrected, revised, enlarged, and interpolated, would be sent back to England, and would this time, without delay, be deposited among the papers of the crown. Gardiner was to act the part of prompter.(a)

To obtain the decretal it was necessary to touch Clement's heart, and Wolsey knew how to do it; for his Holiness could not resist tears and prayers, for he had shed tears and prayed. Fresh instructions were forwarded to his agents at Rome; he wrote to Casale, "Use, noble lord, all the powers of your mind to obtain a decretal from the Pope; promise him on my part that as I value the salvation of my soul, I shall show it to no one; that I shall carefully conceal it from the eyes of all, so that his Holiness will have no cause to fear not even a shadow of danger. If I have shown much eagerness in making this request, it is not that it should be subservient to my own interest; it is, not that I should abuse it; it is, as it were, an earnest of the kindly dispositions of the Holy See towards the king deposited in my hands,(b) and which I shall keep as an evidence for my master, that His Holiness, so great is his confidence in my affection, will refuse nothing that I solicit. If until now the king has spontaneously defended the interests of the Apostolic See, I wish it to be known, that through my influence he would, if called on, willingly shed his blood to guarantee the security of the Holy Father."(c)

The English writers, the most attached to the Reformation, blush at the tricks which Henry resorted to for the purpose of obtaining a divorce. One of them (Sharon Turner) does not even try to conceal his sympathy for the "unfortunate Pope," for whom so many snares had been laid.(d) Henry knew how to take advantage of misfortunes. When Clement was a prisoner, without resources, almost without clothing, bearing on his countenance traces of the sufferings he had borne from the Prince of Orange, he came with pharisaical piety to ask for a decree. He coloured his petition under the pretext of religion; he was a religious king, humbly soliciting on his knees, for conscience' sake, the dissolution of an union which he regarded as incestuous; in the one hand holding the book which in his contest with Luther had won for him the title of "Defensor Fidei," and in the other a Treatise on the Levitical prohibitions, his own work also, and of which he assured His Holiness, with a lie in his mouth, the most learned prelates in the kingdom approved. Casale bribed the secretary with money, and the prelates, who had not enough to purchase new cassocks, with vessels of gold. Gardiner having failed to overcome the obstinacy of the Holy Father by tears and supplications,

culler, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the said pollicitation, 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. MSS.—Burnet.

(a) And thus coming to a pollicitation, 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.—MSS. Ib.

(b) Le Grand.

(c) There is another letter as pressing as this from Wolsey to George Casale, in the British Museum.—MSS. Cott. B. X.

(d) We can hardly read the account of these objurgations without sympathy for the unfortunate Pope.—Turner.

had recourse to threats and insults. "Race of ungrateful men, ye are ignorant as to your duty; ye appear to be as simple as the dove, and your hearts are filled with duplicity, cunning, and fraud! Ye promise and keep not your promises. What do we ask of you? Justice. If you persist in your irresolution, it will be said that heaven has deprived you of understanding, and the opinion hitherto exploded will again gain ground, that the Papal *jura*, of which the Pope himself doubts, are only worthy of the flames."(a) Gardiner would hardly have presumed to speak thus to Frundsberg, because the chief of the German lancers had a sword at his side and an iron gauntlet on his hand; but what had he to fear from that poor old man who had only an old cushion to sit on not worth twenty pence?(b) To these threats the Pope's only reply was, with child-like candour, "Do not urge me, I have not studied the subject, and am not sufficiently versed in canon law to give a decision without reflection." Gardiner, instead of properly appreciating the Pope's reply, thus wrote to his court: "You see, though it be a saying in canon law, that the Pope has all that is called *jus* in his breast, yet God does not seem to have confided the key to his trust."(c) And the unhappy Pontiff was spoken to "so roundly,"(d) (such are Gardiner's own words) that he wept bitterly. At length the negotiations were brought to a close; and it was announced in England that the Pope had granted the decretal. But how was it worded? Did it declare that the union between Henry and Katharine was null and void if it could be proved that Arthur was the king's brother, that Arthur and Katharine had attained the age of puberty on the day of their marriage; that the marriage, as far as they could judge by presumption, had been consummated? This Herbert and Burnet affirm, and produce a copy of the decretal; but who can prove the genuineness of the copy? Was there not water enough in the Thames to render the most important passages in the bull illegible? Were there not inks enough in London to efface all that was opposed to the will of Henry and his mistress? We shall presently see that in order to deceive the people, it was not necessary either to accuse a courier of negligence or to call in the aid of a chemist: and to prove this we must refer to Henry's evidence for the genuineness of the copy. Even admitting, according to Burnet, that it settled the point of controversy, the bull left the question *de facto* for the decision of the legates.(e)

Campeggio, whose assistance Wolsey had requested (f) in the important trial about to commence, was one of the lights of his age. Under Leo X. he had protected Erasmus against some writers who were jealous of the philosopher.(g) He had often invited him to Rome, and wished to make him a diplomatist, (h) but he would have had to traverse the Alps and frequent the hostelries of Italy; and the philosopher did not like either the Alps or those enormous stoves which he would be certain to find on his road, as their heat ascended to his head; such at least were his reasons for refusing the cardinal's pressing invitation. After his wife's death in 1509, Campeggio took holy orders; in 1517 he received the cardinal's hat from Leo X., and was at a later period employed by Adrian VII. on important business. Henry VIII.

(a) 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: as you persist in doubt, a harder thought will arise in the mind concerning this see, that heaven has taken away the key of knowledge 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.—Gardiner's Letter, Strype.

(b) Covered with the piece of an old coverlet not worth twenty pence.—Turner.

(c) 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.

(d) We spoke roundly unto him.—Strype.

(e) Lingard.

(f) The English ambassadors had said to the Pope: "We thought Cardinal Campeggio should be a very meet person to be sent into England."—Strype.

(g) Epist. Erasm., XII., 2.

(h) Epist. Erasm., XIX., 102.

had nominated him Bishop of Salisbury,(a) and had presented him with a residence at Rome, which he had first magnificently furnished. Campeggio was a man of quick conception, but slow and dilatory, owing to his being subject to attacks of rheumatic gout. We must candidly acknowledge that His Holiness trusted that he would gain time, both by the well-known dilatoriness of Campeggio as also by his being often laid up with the gout; while Clement, at Rome, wished, like Joshua, to stop the sun; whereas, at London, it was desirable that his progress should be quickened. Campeggio had received instructions to go slowly,(b) and to repose *en route*; and, once at London, to conciliate all parties.(c) He was to advise the queen to take the veil, and the king to give up all idea of separation;(d) to tarry and delay the trial as far as depended on him, and at all events to abstain from pronouncing the sentence(e) until he had laid the case before the Apostolic See. We may perceive that however carefully the decretal might have been drawn up, still that it weighed heavily on the Pope's heart; the legate, moreover, was ordered to take the greatest care of it, and to show it to none but Henry and Wolsey, and, after they had perused it, to commit it to the flames.(f) Faithful to his instructions, Campeggio proceeded as slowly, as he could and slept every night *en route*. He took nearly a month to go from Rome to Paris, and never did Henry feel so delighted as when told that the legate was about to embark at Calais. He wrote off immediately to his well-beloved: "The legate, whose arrival we have been looking forward to with such impatience, arrived last Sunday or Monday at Paris, and I hope next Monday to hear of his arrival at Calais, and shortly after to enjoy that which I have so long desired. I will not at present say more, except that I wish you were either in my arms or I in yours; for it is indeed long, very long, to my thinking, since I last embraced you. Written at eleven o'clock, after the death of a stag, which I killed with my own hand, hoping by the aid of God to do as much to-morrow. From the hand of him who I hope will soon be yours."(g)

While the legate was advancing slowly towards England, an awful epidemic traversed, like lightning, the various counties of the island, leaving every where traces of its ravages; it was called the *sweating sickness*. The Bishop of Bayonne, the French ambassador at London, has thus described it: "The '*sweating sickness*,' a malady which has made its appearance within the last four days, is the easiest method of dying. The patient feels a slight headache and pain in his heart, and then suddenly commences perspiring. No physician is required, for any one that exposes himself, no matter how slightly, or who has too much covering on him, falls into a languid state, within four, occasionally two or three, hours, such as is experienced after violent fevers. It is not very severe, for only 2000 or 3000 have been carried off in London alone, within the last three or four days. Yesterday, on my way to swear to the truce, I observed the people as thick as flies rushing to their houses and beginning to sweat as soon as they were taken ill. I met the Milanese ambassador leaving his house in great haste, because two or three of his attendants had been suddenly taken ill. The ambassadors must, my lord, necessarily have their share, and at least as far as I am concerned, will you not have gained your wishes, for you cannot boast that you have killed me by starvation, and moreover the king will have gained nine months of my service gratuitously? By the God of Paradise, my lord, when the sweat and the fever will come to visit me, I shall not regret it so much

(a) Lingard.

(b) I therefore repeat to you, as I have already written, that you will endeavour, as much as possible, without giving offence to the serene king, to delay the prosecution of your journey.—Pamphleteer, No. XLIII. Extract from the dispatches of Campeggio to Sanga. Lettere di XIII. uomini illustri, 15th Sept., 1528.

(c) Pamphleteer,

(d) ***And of exerting every effort to divert the king from his present sentiments.*** Pamphleteer, No. XLIII.

(e) **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.

(f) Lingard.

(g) The letter is in English.

as those who were more at their ease than myself; but may God support them."(a)

It is curious to study, during the stay of the scourge in England, the conduct of the four principal characters of the drama which we are shortly to witness. Three of them, the king, Anne, and the cardinal, were a prey to the same disease (fear). Anne fled for refuge to Hever Castle, in Kent, forgetful of her royal lover, and overcome by an apprehension of imminent death. She thought no longer of Henry, but, with her father, expected the last summons every moment. They scarcely ventured to think of their physician, Butts, who was confined with them in their turret. Henry, at the approach of danger, thought no more of his "secrete matter;" to keep off the plague he confessed daily, and on every Sunday received the holy communion.(b) His former affection for the cardinal seemed to have returned, and he wrote him letters upon letters. He wished Wolsey to be near him in case of danger, that they might know how either fared. Katharine and the king had but one bed, so that, if surprised by death, Henry would be able to obtain a *Pater* from her whom he desired to divorce. Wolsey, still more alarmed by thinking of his last will, took a pen and drew it up submitting it to the approbation of his royal master. Henry did the same and read it to Wolsey, in order that that confidant of the royal secrets might see the confidence and affection placed in him by the king more than in any other man.(c) Death might now come; it would find the master and the favourite purified by fear, ready to appear before that dread tribunal where secrets shall be laid open. Katharine made no show of either her devotion or alarm; she hoped to die as she had lived, resigned to the will of heaven. An affectionate mother, a faithful wife, a fervent Christian, she had not waited for the arrival of danger to pray; since she had been queen not a day had passed without her hearing Mass, not a Sunday without her communicating. All that she prayed for was to die near Henry and Mary.

Death came not; the scourge passed by, and then Anne, Henry, Wolsey, and Katharine returned to London. The French ambassador had predicted that Henry would forget his passion in the absence of his mistress; he was mistaken. "I am a bad prophet," writes he; "and to tell you candidly, in my opinion, the king is so infatuated that God alone cure him."(d) The scourge once passed,(e) the king lost all recollection of the danger he had just escaped, and the lover reappeared with those desires which absence generally inflames: "I wish, my beloved, to have some intelligence of your health and happiness, in which I take as much interest as I do in my own, praying God, if it please Him, soon to unite us, for I assure you that I have long waited for that moment, which is certainly not now far distant. In the absence of my dear friend, I cannot do better than send her in my name a roebuck, as a souvenir of Henry, predicting that I shall soon wait on you myself in royal style, and would to God I could do it now."(f) Anne, at the very moment that she was about to decide her lot and give or take from her a crown, forgot the past, and

(a) MSS. Béthune, V. 8603.
(b) MSS. Béthune, V. 8603.
(c) Lingard.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Henry VIII. possessed a slight knowledge of medicine. There is in the British Museum (Coll. Sloane, 1047) a volume containing various prescriptions, some of which are in the king's handwriting. The first is a plaister, invented by his majesty; many ointments are also attributed to him. At the head of one of these pharmaceutical preparations we read as follows: "A plaister for Lady Anne of Cleves, to mollify and lessen certain swellings proceeding from cold, and to dissipate the evils on the stomach." In a work entitled "*An hospitall for the diseased*," (in 4to, London, 1595, folio 9, page 2,) is a remedy against the plague, discovered by Henry VIII., and sent by him to the Lord Mayor of London. Among the MSS. of Sir Hans Sloane is a prescription thus headed:—"A medycyn for the pestylence of King Henry VIII. wiche hath helpyd dyvers persons." In the British Museum (MSS. Coll., Titus, B. I., p. 299) is a letter from Sir Brian Tuke to Wolsey, where the king expresses great restlessness for the minister's health, and orders him, if he desires to be cured soon of the sweating, to take light suppers, and to drink wine very moderately, and to use a certain kind of pill.

(f) The letter is in English.

wrote in terms of great affection to the cardinal. One day she wrote to him: "Pardon me for interrupting your occupation by a letter so badly written as this; attribute it to the joy I feel in ascertaining that you are in good health. I shall never cease to beg of God in my prayers to vouchsafe to you, who are so dear to me, a long life, for that is the only way in which I can pay the debt of gratitude I owe you." And again—"As, my lord, I am indebted to you for all my happiness, I love you more than any one in the world, save the king, and I promise you that so long as I live I shall do all in my power to show my gratitude to you. God be praised for having vouchsafed to preserve two persons so dear to me. I doubt not but that you are preserved for the accomplishment of some great design. If it be decreed by Almighty God that my business be terminated, I pray that it may be as soon as possible; then, my lord, I shall be able to repay you for all the pains you have taken in my behalf...."(a)

(a) See Burnet—Harl. Miscell.—Pamphleteer.—Turner.—Fiddes' Life of Cardinal Wolsey. The first letter of Anne Boleyn to Wolsey is preserved in the British Museum, (MSS. Vitel. B. XII.) Mr. Ellis believes that this letter, without a signature, is from Katharine of Arragon.—MSS. Cott. Otho, C. X., 218.

CHAPTER XX.

CAMPEGGIO.—1528-1529.

Arrival of Campeggio in England.—His visit to the King and Queen.—Katharine's behaviour to the Legates.—New intrigues on the part of Henry at Rome.—Mission of Brian and Pierre Vannes.—Gardiner threatens the Pope with a schism in England.—The Legates proceed to the trial.—Katharine and Henry cited before the Ecclesiastical tribunal.—Katharine declared contumacious.—Incidents connected with the trial.—The Queen appeals to the Pope.

Campeggio landed in England about the end of September, 1528, and on the 1st October arrived at Canterbury.(a) He was such a martyr to the gout as to be unable to ride, but was obliged to be carried in a litter. He spent the day with the Duke of Norfolk, and on the morrow, crossing the Thames, took up his residence with the Bishop of Bath, where he was confined to his bed for a whole week.(b) Anne Boleyn, in obedience to the king, left London. "To see Henry and Katharine," says an eye-witness, "one would not have imagined that there was a dispute, as they had but one bed and one table."(c)

(a) There is in the British Museum a letter from Brian, respecting the reception of the legate.—MSS. Cott., Vit., B. XII.
(b) Le Grand. MSS. Béthune, v. 8602. Cavendish.
(c) Letter of Du Bellay, MSS. Béthune, v. 8602.

It might be said that Henry was as afraid of Campeggio as he had been of the plague. Katharine was as fearless as she was innocent, and as cheerful as she had been when in the heyday of her triumph.(d) Wolsey, tormented by the anxiety of a conscience ill at rest, did all he could to quiet the people, who, compassionating the misfortunes that had befallen their queen, looked at Henry with a menacing eye, smiled on seeing the minister, and said aloud: "Let them do what they like; the husband of the Princess Mary, be he whom he may, shall, after all, be the King of England."(e)

On Thursday, 22nd October, 1528, Campeggio had his first interview with the king. He had prepared his speech, in which he praised Henry for ever having proved

(d) Du Bellay, MSS. Bethune, v. 8602.
(e) Du Bellay.

himself to be the faithful ally of the Holy See, for whom his Holiness seemed ready to do all that an affectionate father could do for the best of sons. The hint was taken by the courtiers, but Henry wanted some positive assurance.(a) Campeggio was now, in his turn, monarch of England, and Henry scarcely ever left him, visiting him morning and evening. He wished to make him speak, but the legate refused to give any explanation, but confined himself within the mysterious depths of diplomatic silence; his eye was impassible as his lips were discreet.(b) Henry again had had recourse to that system of corruption to which he was already much indebted. Before taking holy orders Campeggio had been married, and had brought his second son, Rodolfo, (whom Burnet represents as one of those bastards who too often, in the sixteenth century, formed a portion of the nobleman's suite).(c) The title of knight was conferred on Rodolfo, but the father, though extremely grateful for this act of royal courtesy, preserved the same impassibility. He was then tempted with the wealthy see of Durham, whose annual revenue was £20,000, but Campeggio refused the episcopate, whose revenues, during the vacancy of the see, had been at the disposal of the king's mistress for a twelvemonth.(d) It was then, at Anne's request, presented to Tonstal.(e) Faithful to his instructions, the legate exhorted Henry to abandon his plan, and in order to influence him, pointed out the mischief which might ensue were the divorce granted—the dissatisfaction of the nation, the anger of Charles, the grief of his only child, and, perhaps, the death of her mother; but Henry was inflexible.(f)

(a) Le Grand.

(b) Le Grand.

(c) Campeggio spent the day in hunting and shooting, and brought one of his bastards to England with him.—Burnet. *Three wilful lies in less than three lines!*—Le Grand.

(d) For it is a very curious, but *positive fact*, that the profits and revenues of that episcopal palatinate were actually given up for one year to Anne Boleyn.—Howard.

(e) The lady, having enjoyed it for a year, was content to give up the episcopal throne for the prospect of a more brilliant one, and Tonstal took full possession.—Id. Ib.

(f) Le Grand.

Instead of a dispensation, Campeggio had only brought him advice.

On the 27th October the legates, accompanied by four other bishops, visited Katharine, who received them with visible emotion. Campeggio, after having saluted her in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff, entreated her to consent to leave a prince who loved her no longer, to sacrifice her own happiness to the peace of Christendom, and, by an act of heroism which would render her name immortal, to prevent a schism which her resistance would certainly introduce into England.(g) Katharine felt deeply that her first marriage had been contracted under fearful auspices. One of the secret clauses of her union with Arthur had been, that, to continue the crown in the Tudor line, the young Earl of Warwick, the last of the Plantagenets, should be put to death, and this stipulated sacrifice had been performed, in the presence of the Chancellor of Castille.(h) The blood of the Plantagenet seemed to her to be the cause of all the misery and misfortune she had undergone. Campeggio took advantage of this idea to impress on her the necessity of taking the veil; but Katharine was a mother, and Mary was at her side. "My lords," said the Queen, looking fixedly at the legates, "it is a question, in your opinion, whether my marriage with Henry, my lord, is lawful, though we have been united for nearly twenty years. There are prelates, lords of the Privy Council, who can attest to the purity of our wedding, and yet it is now wished to be looked on as incestuous! This is strange, passing strange, my lords, when I call to mind the wisdom of Henry VII., how dearly I was loved by my father Ferdinand, without speaking of the Pope, whose dispensation I still have, I cannot persuade myself that a marriage contracted under their auspices could be sacrilegious."

(g) Cardinal Campeggio had endeavoured, (*according to the orders given to him by the Pope*), to reconcile the king and queen, but in vain, owing to the obstinacy of the king. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to console the queen, and advised her, for her greater security, to retire into some monastery.—De Rossi.

(h) See Chapter I.

Then turning towards Wolsey : "My lord, I accuse you! Cardinal of York, you are the cause of all my sufferings. You are doubtless offended at my liberty. I have merely given my opinion respecting your intrigues, your arrogance, your ambition, your tyranny. You have wreaked your vengeance on myself and my nephew, and your vengeance has exceeded our contempt." She then retired without even allowing Wolsey to justify himself (a)

Henry, who could neither intimidate nor corrupt Campeggio, wished to entangle him in a compromise, and his letter to his mistress shows us what he wanted from the legate : "I have delayed writing till now, hoping to be able to give you such news as would be acceptable to both of us. The legate's illness is the sole cause of his not having called on you, but I trust that as soon as his health is restored he will do so.(b) I know that he has said, on hearing of the report in circulation that he was an Imperialist, that this matter would prove him not to be so. Written by the hand of him who wishes to be as much yours as he is already in heart." The old cardinal pleaded his gout as a pretext for not having visited Anne Boleyn. He would perhaps have been hooted on the road, for the people, indignant at Henry's conduct, were still murmuring thereat, and assembling round Katharine's palace, they neither concealed their sympathy for the queen nor their indignation against the sovereign. Henry, anxious to silence the voice of the people, ordered, one Sunday, the lord mayor, the aldermen, the common councilmen, with the principal merchants of the city, to come to his palace at Bridewell.(c)

After an animated recital of the insults he had received from Charles, and the reasons which induced him to enter into a treaty with France, he added, "You know how dearly I love my only child Mary, but still I cannot conceal from you the fact, that there was a question of marriage between that dear child and the son of Francis I., the Duke of Orleans. Doubts arose in the minds of the councillors of the French king as to Mary's legitimacy, she being born of a mother who had been married to my brother Arthur, and on opening the Bible I read the following in the Book of Leviticus, 'Let not the brother marry his brother's widow.' God knows, who is acquainted with the hearts of all men, how deeply I was affected on seeing this prohibition, and with what anxiety my soul was agitated, for these words seemed to demand of me an account of my own salvation with that of my wife and daughter. I should certainly be condemned to eternal punishment, if warned, as I had been, of my incestuous life, I did not abandon it (d) Do not forget that I am at present craving the judgment of the Holy See, and that I, and my people are firmly resolved to obey its decision.(e) However, that you may be on your guard for the future, remember that I am king, and that I shall certainly execute all who do not obey me."(f)

The drama of the divorce may well be called a Spanish imbroglio. A denoûment was wished for by all; but fresh incidents arising at every step seemed to adjourn it *ad infinitum*. Wolsey, who had been thoroughly worsted by the energy of Katharine, looked about for some one who could aid him in triumphing over the queen. He addressed himself to Mgr. Du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, that witty narrator who even joked at the plague. Wolsey endeavoured, by the aid of logic, to prove to him the illegality of the marriage; and it was not by any means the fault of the minister that Du Bellay was not caught by the arguments of the logician, and did not awake one morning, believing himself to be transformed into a learned canonist. But after a short but severe struggle between self-love and reason,

(a) Hall, who gives the whole of the discourse that the queen pronounced in French, says he had it from Campeggio's secretary. —Turner. And Godwin quotes it nearly in the same language.—De Rossi.

(b) The unfarnyd sikness of this well wyllyng legate doth somewhat retard his accesse to your presence; but I trust verely, when God shal sende him helthe, he wyll with dilygence recompence his demowre.—MSS. Vatican.

(c) Hall.

(d) Godwin, Rer. Angl.

(e) Godwin.

(f) Letter of du Bellay, 17th Nov., 1528.—MSS. Béthune, No. 8602, p. 167.—Le Grand.

the prelate candidly told the cardinal that he had nearly forgotten the Fathers, but promised to speak to Campeggio. However, at the very commencement of his interview with the Italian, Du Bellay, perceived that he was very "*hard mouthed*," and when he timidly inquired whether Julius II. had the power to grant a dispensation Campeggio stopped him, saying that "to doubt the Papal power was to subvert that which was infinite."(a)

The eyes of all were now turned towards Rome. Two men, who had never yet served the king, were sent to negotiate with his Holiness. These were Sir Francis Bryan, Master of the Bedchamber, and Peter Vannes, the king's secretary. They were instructed to inquire, but under the seal of strict secrecy, of the principal canonists at Rome:—1. Whether if a wife take the veil the Pope can permit the husband to marry. 2. When the husband takes holy orders to engage his wife to take the same step, if he might not be afterwards released from his vows and remarry. 3. If the Pope was not at liberty, for state reasons, to authorise a prince, after the example of the patriarchs, to take two wives, one of whom alone should be called Queen (b) 4. Whether Mary could not marry the Duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, in other words, whether Clement had not the power to grant a dispensation, which Julius, it was asserted, could not do without violating the commands of God.(c) Casale was at the same time to urge the necessity of immediate divorce of the aid of arguments entirely physiological founded on certain secret infirmities under which the queen laboured, and which disgusting Henry had induced him to have separate beds.(d)

(a) Le Grand.
(b) Lingard.—Collier.—Le Grand.
(c) De Rossi.
(d) There are some particular reasons to be laid before his Holiness in private, but not proper to commit to writing, upon which account, as well as by reason of some distempers which the queen lies under, without hope of remedy; as likewise through some scruples which disturb the king's conscience, insomuch that his majesty neither can nor will, for the future, look upon her, or live with her as his wife, be the consequence what it will.—Carte, —Herbert.—Taylor.

Gardiner, with whose insulting and sullen conduct we have been already made acquainted, was ordered by his court to intimidate Clement, and was desired to tell his Holiness that if Campeggio did not hasten the matter, Henry would withdraw England from the obedience of Rome. Such was the final determination of the "Defender of the Faith;"(e) but suddenly a gleam of hope shot across the horison for Henry. News was brought to England of the Pope being dangerously ill, and that the attendant physicians had declared his death to be inevitable. It would indeed have been a fortunate event for Henry, (at least so he imagined,) had Clement died, as Wolsey would then have succeeded to the Pontificate.

The ambassadors were immediately instructed to canvass for votes. At London, the cardinal's chances were discussed, the votes on which he depended reckoned. The old cardinals were mentioned who had already voted for him and the younger members of the conclave mentioned as persons who were required to be bribed, and the datary was already heard telling the people who were assembled under his windows, "You have a new Pope. It is Thomas, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Archbishop of York, legate *à latere* of the Holy See;" and the king allows the future Pope only a fortnight to pronounce the divorce. But in the evening, all these vain calculations came to nought Clement opened his eyes, and recovered, as it were, by a miracle. There was now only one way left, and that a violent one, of proving to the Holy See that Gardiner's threat was not meaningless, and the king resorted to it.(f) Since he was not allowed to marry Anne, he would nevertheless, in the eyes of all England, bestow on his mistress the various prerogatives of royalty. Anne was recalled

(e) Dr. Gardiner was instructed to declare to the Pope, that if he did not order Campeggio to proceed to the divorce, the King of England would withdraw his obedience.—Turner.—Le Grand. The whole of this intrigue is well exposed in De Rossi, "*Memorie storiche dei principali avvenimenti politici d'Italia seguiti durante il pontificato di Clemente VII.*" The author belonged to the Roman Chancery.
(f) Burnet.—Turner.—Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

from exile. "Madlle. de Boulon," relates our historian, "has at last arrived, and the king has given her some magnificent apartments near his own, and the same respect is paid to her as to the queen."(a)

The king was continually giving presents to Lady Anne (so she was called) of jewels, dresses, furs, silk, and gold cloth. Katharine was sent to Greenwich. In the privy purse account from Nov. 1529 to 1532, there are more than forty different entries for Lady Anne, whereas there is only one of £20 for Mary, and nothing for Katharine.(b)

Some short time after Lady Boleyn's return to court, certain signs were perceived which clearly proved that she did not occupy the queen's place at table alone, and Mgr. du Bellay, in his office as ambassador, having been intrusted to inform his court of all that he saw or imagined, thus wrote to M. de Montmorency: "I hear some stray suspicions that the king has of late been too intimate with Lady Anne, and therefore do not be surprised at the matter being expedited, for if anything should happen, all will be spoilt.(c)"

It was now expected at London, in obedience to the Papal commission, that the legates would at once proceed to judgment. Campeggio obeyed the directions of the Sovereign Pontiff; he read the bill both to the Prince and Wolsey. Henry expressed a wish that it should be communicated to the members of his privy council, but the Italian refused to give even a copy or to communicate it himself to any other living creature.(d) A courier was immediately dispatched to Rome, and recourse was again had to threats and prayers; but Clement was inexorable. It was no longer Wolsey but Henry who managed the affair through Brian; the ambassadors replied to the royal communication through letters addressed to Anne Boleyn;(e) the minister had lost the confidence of both the king and his favourite. We have above remarked that the objections to the bull of Julius were two-fold; the king's advisers denied that the Pope had the power to allow a brother to marry his brother's widow, owing to the prohibition of the Book of Leviticus; they, consequently, attacked the truth of the allegations on which the bull was founded. The first argument which tended to the weakening of the Pontifical power had been abandoned; but the second, the false enunciation by which the bull had been obtained, was insisted on. But Katharine confounded the ministers by exhibiting the copy of a brief which had been sent her from Spain, accorded by Julius II., and bearing the same date as the bull, but so worded as not to be subject to the same objections as the original dispensation. This was a thunderbolt to Henry's counsellors, and a glimpse of hope for the legates, as the document bore on its face the marks of its authenticity. The legates had been authorized to decide on the validity of the bull, and with certain restrictions, but they had no mission to contest the brief exhibited by Katharine. New couriers accordingly crossed the Alps to demand from Rome a more ample commission, a revocation of the brief, or a summons to the Emperor to present the original. Henry laid much stress on the expression *de plenitudine potestatis*, which Clement had used; he doubted not in his ultramontane fervor, that the Pope, *plenitudine potestatis*, would silence Katharine, deprive her of the most sacred of all titles, that of mother, annul the decision of his predecessor Julius II., exalt himself above every law, and trample under foot all the forms of human justice. But Clement replied to Gardiner, who urged him for a reply, that indifferent alike to danger as well as interest, he would only be guided by the voice of his conscience. Judges had been asked for. They would pronounce the sentence, and the Pope, if required, would confirm it.

In June, 1529, these assizes opened, where his majesty, says Stowe, had to appear as a petitioner. A vast amphitheatre was prepared at the monastery of the Blackfriars, where two thrones were placed in the middle for the king and queen. At

(a) Lettre de Mons. du Bellay a M. le grand maitre.—MSS. Béthune, v. 8604.
(b) Hall.—Lingard.
(c) Lettre de M. du Bellay.—MSS. Béthune, v. 8604.
(d) Lingard.
(e) State Papers, I. 330.

the sides of the semicircle were the seats for the ecclesiastical judges; higher up, the chairs of the secretaries and clergy. The head secretary was Dr Stephen Gardiner, (afterwards Bishop of Winchester,) the apparitor was Cooke, then called Cooke of Winchester. To the right of the king was the Legate Campeggio. At the queen's right was the Cardinal Wolsey. At the extremities of the circle were their majesties' council.[a] Those for the king were Richard Sampson, dean of the Chapel Royal, John Bell, doctor of laws, Peter and Trigonel. Those for the queen were Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph.[b] To Campeggio and Wolsey were given as counsellors, Longland, Bishop of Lincoln and the king's confessor, Clerk, Bishop of Bath, John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, and John Taylor, Master of the Rolls.[c]

The commission or pollicitation was brought into court by the Bishop of Lincoln, who handed it to the prothonatory, who read it aloud, and then the cardinals swore that they would execute it faithfully. The secretaries were then sworn, and the king and queen cited to appear before the tribunal on the 18th June, between nine and ten in the morning, after which the judges retired.[d] On the 18th June, the queen appeared in person to protest against her judges; the first examination was adjourned to the 21st June.[e] Katharine, on her way home, was insulted by the people, in consequence of lying reports having been circulated by the king's agents contrary to her honour; it was stated that she had conspired against the lives of the king and the cardinal; that the conspirators had been discovered; that instead of employing her time in prayer she gave herself up to a life of gaiety; that she was indulgent to all those who visited her in order to gain them over to her cause, and thus ruin the prince in the affection of his people.[f] The king had read Tacitus, and, like Tiberius, called craft to his aid in destroying a poor woman, but God had endowed Katharine with sufficient courage to treat such cowardly calumnies with sovereign contempt. On the 28th, at the assembling of the court, the apparitor, in a loud voice, called out:—"*Henrice, Anglorum rex, adesto in curiâ*" "*Adsum,*" replied the king, rising from his throne. "*Catherina, Anglorum regina, adesto in curiâ.*"[g]

The queen, instead of making a reply, left her seat, and throwing herself at Henry's feet, with clasped hands, thus addressed him with accents of grief:—"Sire, pity and justice are all that a queen without relations or friends, in a foreign land, and exposed to the hatred of enemies, can ask of you. I left my fatherland without any other guarantee for my personal security than that sacred knot which united me to you, sire, and to your house. I trusted that I should find in my new family a defence against every attack of this kind, and not the conduct I have met with. I call God and his saints to witness that I have loved my royal husband for the last twenty years with boundless affection. I assert, and this you well know, that when I entered your bed I was a pure virgin. Expel me hence as one unworthy of credit, if I say not the truth. Did not both our fathers, princes celebrated for their precaution, carefully examine the clauses of our contract? Who then among all the numerous counsellors of the crown remarked those informalities which they have endeavoured to discover within the last few years, what reason is adduced to break a knot of twenty years standing? My advocates and judges are your majesty's subjects; I therefore acknowledge them not. The authority of the legates I will not even acknowledge. Every thing is suspicious to me in a tribunal where my enemies are so numerous, that I cannot even hope to obtain a just sentence. Sire, restore to me my right over your heart, my rights as a wife, mother, and queen. This

(a) Howard.
(b) Burnet.
(c) Le Grand.
(d) Brit. Mus., MSS. Vitell., B. XII.—Burnet.
(e) Brit. Mus., MSS. Vitell., B. XII.
(f) Burnet.
(g) Godwin.

I implore you to do in the name of God our common Judge. Allow me to write to Spain, where I have friends who will guide me in this matter. If you refuse my request, sire, I have no other defence than God, and to him do I appeal."(a) She rose with her face bathed in tears, bowing respectfully to the king, walked across the hall, leaning on the arms of Griffith, her receiver general. The apparitor again cried out, "Katharine, Queen of England, return to the court." "Do you hear, Madam, said Griffith, "you are again called?" "I hear it very well, replied the queen, but this is no court where I can hope for justice. Go on."(b) These words, uttered in the accents of confident innocence, made a deep impression on all present (c)

Henry, unable to destroy its effects, endeavoured in studied language to exalt the virtues of Katharine, who had ever behaved in a most affectionate manner to him. He added that he had only been induced by the restlessness of his conscience, aided by the advice of his spiritual director, the Bishop of Tarbes, and other prelates, to sue for a commission and trial, and he promised to abide by the judgment of the court.(d) Wolsey, who had till now been silent, called on the king to tell the court whether the Lord High Chancellor had been the first instigator of the divorce. "On the contrary, my Lord Cardinal," replied Henry, "I acknowledge that you have always been opposed to a divorce which religious motives alone have induced me to sue for before this court."(e)

The court was formed, and Katharine declared contumacious for having refused to appear before it.(f) The pleadings commenced: melancholy pleadings, where royal advocates were compelled to prove, by the aid of a few equivocal words escaped from a child, and some bloody linen found and sent by some mysterious hand to Spain, that the marriage between Arthur and Katharine had been consummated! Advocates who blushed not at dragging asunder the curtain, and exposing the nuptial bed to the view of all Christendom! A king, who, by his silence, made known the mysteries of the first night of a marriage! A husband endeavouring to prove that his wife had lied in affirming that she ascended the throne of England as a virgin! A father who would not rest quietly in his grave unless he proved that his daughter was the fruit of an incestuous marriage.(g) What a spectacle!

(a) Tytler.

(b) Madam, said her receiver-general, on whose arm she leant, ye are again called.—Go on, said she, I hear it very well, but this is no court wherein I can have justice.—Tytler.

(c) This pathetic address, delivered with humility, and yet with the spirit becoming an innocent woman, made a deep impression.—Tytler.

(d) Lingard.

(e) My Lord Cardinal, you have rather advised me to the contrary, than been any mover of the same.—Howard.

(f) Lingard.

(g) De Rossi, who was at Rome at the time of the proceedings relative to the divorce, has given us a very lucid summary of the arguments of the cause. His testimony is of the highest importance, and is as follows:—

The cause was nevertheless several times argued before the legates, since Henry, though he did not refuse the queen permission to refer the cause to Rome, was soliciting the judges to decree the annulment of the dispensation. For which reason, and because Campeggio wished to carry the matter forward till the vacation, they began by examining the validity or nullity of the dispensation. Henry's proctors brought forward several pleas, on which they based their opinion as to the invalidity of the marriage. In the first place, they alleged that the brief was surreptitious, because it allowed the marriage, without mentioning the espousals. To which objection it was answered on the part of the queen (without prejudice to the appeal) that, when the Pope granted a dispensation for the celebration of the marriage, he intended also to grant power to make the espousals, otherwise he would have been granting the end, but forbidding the means. Secondly, the king's proctors said that the ring was informally given, the giving of it not being mentioned in the brief, but only licence of marriage; and that it had not been explained to the Pope that Henry was then only twelve years old, and therefore not yet of age to marry. To this the queen's proctors answered, that the young prince, not being then able to marry her, espoused her; but even if the ring, which is the pledge of a future marriage, had been given informally, this objection could not prejudice the marriage, which was concluded without all the requisites insisted on by the Church, and which subsists and may subsist without the ring, for the ring is a ceremony, and a defect in non-essentials does not vitiate the essentials. It was not necessary to mention the age of Henry in the *Supplicat*, as it was not contrary to the laws of the Church; and

One of the witnesses, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who could not hear such details gone into without his cheeks mantling with a blush, details which were pleasing to the advocates, arose, exclaiming that he was acquainted with the truth. All present looked at him with amazement. "The truth," exclaimed Warham, "and how, I pray you, can you know it better than ourselves." "Yes," rejoined the bishop, "has not Divine wisdom said, 'Let not man put asunder that which God hath joined.'"(a) Fisher had in these few words pronounced his own sentence of death. The trial dragged on its slow length. At every hour fresh incidents arose which demanded examination. The king's counsellors endeavoured to point out in what particulars the Bull of Julius II. was null and void; when the queen's advocates produced the brief accorded to Katharine, it was drawn up in

even had it been expressed. the Pope could not have supplied the defects of nature; but the relationship, which was the impediment requiring a dispensation, was certainly expressed. Nor could Henry's being but twelve years old be an impediment to the marriage, as we read that Solomon and Ahaz were fathers at the ages of eleven and twelve respectively. In the third place, it was pleaded on behalf of Henry, that when he became old enough to marry, he protested that he would not accept Katharine. To this protestation of Henry, made verbally, and not in writing, and without the knowledge of Katharine, her proctors answered that there was no need of any reply, the protest being contrary to fact; for although he might have said that he would not marry her, yet he did so, and lived with her for twenty years, and had five children by her, and these acts had got rid of any defect in intention. In the fourth place, the king's advocates alleged that in the dispensation the cause was specified, viz., to maintain peace between Ferdinand, King of Spain, and Henry VII., King of England, which cause was insufficient, since Henry VIII. being a child, had no intention of keeping any such peace; and also when the marriage was celebreted, both Isabella, wife of Ferdinand, and Henry VII. were dead. To this, it was answered on the queen's part, that as to Henry's not thinking about peace, when a child, on account of which the Pope was chiefly induced to grant the dispensation, this may have been the case on account of his youth, which perhaps rendered him incapable of such ideas; but although he might have thought nothing on the subject, his father might have done so for him, as he said the creed for him at his baptism. And although Isabella and Henry VII. were not living at the time of the marriage, yet they were alive when the dispensation was obtained, the value of which depends on the date of its being granted, not of its execution. In the fifth place, the king's proctors said that the *Supplicat* was addressed to the Pope in the names of Katharine and the young prince, who never gave any such commission to their parents, and, as a false representation vitiates a *Supplicat*, the dispensation obtained thereby cannot be valid. To this cavilling and insufficient exception, the queen's proctors answered, that it was nonsense to say that the dispensation was invalid because the parents had not been empowered to supplicate the Pope. Such powers were unnecessary, as the Pope never inquired for them, nor expressed any anxiety to see them. But since dispensations are valid even when unsought for, who would doubt about the validity of a *Supplicat*? Secondly, parents by the laws of nature are bound to consult for the welfare of their children, without any express commands; and children by the same laws always look up to their parents. Who can wish for a more clear and authentic proof than this? So that the expression, "Being demanded on your part," cannot be shown to be false. The sixth and last point of Henry's argument, (which appeared to be the strongest and most favourable to him,) was founded on the two impediments of relationship and morality; relationship because of the consummation of the marriage between Katharine and Arthur; and morality, because of the necessity of avoiding scandal. And they said that it was enough that the marriage had been contracted, whether it had been consummated or not. And the inference they drew was, that the Pope had dispensed with impediments arising from relationship, but not with those arising from scandal which might be caused. The queen's advocates answered, that the dispensation of Pope Julius did away with all impediments, these two included, because, if the Pope had information in the *Supplicat* of one or more impediments, he was willing and able to remove them; so that, all being now removed, there were no longer any impediments.

There was also a dispute with regard to the consummation of the marriage between Katharine and Arthur. The king affirmed that it was impossible to doubt it, considering the age of the parties and all circumstances. He also mentioned an expression of Arthur's, made use of the day after the wedding. The queen answered that Arthur was an invalid, and continued so till his death; and that afterwards she summoned a notary public, and in the presence of several bishops and other witnesses, ordered him to ask her, on her oath, whether she was not a virgin widow. And since Henry did not then attempt to contradict a thing so prejudicial to him, her testimony should be received. Nay, he had even confessed, in writing to Charles V., that she was a maid when he married her.

(a) Howard.

such a manner that their objections were no longer of any avail. They endeavoured to deny its authority, by pretending that it was not the original but a copy, which the queen's counsel presented, when Fisher proved that it had all the characters of authenticity, since it bore the signature of the Papal Nuncio, the Archbishop of Toledo, four knights of the golden fleece, privy councillors of Charles V., and a notary apostolic.(a)

One of the most important points to be proved was that the king had protested against his marriage with Katharine. The deposition of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, destroyed the king's assertion. Fox repeated what he had already said in 1526, when he had been examined by Dr. Wolman:—That Dr. Puebla, who had drawn up the contract of marriage between Henry and Katharine, had left two copies of the dispensation in England, and had sent two to Spain. That he had no recollection of the prince ever having entered a protest against his marriage. That there existed, it was true, a protest made in the king's name in the registry of the Notary-public Bidden, in the presence of the Earl of Surrey, Lord High Treasurer of England, but it was not drawn up in the king's presence. Henry VII., he added, had always told him that he wished for the marriage to take place; and if he delayed its celebration, it was solely on account of a difference with the King of Spain respecting the Infanta's dowry.(b)

Certain that his cause was lost as far as the legates were concerned, Henry had but one chance remaining; it was by frightening Katharine as to the issue of the trial, to induce her to throw herself on her husband's generosity, and thus prevent an appeal to the Pope. At the very moment that Wolsey was about to retire to rest, Lord Rochford, Lady Anne's father, besought him, from his majesty, to go immediately to Bridewell, and to use every exertion to induce the queen to throw herself on her husband's affection, and thus terminate a trial which would only end in her dishonour. Wolsey, though obedient to the king's request, did not conceal from Lord Rochford his conviction that his mission would be unsuccessful. He added, in a tone of great severity, that his lordship, with his fellow peers, had put strange ideas into the king's head, which would cause no little trouble to the state, and that they would obtain but small thanks from God and Christendom for it.(c)

He arose, entered a barge, which was expressly prepared for him, and called for Campeggio at Bath House, whence both the legates proceeded towards Bridewell. The gentleman-in-waiting announced the visitors. The queen was engaged in spinning, with a skein of silk round her neck and the spindle in her hand. She entered the room where her unexpected visitors were: "I have to apologise, my lords, for having kept you waiting so long; but may I inquire your business with me?" "To converse with you in your oratory, if your majesty will allow it," replied Wolsey. "My lord, you have my permission to say what you like openly; I have no fear."(d) "*Reverendissima majestas*," commenced Wolsey. "Speak in English, my lord," retorted the queen, "for I understand Latin but very little." "Madam," replied Wolsey, "we bring you a message from his majesty, devoted as we are to your majesty."(e) "I thank you," replied Katharine; "I was working with my maidens when you came; they, my lords, are my councillors; I have no other. They are not very clever, nor, indeed, am I, and I know not how such a poor creature as I am will be able to reply to men like yourselves; but since it is your desire, we will go into the oratory."(f) The queen then took off the skein of silk from her neck, laid down her spindle, and giving her right hand to Campeggio and her left to Wolsey, entered the oratory. What

(a) Le Grand.
(b) Adding further, that our king was not present there.—(See Appendix C.)

(c) But he observed to Lord Rochford, that he and other lords of the council had put fancies into the head of the king, whereby they would give much trouble to the realm, and at the least would have but small thanks either from God or from the world.—Howard.
(d) Howard.
(e) Howard.
(f) Le Grand.

passed during this private interview none can tell; it was, however, remarked that, on coming out, both the queen and the legates seemed to have been deeply affected, and it was reported that Katharine had told them that she, the Queen of England, the wife of Henry Tudor, the mother of Mary, the daughter of Ferdinand, the aunt of Charles V., would lay her appeal at the feet of the Sovereign Pontiff.(a)

It was soon known in London that the matter would be carried to Rome. The legates held their last court on the 23rd of July, and Henry, concealed in an adjoining apartment, listened with anxiety. His counsel demanded, in a most insolent manner, that the court should pronounce its judgment. Campeggio, in reply to the haughty injunction of the speaker, said that he was too old and too delicate in health to be intimidated by his threats, and that death being at hand, he wished to be ready for the change by having a good conscience. At these words the Duke of Suffolk, striking the table, exclaimed, with vehemence, "The proverb is true; never did a cardinal bring any good to England." This insult portended blood. Wolsey arose, and looking at him, thus spoke: "My lord, I have the honour to be a member of the Sacred College, and though you be a duke, you are indebted to me for having your head on your shoulders. We have neither of us insulted you, and feel, my lord, as much interest in the welfare of the kingdom and the honour of his majesty as you can do. We have only discharged our duty, and none but a madman can blame us. Calm your angry passion, my lord, if you would speak as becomes a wise and prudent man, or be silent.(b)"

(a) The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

(b) Therefore pacify yourself, my lord, and speak like a man of honour and wisdom, or hold your peace.—Howard.—Larrey, Histoire d'Angleterre.

CHAPTER XXI.

DISGRACE AND DEATH OF WOLSEY.—1529-1530.

Interview of the King with Wolsey at Grafton.—Unexpected departure of Campeggio.—The King's anger against the Legate.—The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk sent to ask the Chancellor for the Seals of State.—The Minister's disgrace.—York House taken possession of in the King's name.—Banishment of Wolsey.—His Letter to Henry.—He is taken ill.—Bill of Impeachment presented against Wolsey to the Commons.—Wolsey obtains permission from the King to live at Richmond.—Wolsey at Newark.—Arrested at Cawood by the Earl of Northumberland.—Arrival of Sir W. Kingston, Constable of the Tower.—Wolsey starts for London.—Is taken ill and dies at Leicester.—His last moments.—His character.

The court was at Grafton; Henry was at dinner with his mistress. "Do you not acknowledge, sire, that the cardinal has succeeded in embroiling you with your subjects?" asked Anne. "How?" replied Henry. "Is there one in the whole kingdom, thanks to the cardinal, who possesses £1,000?" retorted the favourite, alluding to the subsidies which the minister had extorted from the Commons. "Bah! bah!" said the king; "he is not so faulty as you imagine; I know that better than you." "What noble exploits are we indebted to him for?" remarked Anne, spitefully. "If my lord of Norfolk, if my lord of Suffolk, if my father, or any other, had done the half of what he has done, they would no longer have had a head on their

shoulders."(a) "I perceive that you are no longer friendly with my lord the cardinal." "No, sire, I do not like him," replied Anne; "your majesty would do the same if you would but reflect for a few minutes on his actions."

The king, after dinner, returned to his "presence chamber," where the cardinal soon made his appearance. On a signal from the prince, both retired into an embrasure of one of the windows. The courtiers listened in silence, but only inarticulate sounds reached their ears, in so low a tone was their conversation carried on. The king often raised his head, whereas, the cardinal had his continually bent to the ground. It was easy to perceive, from the animated manner of the king, that the one was an angry judge, and the other a suppliant culprit. The courtiers exchanged a smile of joy. Wolsey's star had waned greatly. How could they any longer hesitate, when the prince, taking from his doublet a letter, resembling a diplomatic dispatch, opened it, as if in anger, and laying his finger on a passage shook the paper before the favourite's pale and haggard countenance. This time they heard him say, "Is not this, my lord, your writing."(b) What was this letter? Perhaps a dispatch from the cardinal to Charles V., which the emperor's ambassador had sent to Henry;(c) or perhaps some instructions from Wolsey to one of the Italian cardinals to hasten Campeggio's departure, and to have the matter sent to Rome?(d)

Conjectures unfavourable to the cardinal were surmised from this circumstance; but when the king took his hand amicably and led him into his private chamber, there to continue their conversation, the courtiers again changed their opinion, and impatiently waited for the door of the royal apartment to open to observe the cardinal pass by. After more than an hour's conference, he again appeared quite flushed, but without any visible sign of confusion. The courtiers had ceased to smile, but a ray of hope beamed from their eyes when one of the gentlemen-in-waiting informed Wolsey's attendant that no apartment had been prepared for his grace at the Castle, and at so unreasonable an hour of the night, the favourite was compelled to go to Easton, a few miles from Grafton, where the cardinal begged for hospitality from Mr. Empson. Two flambeaux alone preceded the chancellor to show him the road, for the night was cloudy and rainy, and the sky itself, a prophet of anger, seemed to announce the approaching fall of this second Haman. The courtiers were, however, compelled to wait till the morrow to see how the king would receive his minister, as he was again to have another interview with Henry at his express request.(e)

Wolsey, who had passed a sleepless night, arrived at an early hour at Grafton. On approaching the Castle, he perceived some extraordinary commotion, and found every thing prepared for a royal hunt. It was with great difficulty that he could reach the hall steps, so great was the crowd of horses, dogs, falcons, and grooms, in front of the house.(f) He approached the king, who had his foot in the stirrup, and saluted him. "My lord," said Henry to him, "if you have any business to transact with me, you can communicate it to the lords of my Privy Council, and you will accompany the cardinal legate." On saying this, he vaulted on horseback, and disappeared with his mistress in the mazes of the forest.(g) To hesitate about his disgrace was now impossible. Anne had obtained her wish. This hunting party had been purposely got up to avoid a second interview between her lover and the cardinal. As they were returning homewards after the hunt, Anne begged the king to halt on the downs, where she had had a magnificent repast prepared for Henry, and in the evening they returned to Grafton, so

(a) Yea, if my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my father, or any other man, had done much less than he hath done, they should have lost their heads ere this.—Howard.

(b) How can that be? Is not this your own hand?—Cavendish.—Turner.

(c) Turner.

(d) Tytler.—Campian relates that Sir Francis Brian while at Rome procured one of Wolsey's letters, proving that that minister was unfavourable to the divorce.—Fiddes.

(e) Howard.

(f) C. D. Voss. Heinrich der Achte.

(g) Howard.

as to give the legates time to leave.(a) On his return to the Castle, Henry was informed that Campeggio had, on leaving, taken a large sum of money which he had received from Wolsey.(b) This was one of the falsehoods invented by Anne and her emissaries to work out the legate's fall.

On hearing this intelligence, Henry ordered the cardinals to be pursued; and at Dover, Campeggio was exceedingly astonished at finding no vessel ready for him, and yet more so on seeing his apartment invaded by a band of soldiers demanding the money he received from Wolsey. In the first moment of fright, he threw himself at the feet of his confessor, and besought him to give him absolution, but on coming to himself, he protested against this unseemly treatment, and declared that he would not leave the kingdom until he had received satisfaction for this insult. Henry refused to apologise for his conduct, on the plea that the cardinal was no longer a legate; that he had exercised his commission after it had been revoked by the Pope, and that he was an English subject, since he had been presented by royal munificence with the see of Salisbury.

Could Clement have wielded his sword like Julius II., Henry would have apologised to the ambassador of the Holy See. However, the search was not in reality for treasures, but the king hoped to find the decretal, or some letter from Wolsey to the Pope that might be turned against him on the charge of high treason, which it was purposed to bring against him. Perhaps, also, they wished to obtain possession of Henry's correspondence with Anne Boleyn; but they had been already sent to Rome.(c) There are in history many examples of unforeseen falls, where the culprit, struck by an invisible arm, and purified by the fire of chastisement, excites our sympathy, which, however, we should refuse to accord to nobler victims selected for punishment by Divine Providence. But for the heart to be touched, the trial must be courageously supported. Tears from the eye of a fallen angel meet with no commiseration, unless they be tears of repentance. Had Wolsey but knelt before the cross which he wore as an insignia of his dignity at that awful moment when God visited him, we should have forgotten the sparkling diamonds with which he was covered, and have only thought of the sinner resigned to the decrees of heaven. But as he did not cast his anchor on religion, he fell at the first blast of the storm, and none commisserated him. He inspired pity and not interest in the breast of his co temporaries. The Bishop of Bayonne, who went to visit him in his affliction, was astonished at the undignified grief evinced by Wolsey, in his words as well as his countenance.(d)

On the morrow of St. Michael, Wolsey,

(a) Howard.

(b) An anecdote related by Speed may give the reader an idea of Campeggio's treasures. While traversing the streets of London, one of his mules tripped, and the prelate's luggage burst open while falling to the ground. Old shoes, a cassock repaired all over, and a few mouldy crusts of bread were found.

(c) He found them, it is supposed, at York house, in Wolsey's cabinet.

(d) Au demourent, dit-il, j'ay esté voir le cardinal en ses ennuis où que j'y ay trouvé le plus grand exemple de fortune que on ne sçaurait voir: il m'a remonstré son cas en a plus mauvaise rhétorique que je vis jamais; car cueur et parolles lui failloient entièrement; il a bien ploure et prié que le roy (François 1er) et Madame Louise voulsissent avoir pitié de luy s'ils avoyent trouvé qu'il eust guardé promesse de leur estre bon serviteur autant que son honneur et povoir se y est peu estendre; mais il me à la fin laissé sans que son visaige qui est bien descheu de la moitié de juste pris, et vous promets que se fortune est telle que ses ennemys, encores qu'ils soyeut Anglois, ne se sçauroient guarder d'en avoir pitié. De légation, de sceau d'auctorité, de crédit, il n'en demande point; il est prest de laisser tout jusqu' à la chemise, et que on le laisse vivre en ung hermitaige, ne le tenant le Roy en sa malle grace. Je l'ai reconforté au mieulx que j'ai peu, mais je n'y ai su faire grant chose. .... La fantaisie des seigneurs ses ennemis est que *luy mort ou ruiné, ils defferrent incontinent icy l' estat de l'Eglise, et prendront tous leurs biens, qu'il seroit ja besoing que je misse en chiffres, car ils le crient en plaine table*: je crois qu'ils feront de beaux miracles.... Je ne veulx oublier à vous dire que si le roy et Madame veullent faire quelque chose pour le légat, il faudroit se haster; encores ne seront jamais icy les lettres qu'il n'ait perdu le sceau. Le pis de son mal est que Mademoiselle de Boulen à faict promettre à son amy qu'il ne l'écoustera jamais parler.—MSS., Béthune 3 vol. 860.

attended by his ordinary suite, opened the Court of Chancery, when it was remarked that none of the royal servants were in attendance at the bottom of the stairs to accompany him. At the very moment that he took his seat, vested in his insignia, Hales, the Attorney-General, appeared in the King's Bench with two bills of accusation against Wolsey. The minister was accused of having transgressed, as legate, the statutes of Richard II., known under the title of *præmunire*. A long-proscribed and almost-abrogated law was revived against the cardinal, which had been violated by every prelate in the kingdom, for not one of them had dreamt before exercising the powers conferred on him by Rome, of taking out letters-patent.

The king had, in the first law-officer of the kingdom, a servile instrument of iniquity. Wolsey, who exercised his powers as legate in England by virtue of royal authority, might have easily proved his innocence;(a) but that would have cut off all hope of pardon; "the night-bird" who watched over Tudor's couch would have perverted this appeal from an oppressed subject to the justice of his master. Wolsey preferred silence, and that was an act of cowardice on his part, as by his silence he set an example to those unhappy wretches whom the prince, in his despotism, might hereafter find guilty. A few days after, on the 17th October, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk resorted to York House to demand from the cardinal the seals of state. Wolsey required an order signed by the king, guaranteeing their commission; they had only their word to give to the minister, who refused to resign his powers without a letter from his sovereign; they consequently returned on the morrow with the requisite authority, which Wolsey immediately obeyed.(b) This time he was not only required to yield up the insignia of his authority as Chancellor, but the treasures which he had amassed while in power. Henry had desired to convert York House into one of the royal palaces,(c) while the favourite was to go and muse at Esher on the vanity of this world, and the instability of fortune. Wolsey bent his head, feeling but too happy that it had not been required of him. On the morrow, when the commissioners came to take possession of York House in the king's name, they were bewildered on seeing the treasures which the cardinal had expressly laid out on tables for them. Never did an oriental bazaar witness so magnificent a sight. Leo X. at the Vatican had not during his reign collected more curious objects of art. Africa, Europe, and Asia had been exhausted in the embellishment of this palace; Mechlin had given her lace; the Hague her finest linen; Lyons and Florence their silk: Brescia her wrought arms; Mexico her diamonds. There were separate rooms for the tapestry, pictures, and statues; gold and silver vessels; painting was represented by Raphaël, Fra Bartolomeo, Albert Durer, Holbein, and Cimabué; sculpture by Perrino della Vaga, Michael Angelo, Sansovino, and Orgagna. The bold artist who boasted of having shot the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome, Benvenuto Cellini, had his cups wrought with an art altogether divine exhibited there.(d)

All the great monarchs of the age, Leo X., Clement VII., Francis I., Charles V., and Henry VIII., had there deposited their tributes of respect. What tears, what cunning, what perjury, what falsehood had this immense wealth cost their master! For nearly a fortnight the commissioners were engaged in drawing up an inventory, which took no less than forty pages in folio.(e) His grace's steward, Sir William Gascoigne,(f) was exceedingly grieved at being obliged to assist at the spoliation of such wealth; he was completely heart-broken, and shed bitter tears of regret when he told the cardinal that the sacrifice

(a) Lingard.
(b) Hall.
(c) Hall.—Cavendish.

(d) In his gallery there was set divers tables, whereupon a great number of rich stoffs 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 linen cloth. —Cavendish The tapestry is still to be seen in Hampton Court.

(e) Harl. MSS., No. 590, British Museum.

(f) Thomson.

had been consummated. This aged servant regarded this act of robbery as a sure forerunner of his master's speedy execution, and he was overheard muttering to himself that awful word *the Tower*. "The Tower! Sir William," exclaimed the terrified cardinal; "what are you talking about? The Tower, that is false! I have done nothing to merit the Tower. His Majesty desired to convert this palace into a royal residence, that is all! The Tower! How well do you know how to console your master in his adversity!"(a) A report was in circulation in London that the cardinal would be arrested on his embarkation, so that the banks of the Thames were crowded with spectators of every rank who had come, with cruel pleasure, to witness the scene, but they were disappointed. Wolsey, preceded by one cross, landed at Putney, and mounted on a mule was wending his way slowly to Esher; the rain was falling in torrents, and the cardinal had great difficulty in ascending the little hill which bends so gracefully as it leads to the village of Putney, when he heard the trot of a horse behind him: on looking round, full of anxiety, he perceived Norris, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who was riding as hard as he could to overtake the exile, and holding in his hand a royal message. "What is it?" cried the cardinal. "A gold ring, my lord," replied Norris, "and a letter from his majesty; a gold ring, which he took off his own finger, and a letter written by himself. Take it! Courage, my lord, you will soon be more powerful than you have ever been."(b) Wolsey, who heard and saw no more, leapt off the mule, and, kneeling down in the mud,(c) took the royal ring, which he kissed respectfully and shed tears of joy; then rising up, and pressing the ring to his heart, he said, "How happy do I feel, my good Norris; were I king, the half of my kingdom would not be sufficient to testify my gratitude, but I have nothing, literally nothing, save this gold cloth, which covers my beast. Stop, yes, I have; here take this gold chain to which is attached a relic of the true cross; when I was in prosperity I would not have parted with it for £1000. Keep it for my sake, and when you look at it recall me to the memory of my good master. Oh! yes! my good master, whom I have loved more than myself and whom I have well served, and to say that I have no one now to convey to him the expression of my gratitude; but Patch, my fool, who is with me, will be my interpreter to his majesty with you, my good Norris. I give him to his majesty: Patch is worth £1000."(d) But the fool when called refused to leave his old master, and six strong men could scarcely tie him to a horse, which set off at full gallop.(e)

The cardinal had scarcely arrived at Esher ere he was taken seriously ill; and during one of his short respites from fever he endeavoured to touch his master's feelings, and the following pathetic letter would probably have done so had not Anne Boleyn interfered. "My gracious and sweet master," (wrote the invalid,) "your chaplain, infirm and worn-out, will not cease to crave your mercy and compassion. He does not thus weary you with his complaints because he doubts your heart, or hopes to alarm you by threat of a trial; but because he wishes you to know that he is convinced that after God he can only look to you for hope of pardon. Therefore he fears not to address to you the most ardent petitions. The idea, that a poor senseless fool should have offended my well-beloved sovereign is so painful to my heart, that I can scarcely muster sufficient courage to crave your compassion. It is enough, O pious king. Restrain your hand from crushing your servant, I pray you, in the name of that star whose milk JESUS sucked for the healing of our sins.(f) JESUS, who has commanded you to pardon, by saying to you, 'Forgive, and it shall be forgiven to you;

(a) Cavendish.—Turner.

(b) Therefore, sir, said Norris, take patience, for I trust to see you in better estate than ever. —Tytler.

(c) He fell upon his knees, and returned thanks to God for such comfortable and joyful intelligence.—Tytler.

(d) Cavendish.

(e) Tytler.

(f) State Papers, I., 347, 348.

blessed are the merciful because they will have mercy.' To your grace from your almoner." The king was inexorable; whereon, the invalid began to despair. To the fever, which was gradually undermining his strength, were joined such acute pains in the bowels as to deprive him of sleep. During these sufferings in mind and body, Wolsey never so much as once lifted up his eyes to heaven, at least so that servant, (Cavendish,) who was faithful to him till death, relates. One night (1st November) a knock was heard at the castle gate; (a) it was Sir John Russell who desired to speak to the cardinal; he had brought the prisoner another ring from the king as a fresh pledge of Henry's good wishes. What meant this nocturnal visit? Did Henry, escaped for an instant from the *surveillance* of his mistress, regret his treatment of the cardinal? Was the ring the symbol of an approaching reconciliation with the exile, whom he had been compelled to sacrifice to the caprice of his favourite? Such is the opinion of a few historians favourable to Henry; but Godwin imagines that the prince was only playing with Wolsey like a cat with a mouse, and the comparison is as just as it picturesque. Never even while Francis was addressing him as "My friend, the Lord High Chancellor of England," was Wolsey so joyous. Mary, his good star, had doubtless operated a miracle; Henry was pacified. With a trembling hand he hastened to write a few lines expressive of thanks to his sovereign: "O my good, my sovereign lord, receive my humble, my loving thanks for the present your highness has been pleased to send to your poor priest, to your subject now lying in dust and ashes. Oh! I perceive that my gracious master has taken pity and compassion on my afflictions. May God reward him; I shall beseech Him to watch over you, and to bestow on you the treasures of his grace."(b)

Wolsey's enemies were not by any means inactive, for they introduced a Bill of Impeachment against the ex-minister in the Commons. This bill, a tissue of iniquities, to which fourteen peers affixed their signatures, contained as many heads of accusation against the fallen minister; he was accused of having exercised the functions of a legate without the king's authority; of signing his dispatches to the Holy See and other courts, as *the king and I*; of having proclaimed war by herald-at-arms against Charles V., without having consulted the king, of having, while sick with the French fever and rotten to the bones, presumed to breathe on the king; and in order that he might obtain the tiara, of having sent some of the treasures of the crown into Italy.(c)

On the 1st December, the bill was presented to the Commons. Cromwell, a member of the house, who, from the cardinal's service had passed to that of the king's, pleaded for his former master with such eloquence that the bill was rejected. This victory drew public attention on the speaker. Cromwell had shown no little skill, for, instead of endeavouring to defend the cardinal's administration, he endeavoured to prove that the minister was not guilty, and had the glory of saving his benefactor's head from the block.(d) Hope seemed again to smile on the exile. When the cardinal was being informed by Cromwell of the rejection of the Bill of Impeachment by the Commons, Norfolk brought him a message from the king, conveying the intelligence that his majesty had vouchsafed to take an interest in the servants whom the minister had been obliged to discharge.[1] The sovereign's letter was penned in a very affectionate style; and Wolsey accordingly prepared a sumptuous banquet for the duke in one of the largest apartments in the castle,(e) and as they were about to sit down at table, Cavendish informed the host and his guest of the arrival of a second royal messenger.(f) It was Master Shelley, whom the king had sent to demand the transfer of York House to the crown. Wolsey, surprised at such a request, objected that York House was ecclesiastical property, of which he was

(a) Cavendish.
(b) State Papers, I., 348, 349.
(c) Matthew Parker De Antiquitate Britannicæ ecclesæ.
(d) Lingard.—Herbert.—Carte.
(e) Cavendish.
(f) Cavendish.

only a tenant for life; but Shelley, Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, insisted that a refusal would disoblige the sovereign, who desired to convert the palace into a country residence. He said that in the opinion of the members of the Privy Council, York House was Henry's property, and that Wolsey's consent alone was wanted. Henry, however, would not be ungrateful. He would preserve to Wolsey the temporal and spiritual administration of the sees of York and Winchester; would pay his debts, and make him some valuable presents.(a)

The cardinal thus replied to Shelley: "The king, Master Shelley, is a loyal prince and who can only desire that which is right. Tell me, father of the laws, if what you ask is legal; for that which is illegal is immoral. Therefore if I give you my signature, you must take the responsibility on yourself, only I beg of you to tell his majesty, my gracious master, to remember that after this life there is a heaven and hell."(b) He then signed; thus affording a melancholy example to those unhappy souls who would, through fear of displeasing the king, follow the example of one of the greatest dignitaries of the church, as a rule of conduct in the alienation of property belonging to religious corporations.(c) But his enemies were not satisfied; the most bitter among them was the Duke of Norfolk, who had only a few days before been the bearer of a letter from Henry.(d) All that he said was related at court; the names of the few who visited him were made known; and he was accused of deceiving the king by feigning illnesses which he had not. The return of the cardinal to power was held out as a threat to Anne Boleyn; and the favourite, while leaning on her lover's arms during their walks, would say to the prince: "How beautiful it is, sire, to be with you in these lovely gardens which my enemy seems to have ornamented only for my ease, although often and often has he meditated here on my destruction."(e) On the morrow, when the king arose, it was told him that some of Wolsey's servants had left him; again, that they had diminished his rental, or that Esher, a pestiferous habitation, was as silent during the day as at night. His enemies would have liked to have deprived the trees of his park of their freshness, and to have driven thence the birds who sang under his window. The cardinal was soon taken so ill that it was reported at Greenwich that he had only a few more days to live. His physician wrote to the court, saying, that Wolsey would certainly die unless some notice were taken of him. "Hasten to console him," said the king to his physician; "for I would not lose him for £1000," (the half of what he spent for a tournament.) "By St. Mary, my good Master Butt, tell him that I have no reason to be angry with him; let him not give himself up to despair, for I love him as much as ever I did:" and then, turning towards Anne, said, "I beg of you, if you love me, to send him some souvenir which

(a) Rymer and Fiddes have mentioned in detail the royal presents. They consisted of £3,000 in money, 9,565 oz. of plate, value £800.; 80 horses and 6 mules, value £60; 6 cars, value £40.; 50 pair of oxen, value £40.; 70 sheep, value £12.; agricultural implements estimated at £300.;—in all, £6,374. 5s. 7d.

(b) And show his highness from me that I must desire his majesty to remember there is both heaven and hell.—Howard, quoting Cavendish.

(c) The chapter of York confirmed the donation, and York House was called the manor of Westminster. The following year the vast meadows surrounding St. James's were annexed to it.—Hall.

(d) The hatred of the nobility for the "butcher's son" was justified by his insolent behaviour towards them. Skelton attacked and exposed the proud impertinence of the minister in his "*Why come ye not to court?*"

My lord is not at layser
Syr ye must tarry a stound
Tyl better layser be found;
And syr ye must daunce attendance,
And take patient sufferaunce,
For my lord's grace
Hath now no time nor space
To speak with you as yet.
And thus they shall syt,
Chuse them syt or flit,
Stand, walke, or ride
And his laiser abide'
Perchance half a yere,
And yet nevere the nere.

In the British Museum, (Coll. Lansdowne, 978.) is a letter from the chaplain Thomas Allen to the Earl of Shrewsbury, relating how for a whole week he had waited on his grace without being able to speak to him.

(e) Gaillard, Hist. of Francis I.

will give him courage." The sovereign then taking off a ruby ring from his finger, on which was engraven his portrait, and which had been formerly given him by the cardinal, begged Dr. Butts to give it to the dying man, and Anne ordered a small souvenir, which she charged the doctor to present to the cardinal as a pledge of her friendship.(a) The cardinal revived, but only to relapse into his former state, on being informed of his having been deprived of the revenues of the see of Winchester;(b) he had not received his annuity for some time, and scarcely enough to support the few servants whom he had been able to retain in his service;(c) his house wanted to be repaired but he could not afford it; he was threatened with an attack of dropsy, owing to the unhealthiness of the air at Esher. "If I am not allowed to leave this place (he wrote to Cromwell) I shall certainly die."(d) "The physicians" (he writes again to Gardiner) "have given me up; I beseech you to obtain my removal, or Esher will be my grave."(e)

In the spring of 1530, he obtained permission from his gracious sovereign to live at Richmond;(f) there at least he would breathe fresh air; in the morning he was accustomed to walk in the park belonging to the Carthusian Monastery, a silent retreat, where he dwelt three months; he led the life of the religious, rose with them at dawn to hear the office, dined in the common refectory, and went to rest at the *Angelus*. This mode of living was beneficial to his health. Wolsey had forgotten both the world and the court: with prayer, of which he felt the want, he had found peace of soul. People were now moved at the sight of fallen grandeur, seeking a balm for its sufferings in prayer. It is indeed an affecting sight to see this statesman conversing with poor monks. He left this holy retreat with a broken heart. Richmond was in the vicinity of London, that his enemies were alarmed lest Henry should once more visit his old friend, (for Richmond was but a few hours from Greenwich by water,) Wolsey might well have called his retreat Patmos, as Luther did Wartburg, and (who knows?) perhaps the monarch might bring Wolsey back to London in triumph.

Anne and her courtiers were at every cost obliged to prevent such a reconciliation; and Wolsey was accordingly ordered to reside in his archiepiscopal palace at York. He left, but halted every instant on the road.(g) First at Peterborough, where, on Palm Sunday he took his part in the procession, carrying a palm in his hand,(h) singing in the choir with the faithful. On Maunday Thursday he washed the feet of twelve poor children whom he kissed, and gave each of them 12d.,(i) and three yards of coarse cloth. On leaving Peterborough, he was escorted by the monks a short distance out of the city, a few days having sufficed to gain their hearts. He stopped near Southwell, at Newark, a delightful episcopal residence, where he desired to pass the summer.(j) There Wolsey had as many friends as there were gentlemen and peasants; he had but one thought, the administration of his diocese; he was wont every Sunday to ride to one of the country churches; at his approach the village bells would commence chiming, the children would run forward to kiss his hand, and the young maidens to present him with bouquets. The altar was prepared; a few tapers, a cloth washed the day before, a wooden tabernacle, an old Missal, whose soiled leaves proved that it had been used by many a celebrant. The legate said Mass, and after he had given the Benediction, his chaplain would preach.(k) The oak is still shown in the vicinity of Newark, where Wolsey was wont to administer justice; he used to feel highly delighted in being instrumental in the reconciliation of families at variance with one another, and had an infallible method of dismissing the defeated party perfectly satisfied with his decision, as he

(a) Cavendish.
(b) Ellis, Second Series of Letters, II. 7.
(c) Ellis, ib., Cavendish.
(d) Fiddes.
(e) The original is at Oxford, and has been published by Ellis.
(f) Turner.—Giovanni Joachimo Lettere, MSS. Béthune, Vol. 8539.—Le Grand.
(g) Lingard.
(h) Howard.
(i) Howard.
(j) Cavendish.—Turner.
(k) Lingard.

would invariably slip into his hand two or three pieces of gold. Any gentleman passing through Newark was sure of a knife and fork at the cardinal's welcome table, which was simple and frugal, but where occasionally gold plate (some trifling wreck of his former grandeur) was displayed. "Every one (says the historian) was seduced and, as it were, fascinated by his mild and polite deportment."(a) "May God have pity on his soul, (says an ancient author,) who was at first less loved in the North of England than the cardinal, and who more so after he had made but too short a sojourn in his diocese?"(b)

This was a species of happiness necessary for the quiet of his conscience, which the exile ought never to have renounced; but in this long pilgrimage from Richmond to York, in proportion as he approached the archiepiscopal city, his nightly rest was disturbed by ambitious dreams. Assailed by visions of worldly grandeur, his heart throbbed violently, he again bent a willing ear to Satan, and could not resist the tempter, who showed him at a distance his episcopal power, emblematic of a power that he would soon recover,—and he who yesterday washed the feet of the poor, was making arrangements for a triumphal entrance into York, when he would take possession of his see.

He was traversing through a country where the authority of the priests was supreme, and where the memory of Thomas à Becket, that intrepid champion of the rights of the tiara, was held in veneration. There his enemies were laying in wait for him, and it was told the king that Wolsey was about to enact the character of St. Thomas; it was said that his preparation for his enthronization was but a concealed project of revolt. Bryan, ambassador at the Court of France, wrote that he had been informed that the cardinal had a secret correspondence with Rome, and that he was soliciting for a bull of excommunication against Henry, if Henry refused to give him the seals of state.(c) The king, deceived by Norfolk and Suffolk, fully believed that the cardinal was plotting against the state, (d) and consequently ordered his arrest. The Earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Walsh, accompanied by a number of gentlemen, left for Cawood. When they arrived at the castle Wolsey was sitting down to dinner, with his legate's cross by his side.(e) Northumberland, not desiring to interrupt him, began walking up and down the corridor, but was perceived by Wolsey, who arose from table under the impression that he was the bearer of some good news, (as the earl had been educated by the cardinal,) and, therefore, advancing towards him, with a smile on his countenance, said, "My lord, this is well; I see that you have profited by my lessons while under my tuition. God will bless you, my lord, for taking such care of your father's servants. My lord! may they live long, and die in your service."(f) With these words he took the earl by the hand, and conducted him to his bedroom. Northumberland, deeply affected by this reception, was unable to speak for a few moments.(g) After a short but severe struggle between his affection for Wolsey and his duty to the king, he was emboldened, and laying his hand, tremulous from nervousness, on his *quondam* tutor's shoulder, said, in a distinct tone of voice, "My lord, I arrest you on the charge of high treason." The cardinal was terrified, and looking steadfastly at the earl, inquired, "By what authority do you arrest me, my lord?" "On a commission entrusted to me by my master," replied Northumberland. "Show me your commission." "I cannot, my lord." "In that case I shall not obey

(a) Turner.
(b) Who was less beloved in the northe than my lord cardynall: God have his sowle, before he was amonges them? Who better beloved, after he had been there a while? – A Remedy for Sedition, 1536.

(c) The king informed me that he is plotting against his majesty, and he also mentions the time and place, and said that more than one of his servants had discovered it and charged him with it.—Lettere di Giovanni Joachinno de Vaux, 8 and 10 Novem., 1533.—MSS. Béthune, 8553.—The ambassador adds: The former condition of the cardinal makes him very much dissatisfied with his present condition.
(d) Mus. Brit., MSS. Harl., N. 296, p. 38.
(e) Tytler.
(f) Tytler.
(g) Tytler.

you."(a) But this temporary excitement being over, the cardinal submitted to the king's orders. The Earl of Northumberland and Sir Walter Walsh entrusted their prisoner to the guardianship of five of their suite, who were to accompany him as far as London. On the morrow, the day of his departure, Cavendish went as customary to his master's bedroom, "who slept enough to break a heart of stone," says his servant, whose memory be for ever blessed. On seeing Cavendish, the cardinal arose from his chair and holding out his hand, said, "I have thought of you, my poor friend, of your sorrow, and your attachment to me, you, who to serve me, have abandoned your country, your wife, your children, your family; and to say that I have nothing now to give you, nor those who have served me with you, poor creatures;" and then lifting up his head, added, "I hope my good Cavendish, you have never had cause to be ashamed of me." "Oh no," was his reply, "and so I shall say before the king and before your judges;" then throwing himself at Wolsey's feet, who endeavoured to prevent him, exclaimed sobbing, "Master, take courage, the malice of your enemies will be brought to nought."(b)

A moment after one of the guards entered to tell him that every thing was prepared for his departure. "*Amen*," said the cardinal, "whenever it shall please my Lord of Northumberland." When the prisoner left Cawood, the streets were thronged with men, women, and children, who cried out as he passed, "May God save your grace and confound your enemies"(c) The party proceeded at a slow rate, and halted at nearly every village, as the cardinal could scarcely bear the step of the mule. A few hours after they they had left Cawood, his countenance became quite wrinkled, as if half a century had passed over his head. He was compelled to go to bed, being unable to keep on his legs. At Sheffield Park, he was received by Lord Shrewsbury in a most munificent manner. Wolsey had been compelled to halt at this noble's mansion, owing to the acuteness of his sufferings. At dinner, feeling a cold sensation thrill through his body, he left the table to walk in the corridor. He was found by Cavendish leaning against a balustrade, with a set of beads in his hand. "What news?" asked Wolsey. "It is said that Sir William Kingston has arrived with an escort of twenty-four men."(d) "Kingston! Kingston!" repeated Cavendish, signing himself with the holy sign, (for he was constable of the Tower,) "God's will be done, but where is Kingston?" The officer approached, and knelt before him; "Arise, Sir William, arise. People do not bend their knee to such wretches as myself. Stand up, Master Kingston, or else I shall throw myself at your feet. Did his majesty order you to escort me to London" "Yes, my lord," (replied Kingston,) "he desired me moreover to treat you with all the respect due to your grace. It is said that you are charged with a crime of which none believe you to be guilty, and from which it will be no difficult matter for you to justify yourself before the court; you will, I am sure, triumph over your accusers."(e) "Thank you, for your kind wishes and good news; and believe me, were I now as active as I once was, I should post with you to London, but I can no longer walk. Alas! I am very ill; I am going fast home."(f) He was worse on Saturday night, and on Sunday had two violent paroxysms, and was so weak on Monday as not to be able to leave his bed. On Tuesday, he recommenced his journey, and slept at Leicester Abbey. "Brother abbot," said the cardinal, on entering the monastery, "I am come to ask for a small corner in your cemetery." He was obliged to be carried off to bed immediately. On Wednesday, a black circle was observed round his eyes; yet Wolsey was able to perceive through his window some clouds. He asked the time, and was told that it was eight o'clock. "Eight o'clock!" replied the sick man, passing his hand across his forehead, "Eight o'clock, it is impossible! eight o'clock! at eight o'clock your

(a) Howard.—Cavendish.
(b) Howard.
(c) God save your grace . . . We pray heaven that a very vengeance may light upon them."—Cavendish.
(d) Cavendish.
(e) Cavendish.
(f) Cavendish.

master will no longer be with you." (a) It had snowed heavily all Wednesday night. On awaking, on Thursday morning, the prisoner sent for his chaplain, confessed, and received the last sacraments of the Holy Church. On perceiving Kingston standing near his bed, he made a sign for him to approach, and said to him in a tone of voice interrupted by the death-rattle, "Master Kingston, recall me often to his majesty's memory. I beseech him to think of all that has passed between us, especially relative to the good Queen Katharine, and then shall his grace's conscience witness as to whether I have offended him or not. King Henry is exceedingly obstinate, and rather than yield, he would compromise half his kingdom. I assure you, more than once have I embraced his knees, imploring him not to yield to his passions, and I was unable to succeed. Master Kingston, had I but served God with as much ardour as I have done the king, He would not have abandoned me in my old age.(b) What has happened to me is the just punishment for my faults." His voice failed; the bystanders grew pale. "Adieu, Master Kingston," said he, after causing a minute of anxiety among his attendants, "adieu, my friends." His wrinkled hand fell on the bedclothes, and as Cavendish was raising it to his lips, the castle clock struck eight, and Cavendish, starting as the prophetic hour struck, allowed the arms of his dying master to fall from his grasp; the cardinal had just expired.(c)

He was obliged to be buried quickly as his body would not keep. On his being undressed they found that he wore a hair shirt.(d) The deceased was then dressed in all his sacerdotal ornaments; his mitre, his pectoral cross, and his scarlet cassock, and exposed with his face uncovered on a *catafalque*. On 30th November, 1530, (Festival of St. Andrew,) he was interred in the vault under Our Lady's Chapel, at Leicester.

Notwithstanding all the faults and crimes probably committed under his long administration, and which we can neither palliate nor conceal, Wolsey was one of the greatest ministers England ever possessed. He had, with the exception of probity, all the qualities necessary for a statesman; an instinctive idea of business, an acquaintance with men and things; the art of turning passing events to his advantage. He raised politics to the standard of a science, and his school has survived him; he applied intuitively to diplomacy all those governmental theories that Machiavelli had collected in his treatise "De Principe;" cunning, hypocrisy, lying, and corruption. Had he employed moral means he would have been less successful. He was one of the first to perceive that England, queen of the seas, might be mistress of the world; his principal title to glory, in the eyes of his countrymen, is his augmenting the English navy. It was during the time of his ministry that a fleet sailed from the Thames in search of unknown lands; one of these vessels, (the *Mary, of Guildford*,) was commanded by an officer of the name of

(a) Cavendish, and other historians.

(b) If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs.—Cavendish.—Turner.—Lingard.

(c) Then presenthe the clooke strooke eight, at which time he gave up the ghost.—Howard. Some historians have stated that Wolsey, to escape the scaffold for which he was reserved, poisoned himself; but the deep sentiments of piety which the cardinal showed previous to his death refute this calumny. As soon as he perceived that his last hour was at hand, he turned his eyes towards heaven. In his last moments, on Friday, he refused some chicken broth which Cavendish offered him. "But you are ill, my lord," said the doctor. "Yea," said Wolsey, "what though? I will eat no more."—Howard. The cardinal has met with an ardent panegyrist in Storer, who thus relates the last momonts of his life:—

I did not mean with predecessor's pride
To walke in cloth, as custome did require;
More fit that cloth were hung on either side
In mourning wise, or make the poor attire;
More fit the dirige of a mournful quire
In dull sad notes all sorrowes to exceede,
For him in whom the prince's love is dead.

I am the tombe where that affection lies,
That was the closet where it living kept:
Yet wise men say affection never dies.
No! but it turnes; and when it long hath slept,
Looks heavy, like the eie that long hath wept
Oh! could it die, that were a restfull state;
But living, it converts to deadly hate.

(d) Turner.—Howard.

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SIR THOMAS MORE.

of Rutt; another (the *Sampson*,) by Alberto de Prato, canon of St. Paul's. We find from a letter written by Captain Rutt to Henry, that the two boats penetrated to the 52nd degree of North latitude, where they discovered some immense icebergs.(a)

We have already seen that Wolsey was a great patron of literature; nearly all the *literati* of the day were either his creatures or under his protection. He invited Vivés to England; would have presented Erasmus with a professor's chair; called the talents of Gardiner into play, and made Pace's fortune. So that the literary men had cause to deplore his fall and death. One alone had the dastardly courage to contemn his memory, and that was the ungrateful Erasmus.(b) The services which he rendered to Ipswich and Oxford are still to be seen. Like some of his predecessors, Wolsey had studied architecture, and is said to have drawn up the design of Hampton Court, one of the wonders of England (c)

It has been asked, would Wolsey have been put to death had he reached London? We are of opinion that he would not have left the Tower alive.(d) His doom was pronounced the day that Henry was brought to believe that his late favourite had conspired against the state. Wolsey would have had the lot of Buckingham, for his blood alone would have pacified Anne Boleyn.

(a) Biddle's Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot.—Bancroft's History of the United States.

(b) He was more truly king than the king himself; all feared him; few or none loved him. Erasm. Epist. XXVI., 55. Yet Wolsey had given Erasmus a prebend at Tournay.—Epist. Erasm. VIII., 129.

(c) The edifice was commenced under the direction of Warden in 1515. Stowe relates that the king, dazzled by the wealth which the cardinal had spent in the construction of this monument, asked his favourite why he had built so splendid a palace. "To present it to my well-beloved sovereign." Henry accepted the gift, and gave him, in exchange, Richmond. Hampton Court, in 1526, was the property of Henry. In 1538 an act of parliament made the park attached to Hampton Court a royal hunt, and this park, says the statute, was given to the prince with its dependencies, that when old and corpulent he might enjoy his amusements without any fatigue.—The Stranger's Guide to Hampton Court, by John Grundy.

(d) Gratian, quoted by Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique.

CHAPTER XXII.

MORE, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.—1530.

Birth of Sir Thomas More.—He enters the service of Chancellor Morton as page.—His studies.—Desires to quit the world.—Renounces his project of leading an ascetic life and marries.—More in the House of Commons.—In the service of Henry VIII.—Succeeds Wolsey.—Cause of his success.—Interior life of the Chancellor's family.—Their domestic life.—Hans Holbein admitted into More's family.—Chelsea.—The Minister's character and employment.

HENRY, if Erasmus is to be credited, had offered the seals to Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who refused them on account of his great age;(a) but the Bishop of Bayonne, better acquainted with court secrets than the philosopher, wrote thus to his court on the fall of Wolsey: "It is not yet known who will have the seals, but I fully believe that no priest will again touch them, and that they (the priests) will be much persecuted during this present Parliament. . . . My lord, I am compelled to inform you that I am in much greater need here than ever man was as yet, and that this danger will increase at the assembling of Parliament.(b)" It was less through affection for the ex-Speaker than for the

(a) Eras. Op. Epist. Johanni de Vergara, 1530.

(b) Lettre de l'Evêque de Bayonne au grand maitre, 22nd October, 1529. MSS. Béthune, Vol. 8530.

interest of his mistress, that the king cast his eyes on Sir Thomas More to replace the cardinal.(a) He imagined that More would not refuse to make Anne Boleyn a queen, but he was deceived.

More was of the gentry,(b) and was born in London in 1480. His father, (John More,) who was still living, had been for some time one of the judges of the King's Bench. He was, as a magistrate, well-known for his uprightness of conduct and Sardonic gaiety, which he transmitted to his son. Thomas, when yet very young, entered into the service of Cardinal Morton, Chancellor to Henry VII., as page, who, as we have remarked above, had invented a twofold-argument, (called Morton's pitch-fork,) whereby he could fill his royal master's coffers, and which was used to sharpen the failing zeal of his majesty's subjects, who refused to allow themselves to be robbed for their sovereign's pleasure.(c) The young page's sprightliness was often remarked by the prelate, who, though a septuagenarian himself, delighted in seeing gaiety reign in his palace. Dramatic representations were often given at the palace, especially at Christmas, when young More, without a prompter or previous preparation, would display his wit in such a manner as to afford great amusement to the cardinal.(d) "Did you observe one who waited on us at table, and who acts so well. Well, I am sure he will one day be a great man," was a remark often made by Morton to his guests.(e) Thomas left the archiepiscopal palace for the University of Oxford, a school of privation, where he suffered much, for his father was economical even to avarice. However, if the pupil was compelled while at the university to eat black bread, the professor was scarcely any better off. Erasmus tells us, before the administration of Wolsey, the master was unable to buy a candle to sit up during the long winter nights. Thomas spent two years at Oxford. On leaving college, he was sent to London to study the law, his father having destined him for the bar. He at first entered himself at New Inn, one of the Courts of Chancery, where he studied what was then termed the "bark of the law," and afterwards went to Lincoln's Inn to initiate himself in the science or pith of jurisprudence.(f) His progress was so rapid, that at eighteen he was appointed lecturer in one of the sections of the Court of Chancery. Shortly after he commented publicly on the "*Civitas Dei*" of St. Augustine, at St. Lawrence Jewry.(g) The Bishop of Hippo was More's favourite author. Henry had never loved St. Thomas with greater fervour. His auditory was numerous, consisting of magistrates, lawyers, theologians, priests, and bishops (h) Perhaps it was in the City of God that More first discovered the germs of that Utopia which occupied so distinguished a place in the literature of the XVI. century. Unhappily he was disappointed in his wishes to reproduce on earth that harmony of which the African bishop had a glimpse as being verified in heaven; but he had scarcely thumbed a few pages of that wonderful work before he conceived the idea of entering a religious order,—the Franciscans.(i)

St. Francis of Assisi was the *beau idéal* of the poverty which he hoped to revive, and to work for its consummation, as far as God should vouchsafe him strength and courage so to do. He aspired, like his patron saint, to loiter in the streets with a sack on his back, vested in a habit of coarse cloth, begging from every passer by, and if he found them not compassionate to confide himself as the birds of the air to the guardianship of Divine Providence. Before, however, commencing this course of life, he desired to try his strength; he put on the hair shirt,(j) fasted, exercised every species of corporal mortification, slept on straw, and that only for a few hours; he went to reside in the vicinity of a Carthusian monastery, so that he might hear the

(a) Rudhart, Life of More.
(b) Revue Indépendante, August and September, 1846.
(c) Chap. I.
(d) Revue Indépendante, ib.
(e) Revue Indépendante, ib.
(f) Revue Indépendante, ib. Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.
(g) Revue Indépendante, ib.
(h) Rudhart.
(i) Revue Indépendante, ib.
(j) Stapleton. (Tres Thomæ, seu res gestæ sancti Thomæ apostoli, sancti Thomæ archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, et martyris Thomæ Mori . . . Duaci, 1588.)

bell that called the brethren to their spiritual exercises, and in the evening to listen to the rattling of the shovelful of dust which each brother cast into his half-open grave. He was deceived as to his vocation, and renounced the project by the counsel of his spiritual director. "God (says his great-grandson) had destined him to be an example to those who are living in the world, to teach them how to bring up their children, to love their wives, to devote themselves to the service of their country, and to practise the Christian virtues: piety, humility, obedience, and conjugal chastity."(a)

There was residing in the county of Essex a family of the name of Colte, of New Hall,(b) where there were several daughters, the youngest of whom had captivated More's heart; but while on his way to propose for her to her father, he reflected that he might perhaps give offence to her eldest sister, Jane, who was not so handsome as her sister, and accordingly he determined to propose for her. The good Mr. Colte when he heard Sir Thomas More, with a downcast eye and embarrassed countenance, propose for the hand of his eldest daughter, Jane, was, with his child, exceedingly astonished, but Miss Colte never had an idea of the lawyer's sudden and tender love for her, and More himself had no occasion to repent of his sudden resolution. His father was in the habit of comparing a bachelor who desired to marry, to a poor devil condemned to plunge his hand into a sack of vipers, among which was one eel; by a lucky hit, said the judge, he might take the fish, but there were a hundred chances to one that he would be bitten by the reptiles.(c) Thomas More had met with an angel. Encouraged by his wife's love, recompensed for his toil by a smile dictated by the purest affection, he soon became a celebrated pleader at the bar. The office of under sheriff,(d) to which he had been appointed, gave him a right to sit at the Lord Mayor's court, where occasionally some important causes were tried. He held his court on Thursday, and often gave his fees to the barristers. Under Henry VII, he was elected M.P. by his fellow-citizens, and took his seat on the opposition benches. In Parliament he ardently opposed those taxes known by the name of Benevolence, to which the crown had recourse to fill its coffers. Henry, unable to wreak his vengeance on Sir Thomas More, who, having nothing, had nothing to lose, found a paltry pretext for commencing an action against his father, who was arrested and sent to the Tower. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, advised the son to petition the king, and candidly acknowledge that he had been wrong in opposing in the Commons the measures proposed by the monarch; this was the only means by which his father would be liberated, and he himself restored to favour. On his way home, reflecting on Fox's proposal, he met Richard Whitford,(e) the bishop's chaplain, who implored him by the Sacred Passion of our Lord not to follow the minister's advice.(f) More acted according to his advice, and acted wisely, for a few years after he met Dudley on his way to the scaffold, who thus addressed him: "Sir Thomas More, you did well in not craving the king's pardon; had you done so, you would not have seen me pass by to-day."(g) More had decided to go on the continent, when Henry expired.

On the accession of Henry VIII. he returned to the bar. It was a trial in the Star Chamber which called Henry's attention to the young advocate. A Papal vessel had been seized at the port of Southampton and confiscated; the Nuncio commenced an action for damages, and More was

(a) Thomas More's Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight. He was the great grandson of the chancellor, who married, and after his wife's death took holy orders, died at Rome, and was buried in the church of St. Louis.—(Niceron, Memoires, XXV., 230.)—Mr. Hunter is of opinion that we are wrong in attributing the Life of the Chancellor to Sir Thomas More; he proves it to have been written by Cresacre More.

(b) Roper.—Rudhart.

(c) Revue Indépendante.

(d) Stapleton.

(e) Erasmus dedicated his *Tyrannicida*, to Richard Whitford. The chaplain left the court and entered a religious house at the Monastery of St. Bridget, at Sion, near Brentford, Middlesex, where he was known by the cognomen of *the Wretch of Sion*.—Roper.—Biographia Britannica.

(f) Rudhart.

(g) Revue Indépendante.

retained by his Holiness, and won the cause for his client. Henry, who was present at the trial, joined the bar in congratulating the young advocate on his success. He was soon after nominated Master of Requests, Member of the Privy Council, then created knight. About this time he fixed his residence at Chelsea, in a country house which he had built himself on the banks of the Thames. It was there that Jane, after having borne him four children, died of consumption.(a) More married again soon after(b) Mrs. Alice Middleton, (a widow,) w hoin many ways resembled Katharine Bora, Luther's companion; a good housewife,(c) but vain, and a regular vixen in temper; stinting a piece of candle (to use her husband's simile) and spoiling her velvet dress.(d) More, who was passionately fond of music, though he had no voice,(e) persuaded Alice, in the hopes of softening her temper, to take lessons on the flute, lute, harp, and lyre,(f) and used occasionally to accompany her with the flute.(g)

It seemed rather singular for Henry to elevate to the first station in the kingdom one who, by his birth and family, belonged neither to the clergy or nobility, and who had not filled any important office in that department of which he was about to become the chief;(h) but the omnipotent will of the monarch overruled that otherwise insurmountable obstacle. Henry expected much from More's gratitude; he hoped with the seals to purchase the conscience of the new Lord Chancellor.(i)

(a) See "Epitaphium in sepulchro Johannæ olim uxoris Mori, destinantis idem sepulchrum et sibi et Aliciæ posteriori uxori," in the works of More. More thus speaks of Jane:

"Clara Thomæ jacet hic Joanna, uxorcula Mori."

(b) Erasmus Hutteno.

(c) Erasmus Epist. Hutteno.

(d) In the collection of More's epigrams there is one that seems to apply to Alice:—"Observe that man," says the poet, "to whom Providence has given children, wealth, rank, honours, dignities; he will not escape misfortunes; destiny has afflicted him with a vixen for a wife."

(e) Eras. Epist. Hutteno.

(f) Rudhart.

(g) Rich. Pace, De fructu qui ex doctrinâ percipitur.

(h) Revue Indépendante.

(i) Pole.—Stapleton.

Immediately after Wolsey's exile, the Duke of Norfolk was nominated President of the Council, the Duke of Suffolk Earl Marshal, Viscount Rochford (Anne Boleyn's father) Earl of Wiltshire, Sir William Fitzwilliam, Treasurer of the Royal Household, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Secretary of State. Had Gardiner thrown off the cassock,(j) he might have aspired to the office of which Wolsey had been just deprived, for he had displayed as much insolence as skill in his negotiations at Rome. Such was the composition of the Privy Council. "But the Premier," says the French Ambassador, "was Madlle. Anne, who through her father and uncle directed the cabinet, and by the influence of her charms exercised a most despotic power over the heart and mind of her royal lover."(k) It was with an administration governed by a young and lovely woman, and the sovereign's mistress, that Sir Thomas More consented to act. Had he consulted his own private interest he would not have complied with the king's orders; but he perceived that as chancellor he might be useful to his country, and accordingly devoted himself to her service. Even his enemies have not ventured to accuse him of having been actuated by ambition.

On the 25th of October, 1529, Sir Thomas More received the seals in the presence of Norris, Sir Christopher Hales, and some of the Privy Council,(l) and on the morrow at ten a.m., took his seat as Chancellor in Westminster Hall, where he was accompanied by Thomas, Duke of Norfolk; and Charles, Duke of Suffolk. He was taken to the stone chamber where the table and marble chair used at his inauguration are still shown.(m) Norfolk congratulated the minister, in Henry's name, in a speech where eulogy was dictated by enthusiasm.(n)

Sir Thomas More replied to Norfolk in terms replete with dignity. He declared before those present that he had neither

(j) The Bishop of Bayonne, MSS.—Le Grand.

(k) Lingard.

(l) Rudhart.

(m) Revue Indépendante.

(n) Rudhart.—Roper's Life and Death of Sir Thomas More.

solicited nor coveted the important office which his majesty had confided to him. There is something beautifully and touchingly eloquent in his extempore reply. On beholding that chair which had been filled by so many eminent men, he trembled, and the shade of his predecessor, who had presided there, vested in the insignia of his office, appeared to him crowned with the auriola of wisdom, and the other talents with which he had been endowed by heaven. "He was the fire of a small lamp after the mid-day glare of the sun." A sorrowful presentiment at that moment oppressed his heart. It might be said, that gifted with a supernatural light, he read in the annals of futurity his own fate. "Here am I," he exclaimed, "seated in a chair amid dangers and anxieties. The fall of one so powerful as Wolsey is an important lesson for his successor; and were it not for the confidence of my sovereign, were it not for the kindly disposition of my colleagues, I should hastily fly from an office where I already perceive the sword of Damocles suspended over my head."(a) His eloquent speech, on taking possession of the seals of state, and especially his commiseration for the late minister, forms a fine passage in the life of Sir Thomas More. How Cavendish, who has initiated us even into the most minute details of the cardinal's life, could have forgotten to have spoken of the deep impression which this speech made on Wolsey's mind, we know not. He must have been acquainted with it on the very day that Sir William Gascoigne, by the king's command, was taking the inventory of York House. The general admiration in which Sir Thomas More was held, was increased as soon as it was known that he had had sufficient courage to have pronounced a panegyric on his predecessor's administration in the presence of the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the king's advisers as to every step that had been hitherto taken with regard to the fallen courtier, and when he was certain of meeting that evening at the palace, when he went to pay his homage to the sovereign, that vindictive woman who had procured the cardinal's banishment, and would perhaps be the means of his death.(b)

The chancellor in no way changed his ordinary manner of living; he kept on his hair shirt which he had been in the habit of wearing since his childhood, and his iron bed, on which he slept with his head reclining on a straw pillow.(c) As in days of yore, he only slept for four or five hours. His first act on rising was to go to his father's room, and, kneeling down, to wait for the old man's blessing.(d) He still had, at Chelsea, the house he had there built, and which resembled that of Ariosto's in many respects.(e) It was there that Erasmus pictures him to us with his wife, children, sons and daughters-in-law and nephews, who were listening in pious and reverential silence while he was addressing them. "You would call it," adds Erasmus, "the academy of Plato; but it is something yet more beautiful; it is a true Christian school."(f) By his first marriage with Jane,(g) More had three daughters, Margaret, Elizabeth, and Cecilia, and one son, John.(h) In England, as well as in Germany, it was imagined that the best dowry which a bride could bring her husband was to be able to sew, to be a good housewife, and to read her Book of Hours, such are the treasures that Luther deemed to be sufficient in a woman that was about to be married. More, however, was not of this opinion; he thought that ignorance was not the indispensable companion of modesty, and that a young woman should possess such talents and have such knowledge as to be enabled to retain her hus

(a) Rudhart. — Hall. — Holinshead. — Parliamentary History —See also Meyer, Esprit, origine et progrès des institutions judiciaires des principaux pays de l'Europe.

(b) Stapleton.
(c) Rudhart.
(d) Rudhart.
(e) Erasmus, quoted by Knight.
(f) Erasmus.
(g) Roper.
(h) Rudhart.—At Nostell Priory, the seat of Charles Wynne, Esq., M.P., is a picture by Holbein, representing the whole of More's family, Sir Thomas More, Alice More, Sir John More, John More, Anne More, (wife of Sir John More, Margaret (Roper), Elizabeth (Dauncy), Cecilia (Heron), Margaret Clements, Henry Pattison, and John Harris.

band at home. The chancellor has fully developed his ideas on female education in his letters to Erasmus: he wished them to study, did their position in the world justify it, music, painting, the natural sciences, the dead languages, and even law.

"Instruction and virtue in a woman," writes Sir Thomas to Gonel,(a) "are a treasure that I would prefer to a crown; not that I wish a woman to use her knowledge as a means of obtaining worldly glory, though reputation follows an instructed woman as the shadow does the body; but because learning survives fortune as well as beauty. Such was the opinion of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. Did not these Fathers advise noble ladies to study? Did they not more than once explain to them some of the difficult passages in the Old and New Testament? And consider the learned letters that they often addressed to young virgins." He had educated his children on these principles. His daughters were able to read Livy, and write letters in Latin, which Erasmus showed in admiration to the learned Bude. His eldest daughter, Margaret, was handsomer and cleverer than her sisters.(b) Her first literary essays attracted the attention of the learned; she understood Homer and Virgil. Stapleton makes mention of two of her "declamations" in Latin, which the chancellor might, without blushing, have placed among his works. Both the father and daughter translated into Latin a tale which Margaret had written in English, and so exquisitely well were they both written, that the best judges found it difficult to tell which was the best. In the eye of Erasmus it was an angel, and not a human being, who, seated on her father's knee, was amusing herself in prattling in three languages, and More, unable to conceal his joy, was kissing his darling Margaret's forehead, and begging of God to grant that when she became a mother she might have children who would resemble her.(c)

Let us not leave Chelsea yet for awhile. One evening, during Wolsey's administration, a stranger knocked at the door, desiring to speak with Sir Thomas More, on the part of one well known to the world for his attainments. The stranger was Hans Holbein, who, unable to resign himself to starvation at Basle, had come to England "to nibble a few angels."(d) Erasmus felt convinced that his noble friend would rescue the artist from poverty and perhaps despair. Holbein from that evening was received into More's family. On the morrow, he was requested to stay at Chelsea as long as he liked;—a frugal but abundant table, where the visitor would run no risk of being made melancholy, so skilled was the master of the house in the art of making all around him cheerful. A room in the attic, for More put himself to no little inconvenience in receiving Hans Holbein into his family, was placed at his disposal, where he would be sure to have the sun whenever he made his appearance in London. The artist wanted no more; and he would have been at the acme of his wishes, could he, as at Basle, have seen the cloud-capped Jura and the lovely waters of the Rhine; but, in lieu for this, he had at Chelsea(e) those lovely models for angels' heads which form the finest portion of his drawings. The maidens, whom he now saw daily, were not in the least like those heavy-looking ones whom he had for no little time regarded as the type of true feminine beauty. There is therefore no difficulty in recognising the works he composed on his arrival in England, for he insensibly returned to his Swiss ideal. The countenances of the women whom he

(a) Respecting Gonellus, Erasmus's friend, see Knight's Erasmus, ubersekt von Arnold. Mgr. Sailer has inserted More's letter in his Bibliothek für Katholische Seelensorger xvi. 3, 8.

(b) Margaret married Sir John Roper, knight and prothonotary of the King's Bench, and lived with him sixteen years. She had three daughters, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Mary, and two sons, Thomas and Anthony. (Biograp. Brit.) See the history of the life and death of Sir Thomas More, whence all who have written respecting this High Chancellor have derived their information. Roper survived Margaret nearly thirty-three years, and died on 4th January, 1577, at the age of 82.

(c) Stapleton.
(d) Erasmus Petro Ægidio, 29th Aug. 1526.
(e) Horace Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting.

drew in England, during his residence at Chelsea, possess an expression which he could not have imagined in those models exuberant with life whom he had left behind him at Basle.(a)

More, at that time Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was occasionally visited by Henry VIII., who delighted with the philosopher's conversation, and yet more with the beauty of his daughters, and would remain whole hours listening to the father and looking at the children. He one day perchance saw a picture which Holbein had just finished. Astonished at the talent evinced by the artist, he inquired his name of More, at the same time exclaiming, "This is the work of a master." Hans, on being called, descended from his attic, and that evening bade adieu to his host, and slept at the court, having been appointed painter to the king.(b)

The artist's sojourn had not interfered even for a single day with More's exercises of piety. They had morning and evening prayer. John, as head of the family, always recited them, and said the *Benedicite* at table. Thomas had written some Christian meditations(c) for the use of his family, filled with an unction altogether Biblical (d) On Sundays and the festivals they used to go, *en famille*, to High Mass and Vespers. During dinner, one of his daughters would read a few pages of history, and each of them waited alternately at table. More had erected a small chapel at Chelsea,(e) after the model of those country churches then so common in England, the four walls whitewashed, a bell at one of the corners of the building, an altar in wood, a small gilt tabernacle, a stone holy water stoup, and a few pictures to conceal the nakedness of the wall; and this was all its ornament. Sir Thomas More was adverse to the system of churches being gorgeously furnished, and was wont to say, laughingly, "The Christian ornaments it, while the wicked spoil it."(f) As barrister, judge, or chancellor, he never missed assisting daily at the holy sacrifice, and served the priest at the altar.(g)

One morning, when the Duke of Norfolk was to dine at Chelsea, he entered, *en passant*, the parish church, and was surprised to find his friend in the choir chanting with an antiphonarium before him. At the conclusion of the office, he went up, with a smile on his countenance, to Sir Thomas More, and taking his arm, said, "My Lord Chancellor become a parish clerk! It is no credit either to his majesty or your office." "Bah! Bah!" replied the chancellor, "to sing to the praise of God, the king's master, as well as mine, does not by any means compromise the sovereign."(h) More was generally the crucifiger on all parish processions. At the festival of Corpus Christi he held the cords of the canopy,(i) and in pilgrimages to the shrines of our Lady would accompany the faithful on foot. He was one day requested to ride, on account of his position, and had a horse prepared for him; but he refused, alleging, that as his Master, Christ, had walked, he would do so also.(j) More attributed a supernatural power to prayer. On the night his favourite daughter, Margaret, was attacked by the plague, and the medical men had given her over, More suddenly threw himself at the foot of a crucifix, beside the bed of the dying girl, and with his face buried in his hands, commenced praying, but with such love and fervour that the bystanders were unable to restrain their tears. On rising from his knees, as if inspired by Heaven, he rushed precipitately down the stairs, ran to the first apothecary, and brought back some plants, with which he made an infusion, and gave it to Margaret; the effect was instantaneous, she was saved. "O my God,"

(a) Walpole.
(b) Joachim von Sandrart, deutsche Akademie der Bau—Bild-und Maler-Kunst.—Caroli Patinii Vita Johannis Holbenii.—Fussly.—Allgem-Künstler-Lexicon.
(c) Hearne, Stapleton, Rudhart.
(d) Knight.
(e) Stapleton.
(f) Rudhart.
(g) Stapleton. Roper.
(h) God's body, my Lord Chancellor! What! a parish clerk? What! a parish clerk? You dishonour the king and his office. Nay. Your grace, &c.—Hoddesdon.—Life and Death of Sir Thomas More.—Stapleton.
(i) Stapleton.
(j) Stapleton.

exclaimed the happy father, falling on his knees, "Thou art blessed, yea, a thousand times blessed be Thy holy Name; Thou hast restored to me my well-beloved daughter; may Thy name be for ever hallowed." This touching narrative is related by Roper. "Poor father!" remarked the historian, "he would have surely died had he lost his poor Margaret."(a) More was one of those souls who felt for all in affliction; his house was consequently open to every one in want of employment; to artists, unable to live by their chisel or brush; to exiles, compelled to fly from their ungrateful or cruel country; to debtors, pursued by heartless and cruel creditors. His house was called the House of God; for all were sure there of finding bread, a bed, and fire. As his house was not large enough to receive all the poor who came to demand hospitality, he built a hospital, where widows, old men, orphans, and travellers were sure of finding a welcome reception. He adopted, as his daughter, a young widow, who had ruined herself by law-suits.(b)

While ambassador at Cambrai, in 1523, his house at Chelsea, owing to the imprudence of some of his neighbours, was completely destroyed by fire, and the flames, communicating to the contiguous buildings, reduced them also to ashes. His wife lost no time in informing him of this melancholy event. More endeavoured to console her; and his letter to his son-in-law is rather the production of a Christian than of a philosopher. "You tell me that our house, as well as those of our neighbours, has been destroyed, with all the corn that they contained; this is doubtless a great misfortune, because of the corn there deposited; but it was the will of God, and we must submit to it. What we had was the gift of God. Murmur not against the decrees of Heaven; we ought rather to thank God as well for what he sends us as for what he deprives us of. Take courage, then, and go and throw yourself at the foot of the altar, with your children, and thank God. If he had even punished us yet more severely, it would have been our duty to have said, Thy will be done. I am indeed grieved to hear of the losses which our neighbours have suffered; may they be consoled for them. I do not wish that the burning of my house should cause their ruin. We have enough corn remaining to assist them, and next year our harvest will aid them."

More did all that he had promised. He rebuilt their houses, filled their empty barns, purchased agricultural implements for them, and dried up all their tears.(c)

Sir Thomas More, on becoming Chancellor, swore according to the ordinary formula, to render speedy and equitable justice to all, without distinction of persons. It was a common remark that during Wolsey's chancellorship, the doors of Westminster Hall were only thrown open to those counsellors who wore gold rings or diamond buckles. More, on the contrary, looked at neither the vestment nor station of individuals; whoever had a cause for complaint was welcome. As their numbers increased daily, he established evening courts, where those who wished might come. More descended from his chair, heard these complaints while walking up and down the room, and reconciled the parties when able to do so. "If the devil, whom I detest heartily, and my father, whom I love sincerely," he was wont to say to his son-in-law, (John Dauncy,) "were to present themselves before me, and the devil had justice on his side, I should condemn my father."(d)

When he gave the seals to Sir Thomas More, Henry fully believed that the chancellor would support the project for the divorce.(e) Often had he endeavoured to discover his real view, but as often had he been baffled on the plea of his ignorance of theology. A few days after his installation he was invited to court. Henry had never been so attentive; but More refused to give any explanation. On being pressed, he expressed a wish to consult some learned canonists as Richard Fox, Nicholas d' Italia, and some others, whom he named. They were accordingly commanded by the prince to consult on the subject, and to present their

(a) Roper. Hoddesdon.
(b) She was called Paula.—Rudhart.
(c) Rudhart.—Stapleton.
(d) Rudhart.
(e) Pole.—Stapleton.

opinion to the chancellor, who, after having attentively perused it, was again called on by Henry to give his opinion on this important question.(a) The king met the chancellor, and took him by the hand; but Sir Thomas, casting himself at his feet, begged him to recall those words which he had addressed to him on giving him the seals, "After God, the king."(b) Then rising from his knees, he thus continued, that he wished that it had been in his power to have given his majesty a further proof of his devotion; but that he was unable to do so conscientiously after the decision of that learned tribunal of theologians, for whose attainments he had a high respect. In so serious a matter as this, wherein the repose of his soul was at stake, he trusted that his majesty would not compel him to give his opinion.(c) The king, with that apparent courtesy which he knew so well how to feign, and which too certainly concealed the desire of approaching revenge,(d) replied, that he by no means desired to torment the conscience of so faithful a subject; but that happily he had ministers to whose opinion he would offer no opposition by pursuing the dissolution of a knot which God had accursed, and which the Sacred Volume condemned.(e)

More had now lost Henry's confidence. His friends requested him to resign the seals at once, and resigning the public business to retire to Chelsea, where, amid his books, children, and friends, he might possibly escape the resentment of Henry and his mistress. Let us not, however, blame the statesman, who, though prescient of the future, devoted himself to his master's animosity. When a minister like More persists in remaining in office, it is from implicit obedience to a Divine inspiration. But more than once must he have regretted his quiet residence at Chelsea, when a letter from Erasmus would set the whole house in commotion. He would go there now and then to embrace his children, tease Alice, visit his menagerie, look after his garden, and walk with Roper, the husband of his darling Margaret.

One day, while standing and watching the Thames with his son-in-law, he shook his head as if grieved at something. "Father, what is the matter?" asked Roper. "I wish I could be thrust into a sack and thrown into the Thames, if God would grant me the accomplishment of three wishes." "And what can they be, since you would purchase them at so high a price?" "Dear! oh no! You shall hear what they are. First: that all Christians who are at war should be reconciled in the peace of God; one. That the Church of Christ, now torn to pieces by so many heresies, should recover her ancient and holy peace; two. And lastly, that this matter of the marriage should be concluded to the glory of God, and the satisfaction of all parties; three." On his return home, he said, "The religious prospects of England frighten me. I pray God that I may not see the day when heretics shall be allowed to enjoy their churches, in order that we may preserve the free use of our own."(f)

(a) More's letter to Thomas Cromwell: "I have diligent conferences with his grace's counsellors aforesaid."

(b) That I should first look unto God and after God unto him; which most gracious words was the first lesson also, that ever his grace gave me at my first coming into his noble service.—More's letter to Sir T. Cromwell.—Roper.

(c) I am not he which either can, or whom it could become to take upon me the determination or decision of such a weighty matter, whereof divers points a great way pass my learning.—Roper.—Stapleton.—Hoddesdon.—More.

(d) Monarchis esse proprium offensionem in animo tegere, donec multo post tempore detur ulciscendi opportunitas.

(e) Rudhart.

(f) Consult, respecting the Catholic doctrines of More.—Eras., Epis. Pacæo, Bruxellis, 5 Julii, 1521; Ludov. Vives, Londini, 13 Novem., 1525; Morus Erasmo ex aulâ Grenvici, 18 Dec., 1525; Morus Erasmo, ex ædibus nostris Chelsicis, 14 Jan., 1522; Erasmus Johanni Fabro, 1532; Morus Erasmo, ex rure nostro Chelsico, 1532.—A dialogue of Syr Thomas More.—Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation.—Collier's Ecclesiastical History. Schrockh Christliche Kirchengeschicte der Reformation.—Dictionnaire de la Conversation, (Art. More,) par M. Nisard.—Rudhart, More, der Vertheidiger des alten Kirchenglaubens; and also *Histoire de Thomas More*, translated into French from Latin, by M. Martin.

END OF VOLUME I.

LIFE

OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE UNIVERSITIES.—1530-1531.

REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.

Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox meet Thomas Cranmer at Mr. Cressy's.—Cranmer's early years.—Elected Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge: frequents the Dolphin Hotel, and marries Jacqueline the Black, a servant at that establishment.—Enters Mr. Cressy's family as private Tutor.—His interview with Gardiner and Fox.—Is noticed by Henry.—Received by the Earl of Wiltshire.—Writes in favour of the Divorce, and is sent to Italy.—Coronation of Charles V.—Cranmer at Rome.—Nominated Grand Penitentiary of the three kingdoms by the Sovereign Pontiff.—The question of the Divorce laid before the Universities of Germany, Italy, and France.—Means employed by Henry to gain them over to his cause.—Cranmer marries Osiander's niece at Nuremberg.

Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox accompanied the king on that hunting party at Grafton, when Wolsey's disgrace was decided: at night the two councillors slept at Waltham Abbey, the residence of Mr. Cressy,(a) where they met with Thomas Cranmer, the tutor of that gentleman's children.

Thomas Cranmer was of a good family; born on the 2nd July, 1489, at Aslacton, in the county of Nottingham, he had the misfortune to lose his father at an early age. At fourteen he entered Jesus College, Cambridge, where he soon distinguished himself.(b) In 1511 he was elected Fellow of his college; during his residence at the University he became deeply enamoured with a servant of the Dolphin Hotel,(c) known by the appellation of Jacqueline the Black. The Dolphin was chiefly frequented by merchants, who could scarcely believe that Cranmer, the Fellow of Jesus College, whose courtship with the barmaid was still fresh in their memory, was the same individual as the newly-elected Archbishop of Canterbury; but Todd, one of Cranmer's biographers, bids his readers remember that these merchants were "bitter Papists and sworn enemies to Jesus Christ."(d) Cranmer, in consequence of having infringed the University rule which prohibits the marriage of fellows, was compelled to quit Jesus College; he left his wife at the Dolphin,(e) and was elected reader at Buckingham College. Jacqueline died a year after her marriage, when Cranmer returned to his fellowship at Jesus;(f) he ceased to frequent the Dolphin, and waged deadly war in his lectures against the religious of

(a) Todd's Life of Cranmer.
(b) Strype.—Todd.
(c) Milner's Letters to a Prebendary. From this local habitation and a name, doubtless she was a servant.—Lodge's Historical Portraits.
(d) Todd.
(e) He placed his wife at the Dolphin. Archdeacon Mason, of the consecration of bishops.
(f) Life of Cranmer. Jes. Col. Cam. MSS.

every order who at that time thronged the town;(a) his principal accusation against them was their idleness and ignorance. This *monacophobia* was his best claim on the sympathy of his hearers, and was highly instrumental in forwarding his success. More than one Saxon theologian had succeeded to his heart's content in the monastic habit; but Cranmer especially distinguished himself by his bitter controversial spirit; he did not endeavour to resemble Luther, with whose writings he was well acquainted, for he carefully avoided every thing like excitement. He was like Calvin, cold, crafty, pitiless, and unenergetic; indeed one might have said on seeing their portraits, that Calvin and Cranmer were twin brothers, so strong was their likeness, morally and physically.

Cranmer graduated in theology in 1526, when he was elected Divinity Lecturer of Jesus College,(b) and often preached before the University;(c) these discourses were generally heavy and dull, but in no way vitiated by the fault, too common to learned men, of showing their attainments.

The plague drove Cranmer from Cambridge;(d) and it was then that he entered Mr. Cressy's family as private tutor, in 1528. Gardiner and Fox only made his acquaintance when they came to demand hospitality of their mutual friend. Campeggio's abrupt departure for Italy, Katharine's appeal to Rome, Wolsey's fall and disgrace, and the bickerings of the Universities on the subject of the divorce, formed the general theme of conversation. Cambridge had declared itself against the Levitical precept, where Cranmer, single-handed, had more than once supported the necessity of an immediate divorce.(e) The king's councillors were naturally led to speak of a subject of such vast importance to their sovereign. Gardiner commenced the conversation, by saying to Cranmer, "I cannot see distinctly how we can get out of this accursed trial." "Do you not?" rejoined Cranmer. "Let us first lay down the question: Is the king's marriage with Katharine, in a religious point of view, lawful or no?" "That is the very question the Pope is unwilling to decide." "The Pope," replied Cranmer, smiling, "is only a man like ourselves." "The Head of the Visible Church," remarked Fox. "Head of the Visible Church? But remember that the Word of God, like Himself, is immutable. Now if the marriage be opposed to the Divine Law, Julius's dispensation is null and void, for the Pope has no authority to approve of that which has been condemned by God. But were I in the king's place, I should not address myself to the Pope." "To whom then?" asked Fox and Gardiner together. "The Catholic Universities; if they decide that the marriage is null and void, of what avail will the voice of one Pope be against their decision? If the Universities be also against the divorce, the king may live and die at ease."(f) The courtiers could not have been happier had they been presented with the seals of which Cardinal Wolsey had been deprived. Gardiner proposed to Fox that they should go immediately to Henry, and lay before him Cranmer's opinion as if it were their own; but Fox objected to this plan, as sooner or later the fraud would be discovered.(g)

As soon as Henry had been made acquainted with Cranmer's plan, he exclaimed, "By St. Mary! I have at last caught the right sow by the ear.(h) But where is Cranmer? I must see him; had I but known him two years ago, how much money should I have saved!"(i) A messenger was immediately dispatched for him to Waltham Abbey. The interview between the sovereign and the tutor is highly amusing. "Doctor," exclaimed Henry, on seeing him, "you have discovered the knot of the whole affair. We are, I perceive, losing time. I beg of you; nay, I command you, to give me your advice when called on to do so, and I confide my case to your

(a) Cranmer rubbed the galled back and curried the lazy hide of many an idle and ignorant friar.—Fuller's Hist. of Camb.
(b) Jes. Col. Camb. MSS.
(c) Jes. Col. Camb. MSS.
(d) Bailey's Life of Fisher.—A. Wood. Annales Univ. Oxon.
(e) Todd.
(f) Voss Heinrich der Achte.
(g) Todd.
(h) Burnet.
(i) And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money.—Todd.

hands." Cranmer was about to reiterate his argument of the previous evening, when Henry stopped him, by saying that he wanted a book to be composed, and calling the Earl of Wiltshire, (father to Anne Boleyn,) said, "My Lord, you will, doubtless, be able to find an apartment for the doctor at your house, in Durham-place; and, furthermore, will furnish him with every work that he may stand in want of."(a)

We are compelled to concede that the retreat assigned to Cranmer was in every way propitious to his undertaking, and that without a peculiar grace from Heaven it would have been utterly impossible for him to have written against the divorce, in a house frequented by the king's charming and lovely mistress. The work composed by the Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, has the appearance of having been written on Anne Boleyn's knees. It is the production of a gallant scholar, where the Fathers, Holy Writ, and the Councils are alternately quoted in favour of the monarch's scruples.(b)

The king was delighted with it, and inquired if Cranmer would defend it in the presence of the *Bishop of Rome*;(c) for in Henry's eye, the Sovereign Pontiff, after he had refused to grant a divorce, had lost his tiara, and was no more than any other bishop. Cranmer inclined his head, and acknowledged himself prepared to start for Italy, if such were the will of God. "You shall go," rejoined Henry; and Cranmer returned to Durham-place, the residence of the Earl of Wiltshire.(d)

Cranmer was aware, while writing his work, that it would certainly end in rescuing England "from the yoke of that accursed despotism which had weighed so heavily on this country with its pernicious superstitions for so many centuries, and had during that time kept the human mind in captivity."(e)

Let us endeavour to keep these words of the Anglican historian in our minds' eye, as we shall then be able to see the drift of the negotiations pursued by the king's agents at Rome. If they did not succeed, it was owing to the Pope; but several, under cover of an hypocritical zeal for Henry, concealed a well-digested plan to detach him entirely from the Roman communion.

Let us return to Italy. Clement VII., as the reader no doubt recollects, had regained his liberty. The two cabinets of Rome and Madrid seemed to be sincerely reconciled.(f) Charles had left Spain to be crowned in Italy by the Pope; after having intrusted the command of his army to Leyva, he had started from Genoa for Bologna.(g) He no longer wore long hair after the fashion of the Burgundians, but had his head closely shaven like a monk, thus accomplishing a vow he had made on his vessel being overtaken in a storm.(h)

Clement, who, as well as the cardinals, had allowed his beard to grow, was seated with the tiara on his head on a throne sparkling with precious stones. Charles dismounted, ascended the steps leading to the canopy under which the Pontiff was sitting, and humbly kneeling down kissed his foot, whereon Clement arose to embrace him.(i) Fründsberg, who but three years before had boastingly exhibited the golden collar with which he proposed strangling the Pope, could never have believed that the day would arrive when the emperor would incline before that royalty, which Reformed Germany imagined to be buried under the ruins of Adrian's mausoleum. The coronation took place in the church of St. Petronio. Charles knelt down to receive the anointing from the hands of the Pope, his feet being shod with sandals and his shoulders covered with a mantle belonging

(a) Herbert.

(b) And produced a treatise alleging the king's object to be supported by the authority of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers.—Todd.

(c) Will you abide by this that you have written before the *Bishop of Rome*?—Todd.

(d) Lingard calls Cranmer "a *dependant* of the family of the king's mistress."

(e) Himself was certainly sincere in the opinion *that this affair might lead to the separation of this country from the despotism of the See of Rome*. This was the sagacity of the many, who, throughout Europe, were in favour of the divorce, in order that, by checking the dispensing power of the Pontiff, *they might free the mind from that absolute monarchy which superstition had erected on it*.—Todd.—Bacon.

(f) Sandoval.—Herbert.

(g) Herbert.

(h) Turner.

(i) Raynaldi. Ann. Eccl. xx. 568.

to the Byzantine emperors.(a) The Holy Pontiff, while pouring the oil on the prince's forehead, used the same formula as that which Hincmar of Rheims had pronounced in 877: "May this holy oil flow down from thy head and descend to thy entrails."(b) With the crown of Charlemagne on his head, the emperor swore to defend the Pope, the Roman Church, and the patrimony, privileges, and rights of the Holy See.(c) During these preparations for the coronation an embassy left London for Rome, to carry on the interminable affair of the divorce, composed of the Earl of Wiltshire, father of the favourite; Stokesley, Bishop Elect of London; Bonner, a lawyer, and Lee, almoner to the king. Lee was the theologian whom Luther had designated as a phlegmatic sophist, whose arrogance and folly has been mentioned by Erasmus;(d) and whom Bilibad Pirckheimer publicly stigmatised at Nuremberg as a fool, and as one too contemptible to excite the anger of a scullion.(e) Cranmer accompanied this deputation by order of the king, carrying in his valise the important book destined to convert the Sacred College.

The English cabinet, notwithstanding the many checks it had received, had not abandoned its system of corruption, and again bade the ambassadors endeavour to tempt the Pope by some valuable presents. In case of the Pontiff's persisting in his refusal to grant the divorce, as it was feared would be the case, the agents were instructed to threaten the Pontiff with a schism. If Clement would not authorise his marriage with Anne Boleyn, Henry had resolved to withdraw his obedience from the Papal authority, no longer to refer to the Holy See with regard to benefices and provisions, and to invest one of the English bishops with patriarchal authority; an example that would be soon imitated by the other sovereigns of Europe.(f) Henry no longer kept his intention a secret, but spoke of it openly at London, at Hampton Court, at York House, and at Durham Place. He called the Sovereign Pontiff an ignorant bishop, because Clement would not interpret a verse in the Book of Leviticus in the same sense as an amorous sovereign; and a simoniacal priest, because Clement refused to be seduced from his path of duty by English gold. One of Fründsberg's countrymen, a German Protestant, (Ranke,) has nobly defended Clement, and cleared his character from these false accusations. (We trust that the Holy Pontiff will not be insulted at our mentioning these charges.) "Clement," says Ranke, "was remarkable for his irreproachable conduct and consistent moderation as a statesman. He prevented Francis advancing further than Naples at the time of his first invasion of Italy. It was he that prevailed on Leo X. not to offer any opposition to the election of Charles V., and to suppress the ancient constitution, by virtue of which no king of Naples could be elected emperor. By his means Leo X. entered into a treaty with Francis for the recovery of Milan. He assisted greatly in the election of Adrian VI. As a scientific man, he understood mechanics and hydraulics."(g)

The Earl of Wiltshire, as the most interested in the success of the negotiation, was ordered to work on Charles V. He was a highly polished courtier, and in consequence of his long residence in France and intimacy with Francis' ministers, had acquired a great facility of expression. When the English ambassadors were presented to the emperor, he had great difficulty in restraining his indignation on seeing the father of Anne Boleyn. The earl had

(a) De duplici coronatione Caroli V. Cæsaris, apud Bononiam historiola auctore H. C. Agrippâ.—In Schardio.

(b) Cujus sacratissima unctio super caput ejus defluat atque ad interiora ejus descendat.

(c) Ranke.—Krönung Carl's V.

(d) Erasm. Ep xii 32.

(e) Bilib. Pirckeymerus Erasmo. — Ep. Erasm. xii. 12.

(f) Lettera di Joachimo. M. Beth. v. 8668.

(g) Ranke.—Vittori (Storia d'Italia) says of Clement: "He was neither proud, simoniacal, nor immoral; but sober in his way of living and dress, and a devout, religious man." To have an idea of Clement's character as a politician, the reader should consult "Instructione al Card. Reverend di Farnese (afterwards Paul III.) quando andò legato all' imperatore Carlo V., doppo il sacco di Roma.—G. M. Giberto al vescovo di Veruli, Lettere di principi, i., 192.

scarcely opened his lips, ere he was stopped by Charles, who bid him be silent, as he was a party concerned in the matter.

The earl, with great firmness, replied, "What he did was not as father, but as a subject and servant, and that his master was acting sincerely in following out the scruples of his conscience for having lived so long in mortal sin; and that he would indeed be delighted were the emperor to coincide with him, but that his refusal would not have the slightest influence on him."(a) As a reward for consenting to the divorce, the ambassadors offered Charles 300,000 crowns, the restitution of Katharine's dowry, and a life annuity for that princess. Charles replied in Spanish, that he was not a merchant, and, consequently, had not the power to sell his aunt's rights; that the courts would decide on her fate; that if the marriage were dissolved by the Pope, he would submit in silence to the sentence, but that if a contrary decision were given, he would uphold the cause of the oppressed queen by every means that God had placed in his power.(b) In the meanwhile, Katharine's complaints, at first repressed by submission to the decrees of Divine Providence, were at last heard. The letters which she secretly wrote to her nephew affected him deeply. Her piety, her strength in the day of trial, her love for Henry, who treated her with marked contempt, her long-suffering and kindness towards her rival, whose name never escaped her lips, her tears, her groans, and her sufferings interested the whole of Christendom in her. Clement could not, without visible emotion, hear of the insults which this real heroine underwent, and to evince the interest he felt for his well-beloved daughter, he forbade Henry, by a brief,(c) to re-marry, until the Pontifical sentence had been promulgated. His Holiness, ere he signed the document, consulted Cardinal Cajetan,(d) one of the most eminent of the Roman cardinals for his learning and piety. When the trumpets of the Prince of Orange announced the triumphant entry of the Imperialists into Rome, Clement might have been heard imploring the rude soldiery, near the Bridge of St. Angelo, when about to seize the cardinal, "not to extinguish one of the lights of the Church."(e)

During his stay at Rome, Cranmer was honoured with several private interviews with his Holiness. On presenting the Holy Father with his work in favour of the divorce, he expressed a wish to be permitted to discuss the controverted point with the theologians of the Roman Gymnasium. Clement was unwilling to concede this favour; but to alleviate the disappointment arising from his refusal, conferred on him the dignity of Grand Penitentiary of the three kingdoms, which office Cranmer accepted from "a bishop" who, he contended, had no spiritual or temporal jurisdiction in England. This act has been justly blamed, even by his panegyrists.(f) The Earl of Wiltshire was the first to perceive that Clement was opposed to the divorce, and accordingly urged the English Court to press the decision of the Universities, before whom the question had been laid, in accordance with Cranmer's suggestion.(g) The history of the discussion, raised in the Universities by this question, form an interesting episode in the trial of the divorce. Scandalous and disgraceful scenes occured at Oxford. The decent used towards the elder members of the senates so wounded the pride of the junior M.A.'s, that like a parcel of undisciplined schoolboys, they revolted, and disturbed the convocation. Henry's agents had recourse to violence; the Masters were excluded from the Academy, and several Bachelors imprisoned or maltreated; and the remainder, alarmed by the threats and menaces of Suffolk, or corrupted by bribes received from the sovereign, agreed, on the proposal of

(a) Lettre de l'évêque de Tarbes, 27 Mars 1530, à Francois I.—MSS. Béthune, Le Grand.
(b) Lettre de l'évêque de Tarbes à M. de Montmorency, 28 Mars.—MSS. Béthune v. 3565.—Le Grand.—Lingard.
(c) Appendix (L.)
(d) Raynaldus, xxii. 196.
(e) Ciaconius, Vitæ et gesta Pontif. Rom.
(f) Clement bestowed upon him a mark of distinction, which Cranmer has been blamed for accepting, as though he had been insincere in his professions against the Papal power.—Todd.
(g) Le Grand

Edward Fox, to place the decision of so delicate a question in the hands of thirty doctors, selected by the Bishop of Lincoln, the Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. Stinton; but the commissioners being unable to agree among themselves, eight of the most devoted of the court partizans broke open the door of the Registry-office, stole thence the seal of the University, and stamped their decision with it.(a) Wood has faithfully related the various scenes of the drama commencing with a riot, the breaking open of the door of the registry offices, and terminating in a robbery and forgery (b)

The opposition was nearly as obstinate at Cambridge. Gardiner and Fox had been selected as the moderators of the controversy, as being persons who it was well known would not flinch though opposed by cunning or craft. A committee was formed sixteen members of which had promised their votes in favour of Henry; "of the other four we are sure of two; the others we shall send away, and then we shall carry the day." It was as the commissioners had foretold, but the decision contained a clause which was far from being pleasing to the king; the University were in favour of the divorce, provided it could be proved that the marriage had been consummated between Arthur and Katharine. Henry seemed dissatisfied, but was pacified on being assured by the Vice-Chancellor, (Dr. Buckmaster), that if this condition had not been inserted the partizans of the divorce would have been certainly defeated.(c) The prince had very active agents in Italy; the three brothers, Casale, Stafile, and an Englishman called Crook, who distinguished himself by his great activity; none, it was said, could resist the force of his arguments. Wakefield, the Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, had found his master. The following example will give the reader an idea of his syllogisms. To a simple religious of the Order of the Servites, one crown; to the doctors of the Servites, two crowns; to the Observantines, two crowns; to the Prior of St. John, fifteen crowns; to John Marie, who went from Milan to Venice, thirty crowns; to the preacher of the Cordeliers, twenty crowns.(d) Crook was delighted with his success, and only regretted one circumstance. "Gracious master," he writes to Henry, "I have obtained one hundred and ten signatures, and could have had as many more had I a little more money."(e) Crook was not sufficiently candid; if his success did not equal his expectation, it was owing to the delay of Casale in not remitting him, through feeling of jealousy, the cash to buy more signatures. Truly consciences were not at a premium in the market. A theologian was obtainable for one crown; a community for two or three, and Henry imagined that he had paid too dear in giving a few crowns for a monastery of Cordeliers.

Morrison, who displayed great activity in his sovereign's cause, felt quite annoyed at being told that his majesty was guilty of bribery, as by a distinction which would have done honour to Crook, he asserted that the crown given to a mendicant friar, who had perhaps never read the Book of Leviticus or Deuteronomy, was not a bribe but alms: the trouble of writing his name to a long deed deserved to be recompensed by Henry. Occasionally the alms was a Spanish dollar, or a Venetian sequin, and then Morrison, who would not on any account allow that Henry was guilty of bribery, would laud the liberality of his royal hero. Can it be a crime in Henry loving and patronising literary characters?(f)

But falsehood was added to bribery. Crook and Stokesley sent the decision of

(a) Le Grand.
(b) Burnet.—Herbert says: "The Universities of England are more scrupulous of the divorce than foreign universities."
(c) Burnet.—Lingard.
(d) Burnet.
(e) Burnet.
(f) "I acknowledge that money was given; would you, merely on that ground, say that they were bribed? .....If a private person is anxious to appear liberal to those whom he knows to have been zealous in his cause, is it to be expected that one of the wealthiest sovereigns in Europe should be sparing towards those whom he sees to have discussed his rights with the greatest good faith, to have examined them with scrupulous care, to have defended them with wonderful constancy? Shall not a king, who is a most distinguished patron of letters, think those worthy of reward, who, abandoning their literary leisure, have wearied themselves with watching and labouring?"—Quoted by Le Grand.

the University of Bologna to England. A city of theology in the Middle Ages, Bologna had declared that the king's marriage was illegal. The act which was not dated, was signed by an unknown Carmelite monk, the name of Pallavicino. The notary and Pallavicino were summoned before the governor on the 9th of January, 1530, when it was discovered that the act, the work of the Carmelite, had been signed by four other monks. But who had then revealed a secret which the king's agents had regarded as inviolate? Probably one of the brethren who had lent himself for the deceit for one crown, had now betrayed them for two. Crook was called on to clear himself. He accordingly sent for the notary and the monks, who obeyed like servants the master who pays them, but he failed in discovering the culprit.(a)

Crook continued his travels on the king's account. He arrived at Ferrara with his purse well filled with gold, hoping to tempt the Doctors of Canon Law. "I will give you a hundred ducats to sign this decision;" but they only laughed and shrugged their shoulders at the prize. On seeing that his offer was rejected, he offered them one hundred and fifty ducats on the morrow. But it was too late; they had slept over his proposal. Crook was politely dismissed. He was more successful at Padua; for the king's agent, if Burnet is to be credited, bought the whole academy for less than a hundred scudi.(b)

In France, where the question of the divorce had been already mooted in the schools, Henry would have a few partizans, and that for the following reason:—Not a single English soldier had taken part in the Battle of Pavia. England consequently had no share in the victory. The people were also acquainted with the interest which the English cabinet had taken in the fate of the royal prisoner at Madrid; for they had even made advances to France after her defeat in Italy, and had done all in their power to come to terms of reconciliation. Henry had restored to France that diamond *fleur de lis* which had been

(a) Lingard.—Rymer, Fœdera, XV., 393, 395, 397.
(b) Burnet.—Lingard.

hers in days of yore. If the young princes were no longer hostages at Madrid, it was because Henry had lent their father 500,000 crowns for his ransom.(c) An hypocritical compassion, which the people could not understand. Du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, had lately returned from London, (Feb., 1530,) (d) having in his possession the *fleur de lis*, accompanied by Sir Francis Bryan, officially retained for the divorce, and ordered by the king to tamper with the University of Paris, looked on at that time as the mother and nurse of wisdom. These feelings of hatred against the emperor, jealousy against Spain, affection for a defeated and captive sovereign, and gratitude towards Henry, were skilfully turned to his advantage by the courtier prelate; and yet it was far from producing the effect expected at Greenwich. The Sorbonne at first refused to meddle with the question; and she did not consent till after she had received a formal injunction from the king.(e)

Never had an intrigue been so publicly resorted to. Henry had written an autograph letter to the theologians of Paris. De Montmorency went about from door to door begging for votes. The English ambassadors distributed presents. Du Bellay asserted that the Italian Universities had been unanimous in their decision for the divorce,(f) although it was utterly impossible that the result of the deliberation could be yet known, and Gervais,(g) a low intriguer, endeavoured to corrupt his colleagues at the Sorbonne by bribery with money, promised him by De Montmorency.

The first meeting was on the 8th of June, 1530,(h) and was exceedingly stormy. Du Bellay, who was there by the king's command to influence the assembly, was not ashamed to assert that the Italian Univer-

(c) Le Grand.
(d) "Passing through Orleans, he gained over the university, which gave in its approbation on June 5th, 1530."—Le Grand.
(e) Le Grand.
(f) Le Grand.
(g) Lettre de du Bellay au Grand Maître.—MSS. Bethune, vol. 8604 See a full account of the intrigue in Le Grand, compiled from official documents.
(h) Le Grand.

sities were unanimous in favour of the divorce, but he had a rough antagonist to contend with in Beda, who, being a man of violent temper, accused the bishop of being an accomplice of the King of England, whose pensioner he was, and of trying to do violence to the conscience of the members of the Sorbonne.(a) Du Bellay, who is by no means to be trusted in this matter, has related one of the most turbulent episodes of this assembly. "None of any authority would take an active part in the matter; first, because their privileges were derived as much from yourself as from the Pope, and yet more so, as they were in your kingdom. Secondly, that it was insulting the Pontiff to assert that he could have possibly prohibited or allowed any thing which was calculated to wound the tenderest conscience. Thirdly, that it was exceedingly wrong to speak thus of any sovereign who was an ally of their prince, and who had till now showed himself to be a zealous Defender of the Faith; and while the beadle was collecting the votes to see which side had the majority, one of the members arose, and snatching from his hand the list, tore it into atoms, whereon there commenced a great tumult, some exclaiming that the matter had been settled, others (the majority) advising me to write to you as well as the Pope on the point. Thus the assembly was dissolved; and the English ambassadors, who were walking in one of the corridors, hearing the riot, retired in all haste to their apartments, dissatisfied at the result, feeling convinced that all that had occurred was at the instigation of Beda and his accomplices; but I did not believe them, and began to write an account of the matter to the king, as well as to the Earl of Wiltshire."(b)

The University made known her decision in the month of July. Fifty voted in favour of the divorce, forty-two against it, and five desired that the question should be laid before the Pope. The faculty assembled on the morrow to annul the decision of the previous day; but the Bishop of Senlis had that morning taken away the register, so that it was impossible to rescind it. Complaint was made, and the prelate summoned to restore the register; but in vain. The emperor's ambassadors interfered, requesting the minutes of the debate to be furnished them; but their petition was rejected by Francis (c) The faculty on this privately forbade each of the members to vote on the question. The king, irritated at this conduct, desired to investigate the matter; but Lizet, the first president of the parliament, advised him to be quiet, as he might possibly by an investigation do more harm than good to the King of England.(d) Dumoulin, whose testimony is above all suspicion, declares that the votes in favour of the divorce had been purchased by Henry.(e)

He was less successful in Germany; his dispute with Luther had not been forgotten. The monk had married, and Henry had thus addressed him, "You are right not to look at me, but I wonder how you have the audacity to look at God; you who, at the instigation of Satan, were not afraid to defile with your sacrilegious embraces a virgin consecrated to the Lord." Anne was less scrupulous than her lord; she solicited the approbation of Luther, and feeling convinced that the Saxon would reject every bribe, she instructed Barnes, the agent of the "Defender of the Faith,"(f) to use flattery, and thus obtain his signature; but Luther replied, that as the ecclesiastic of Wittemberg, he would rather permit Henry to have two wives than to divorce Katharine. Barnes then applied to the doctor's well-beloved disciple, to the professor who had attracted all Germany to Wittemberg; but Melancthon con-

(a) Le Grand.
(b) MSS., Bethune, vol. 8545.

(c) Le Grand.—Lingard.
(d) Lingard.—Le Grand.
(e) "In the month of June, 1530, forty-two members of the Sorbonne gave their opinion in the affirmative, viz, that the Pope could give a dispensation, five were of opinion that it should be referred to the Church of Rome, but fifty-three, forming a majority, held for the negative; though their opinion can have but little weight, as they were corrupted by English angels, as I have seen by the attestations made by order of Francis, King of France, by the late MM. de Fresnes and Poliot, presidents of the parliament."—Cons. de Dec. p. 602, cons. 629.
(f) Lutheri Epist.

demned the project of the divorce in formal terms.(a)

Henry had no less than four agents at work in Germany, viz., John Casale, Cranmer, Andreas, and Previdel.(b) One of them was intrusted with the charge of winning over Cochlæus; this old champion for authority, who had disputed the ground inch by inch with the innovators, had lost his collegiate position at Frankfort on the Oder, and since her apostacy had lived on charity.(c) He was offered a handful of gold florins if he would but sign a paper already drawn up; but the venerable servant of Christ rejected the bribe, and spoke of his honour and probity.(d) He is now, it is to be hoped, enjoying the Beatific Vision! Katharine, who preceded him to the tomb, must have prayed for the honest old man in heaven. Cochlæus dared not accuse the king, and therefore threw all the blame on his advisers. "You are wrong," wrote Erasmus to the German theologian, "it is Henry who is guilty. Had I been admitted into the secret of the intrigue I should have protested against the divorce."(e) Strange infatuation in a sovereign calling himself in all his acts the "Defender of the Catholic Faith," and yet delighting in the abuse heaped on him by the learned. Here is a letter, dated Bologna, where Katharine is treated as his mistress; another from Ferrara, where Mary is called a bastard; another from Orleans, where the prince is accused of incest; and yet Henry, as if these letters were so many objects of interest, locked them up in his desk, and daily exhibited the precious chest to his mistress.(f) By means of all these signatures, begged, purchased, extorted, or forged, that Henry hoped to deceive Clement VII.,(g) but His Holiness was well aware of the means that had been resorted to to obtain them.(h) However, they would have been perfectly useless had they been asked and obtained in good faith, for they were all founded on the supposition that the marriage between Arthur and Katharine had been consummated; a point in the controversy which Cranmer looked on as insoluble.(i)

The advisers of the crown, whom it was impossible to deceive as to the value of these signatures, determined to make another attempt on the queen; they hoped that she would yield to Henry's wishes, now that she was made acquainted with the unanimous opinion of the Universities at home as well as abroad. The spiritual peers wished her to refer her case to the decision of a tribunal to be composed of eight of the most upright men in the kingdom; but Katharine courageously replied that, being a woman, she understood nothing of religious controversy; that she felt certain that neither her nor Henry's father would have given their consent to a sacrilegious marriage; that she prayed God to calm her husband's scruples; and, in a word, being a legitimate wife, she would die the Queen of England.(j) Katharine was as pure in the eyes of God as well

(a) Melanct. Epist. ad Camerarium.

(b) Lingard.

(c) Scopa Joannis Cochlœi adversus uramus Richardi Morosini.

(d) "Some years since, a very considerable sum was offered to me, if I would either write a book myself against the king's marriage with Katharine, or procure opinions from some of the German universities similar to those which had been given by some in France and Italy."—Cochl. ad Richardum Morisonum.

(e) Epist. Coch., quoted by Pollino.

(f) Cardinal Pole has severely chastised the manœuvres employed by Henry to gain signatures.—Pol., Epist. I., 239. The following are the titles of some of the books published against the divorce:—Thom. Abel, Capell. Reginæ Katharinæ, De non dissolvendo Henrici et Katharinæ matrimonio, 1530.—Jacopo Calco, Carmel, Paviæ, De Divortio Henrici VIII., Anglorum regis, 1536.—Quæstiones de matrimonio regis Angliæ numquam incudine subtilis doct. J. Scoti antehac versatæ Napol., per Cilium impressum, 1512. in 4to.—Campianus: Narratio de divortio Henrici VIII. ab uxore Katharinâ. Duaci, 1622.

(g) Lettera di Giovanni Joacchimo al Re.—MSS. Bethel., vol. 8541.

(h) Nullo non astu et pretio.—Epist. Clementis, apud Reynaldum, anno 1530.

(i) The modern and ancient historians are unanimous respecting the corruptions used by Henry to obtain signatures. In Todd's Life of Cranmer, we read: "It cannot be denied that great sums of money were employed in the prosecution of the divorce." And in Cavendish: "So some were sent to Cambridge, some to Oxford, some to Lorraigne, others to Paris, some to Orleans, others to Padua, all at the proper costs and charge of the king which in the whole amounted to a great somme of money."

(j) Hall.

as man. Had she had as virgin, mother, or queen, but one single fault to deplore, she would have laid her head on the block.

A few of the spiritual peers endeavoured to intimidate the Pope. In a letter which they wrote conjointly with some of the members of the House of Commons, they warned the Pontiff, in the name of the English people, that if by dilatory conduct he rejected Henry's petition, his majesty had resolved to secede from the Holy See, and would appeal from Rome to his own conscience, the wishes of the country, and the decision of the Anglican clergy. Though an extreme measure it is certainly less prejudicial to the nation than the condition to which the unjust partiality of the Pope would reduce her.(a) We are in possession of the reply given by his Holiness to these threats. It is stamped with evangelical mildness. "None could justly accuse him of partiality; for if he had evinced any, it was towards Henry. He well knew by what manœuvring all those signatures of which they now made so great a boast had been obtained. Did he ever complain of their conduct? He never intended to trespass on the privileges of the crown. How could he then have possibly injured Henry, by trying a cause altogether spiritual before a spiritual court? He asked but one favour, and that was not to compel him, under pretext of gratitude to a king, to violate the immutable commandments of God."(b)

Cranmer, after having presented his work to the Pope, left Rome, and by Henry's orders directed his steps towards Germany. He had been intrusted by his sovereign with a twofold mission, namely, to ascertain how many were in favour of the divorce, and to detach the Reformed electors from the emperor, by promising them assistance from England; but he failed in both missions. The priest had an interview with Oecolampadius, Bucer, Zuingle, Luther, and Melancthon, and failed in gaining them over to the divorce. The diplomatist arrived too late. The treaty of peace had been just signed at Nuremberg between the emperor and the confederates.(c) Cranmer met with one piece of good luck in this ancient city; he fell in love with Osiander's niece,(d) and, as the affection was mutual, married her. In marrying with the niece of one of the Reformers, he violated his vow of chastity, the oath of obedience he had but recently pronounced to the Holy See, when appointed by the Pope penitentiary of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the faith which he then openly professed. Although a married man, he continued to say Mass after his arrival in London. Although a convert to Osiandrism, he ceased not to practise outwardly all that was required by the religion of his fathers, thus deceiving the Pope, who would have withdrawn all

(a) Herbert.—Lingard.

(b) Answer to be given to the letter of the King of England: "That the Pope had never in this affair declined from the path of justice; and that if he had shown favour to either party, it was to the king rather than to the queen.

That the Pope has not acted entirely according to the wishes, advice, or commands of the emperor, which the king unjustly charges him with doing; but that before his making a treaty with the emperor, he gave way to the king in several points, and, after the ratification of the treaty, he showed his good will to the king by other acts of complaisance, of which the emperor and his agents in Italy have not unreasonably complained.

That the king has extorted subscriptions from some members of universities by all kinds of stratagems, entreaties, and bribes. As for the privileges of the kingdom, the Pope wishes and hopes that they may continue inviolate, provided this can be without causing scandal and offence to the whole Church. Besides, no injustice is done to the kingdom of England by the determination of so important a cause, which is purely ecclesiastical, by the Apostolic See.

Wherefore, his Holiness beseeches his majesty to reject the evil advice, always desiring change, of those, who, since their own consciences are seared, can never rest till they have corrupted purer minds than their own, (of which class is his majesty's,) and to take counsel of himself alone, and of his natural good feeling, which has shewn itself already in so many instances.—MSS. Vatican, No. 3922, p. 183-186.

(c) Todd.

(d) With Osiander, the celebrated pastor at Nuremberg, he became very intimate. Their friendship, which the political measure had helped to form, was strengthened by the niece of this divine accepting the hand of Cranmer. —Todd.

power from an apostate, and the king, who would have prosecuted such of his subjects as were suspected of heresy.(a)

At London, Cranmer pretended to believe in the Real Presence; at Nuremberg he taught the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation, which Osiander had adopted. In his wife's *trousseau* he had found a work which the professor had written against Henry's incestuous marriage, and which had been suppressed in Germany by the emperor's orders.(b) In Germany, as well as in England, the courtier continued to flatter his royal master. In writing to the Earl of Wiltshire, his good and kind lord, he thanked God for having vouchsafed to preserve in good health his grace the king and Lady Anne.(c) Not a word of compassion or pity for the poor queen! It would have indeed been unfortunate if Katharine had found none to defend her cause; her rights, however, were warmly advocated by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; John Holyman, Bishop of Bristol; and Abel, her almoner, in England; by Alphonso de Castro, Sepulveda, Alphonso Vervesius, and Francesco Royas, in Spain; by Alvarez Gomez, in Portugal; by Cajetan and Ludovico Nogarola, in Italy; by Cochlœus, in Germany; and by a host of doctors in the Catholic world, who obeyed the voice of their conscience, and not their appetites, in taking up their pen in her behalf, to use the expression of Cardinal Pole.(d)

(a) Calvini Epis. ad Melanch.—Bossuet, Hist. of Variations.
(b) Todd.
(c) To the right honourable and my singular good lord, my lord of Wiltshire.—It may please your worship to be advertised that the king's grace and my Lady Anne be in good health, whereof thanks be to God.—Todd.
(d) Invenit quidem aliquos sed ex iis quos fama magis quam fames moveret.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HENRY, HEAD OF THE CHURCH.—1530-1532.

Fisher denounces to the House of Peers the projects of the Aristocracy against the Clergy.—Rise of Cromwell.—His interview with the King.—The Clergy condemned by the statute of *Præmunire*.—They acknowledge Henry as the Head of the Church.—Tonstall protests against this title.—Message to Katharine.—Clement VII. writes to the King.—Henry's reply.—Abolition of the Annates.—A fresh *coup d'état* against the Clergy.—Brief against Henry's cohabiting with Anne Boleyn.—More resigns his office as Chancellor.—Family scene at Chelsea.

RELIGIOUS England was on the edge of a precipice. Had Clement VII. refused to grant the divorce, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, the Duke of Suffolk, and other members of the cabinet, whose plans the Bishop of Bayonne revealed as if in play,(a) were determined to cut this Gordian knot by appealing to Parliament. They especially seemed to aim at humbling and robbing the clergy, being assured that their property, which would fall to the crown, would be divided among its creatures.(b) Fisher saw through the plot, and boldly denounced it in the House of Lords, in 1529. "I have just been informed, my lords, that a motion has been made for the suppression of certain monasteries, whose revenues will pass into the hands of the

(a) See chap. XXI.

(b) In the event of Clement persisting in his refusal, Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, the Duke of Suffolk, and others of the cabinet, had determined that it should be dissolved by the absolute authority of Parliament, from the obsequiousness of which they expected to be able to carry their designs for the appropriation of a large portion of the ecclesiastical lands and tithes.—Tytler.

king. This measure has been coloured by a pretended zeal for the interests of religion; but, my lords, I fear, and I candidly acknowledge my apprehension, that men are now harrassing themselves, not so much for the *good*, as the *goods*, of the Church.(a) What mean all those petitions to the Commons against a portion of the clergy? What benefit will accrue to the petitioners by these melancholy recriminations? Do they desire to unchain the spirit of opposition against the clergy, to bring about a struggle between the priest and the faithful, and, during its pending, to lay hands on sacerdotal property? I implore you, my lords, to come to the aid of your country, your religion, your Holy Mother, the Catholic Church. You well know that the people are ever ready to embrace novelties, and Lutheranism is even now knocking at our door. Is it necessary for me to remind you of the anarchy in which religious disputes have involved Bohemia and Germany? Resist, then, this spirit which now menaces us; reject the project of the Commons, or be assured that an approaching revolution will make you tremble for your country, your faith, and your institutions."(b) The prophetic words of the old man produced no little sensation in the house. The Duke of Norfolk felt deeply wounded by the speech, being assured that it was levelled at him, and, consequently, thus replied to it: "I have, my Lord of Rochester, remarked certain insinuations in your speech which you have acted wrongly in giving utterance to. Happily we know that the dignitaries of the Church are not always the best counsellors." "And I," replied the bishop, "have never seen courtiers who have been equal to the dignitaries of the Church."(c) The Commons requested their Speaker (Audley) to express their dissatisfaction to the king at Fisher's conduct, and Henry consequently recommended the prelate to be more cautious for the future.

(a) Notwithstanding the extraordinary anxiety professed for the reformation of the vicious lives of the clergy, something makes me suspect that it is not so much the good, as the goods, of the Church which men are now looking after.—Tytler.
(b) Parl. Hist. of England.
(c) Tytler.

It was desirable to try the docility of Parliament. The reader will doubtless remember that, during the administration of Wolsey, the king found himself obliged to borrow large sums of money from his subjects. This tax, known by the name of *Benevolence*, had annoyed the city merchants, who, vanquished by the crafty eloquence of the minister, had robbed themselves, some of their jewels, others of their plate, others again of their money, and some had given their signatures, which was an equivalent for money, for the use of his majesty.(d) Securities had been given to the creditors of the state; *i.e.*, pieces of paper bearing the king's signature, which, having passed from hand to hand, had gone the round of England. The period of exchange having arrived, the debtor was unwilling either to discharge his liability or become a bankrupt; a bill was accordingly presented, liberating his majesty from these debts. To justify this theft, it was stated in the bill that the national prosperity under Henry's paternal government should induce his well-beloved, faithful, and loyal subjects to remit him that which he owed them. The bill passed the House of Lords without opposition, and the Commons, after a few insignificant remarks.(e)

Still it was not difficult to see that Henry was by no means at ease, his countenance betraying signs of sorrow. Neither time, gold, craft, corruption, or skilful agents had been able to overcome the courageous obstinacy of the Pope. After a discussion of four years the question of the divorce had not advanced a step, and as on the first day it still remained *in statu quo*, Henry now appeared to regret that he had entered on an endless question, and it was even reported that he complained of having been deceived; and expressed his determination to abandon a project which he could never, as far as he could see, bring to a successful issue.(f) Anne Boleyn was informed of the state of her royal lover's mind, and believed that her cause was lost.

(d) See chap. XV.
(e) Lingard.—Collier.—Burnet.
(f) Apol. Reg. Poli ad Carol. V, Cæsarem Epist.

How could she ward off the blow? Cromwell came to her rescue. A few days after Wolsey's fall, Cavendish entered his master's ante-chamber, and near one of the windows perceived Thomas Cromwell, who, while waiting for the cardinal, was saying some prayers with his eyes filled with tears. Actuated by a feeling of compassion he approached Cromwell, and said, "Why are you crying? Is my master in danger?" "No," replied Cromwell, shutting his book and wiping his eyes, "I am very miserable. I lose all chance of success by having served his grace with too much zeal." "But you have done nothing for him which can possibly hurt you?" added Cavendish. "Oh, no, no, certainly not; but all is lost. The numerous enemies of the cardinal hate and despise me, and that as you may well imagine without the slightest reason. I can hope for nothing more from my lord, and I intend immediately after dinner leaving for London, and to seek my fortune at court."(a)

Cromwell left Esher that very evening, and on the morrow, by means of presents, purchased the protection of some of the ministers, and was soon after employed by the king in the office he had filled under Wolsey, the superintendence of the convents secularized by the cardinal, and whose suppression had been a source of illicit profit to the unfaithful servant.(b) The people who imagined that, like Dudley, he would have been brought to the scaffold, as the reward for his various robberies, were much astonished on seeing him leave the palace with a smiling countenance, and escorted by a numerous train of courtiers.(c) This ungrateful servant, this faithless administrator, condemned to the block by popular indignation, was destined by his rise and fall to alarm England. Son of a fuller, in the vicinity of London, Cromwell(d) had, when very young, entered the service of the Duke of Bourbon, and was present at the sacking of Rome, in 1527, living like his comrades on murder and pillage. Fatigued with the toil of active services, he entered as a clerk to a Venetian merchant, and kept his books.(e) It has been stated, on good authority, that he spent his idle hours in reading Machiavelli; but at the period of the sacking of Rome the Florentine secretary had not published his treatise *De Principe*, which Cromwell is said to have regarded as his Breviary. He was, however, in want of no master, being one of that class who, to gain his object, would consent to be virtuous, provided virtue obtained him dignities or fortune; and if placed between good and evil, would decide after much and serious reflection; passive instruments of the power to which they sold themselves; true mutes of the seraglio, ready at the first signal to use, on the victim pointed out, execution, the knife, or cord. It often happens that a slave of this class is inspired by an evil angel, as nothing, neither their thoughts nor their arms, appertain to their individuality; they tell every thing, even their night dreams, if they can be turned into use, to their God. Now Cromwell was favoured with one of these visions, and he hastened to relate it to Henry. He sought and obtained an audience with Henry. Henry was expecting him. Cromwell, on his knees, apologised at first for his presumption, in venturing, as an humble subject, to advise his sovereign, but he could no longer be silent since he had witnessed the anxiety of his royal master. Henry bid him rise, and encouraged his pretended timidity by smiles and kind words. Then Cromwell, who pretended to be greatly frightened, thus commenced: "The question of the divorce, the solution of which is of such importance to the king's peace of mind as well as to the tranquillity of the kingdom, has not been conducted with sufficient resolution by the advisers of the crown. The decisions of the Universities, the opinions of theologians, the text of Leviticus, the sentence of the Fathers, in fact, every thing that can pacify the most timorous conscience is in favour of the divorce; but the approbation of the Pope has been in vain

(a) Cavendish.
(b) Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography.
(c) Pol. Apol.
(d) His real name was Crumwell; and he signs his name so in all the letters extant in the British Museum.

(e) Apol. Reg. Pol.

requested for the last two years. If Clement refuses, is the king compelled to submit to the caprice of the Pontiff? How did the German princes behave when Rome refused to listen to their complaints? They decided the question themselves.(a) Could not the King of England, by the authority of his Parliament, declare himself Head of the Church in his kingdom? England at that moment was like a monster with two heads; let the king seize on an authority usurped by a foreign Pontiff; let him be the Pontiff of his clergy, and the clergy, whose fortunes and lives would be in his hands, would tremblingly obey him. The priest swears allegiance to the king, but he also swears to be faithful to the Pope; so that the king is but half a sovereign, and the priest but half a subject."

Henry, while listening to Cromwell, seemed as if he had but just awoke from a long sleep. He looked on him as a messenger sent from heaven; for he spoke to him of a double royalty,—that over the body, which he had but imperfectly, and that over the soul, which a stranger beyond the Alps exercised. Henry, who, like a successful gambler, could scarcely believe in the existence of such happiness, wished to know how he could become master of this double diadem.

Cromwell, emboldened by his success, read to the king the oath which the bishop took to the Pope on the day of his consecration, and pointed out to his majesty that this oath constituted a crime of treason, punishable by the laws of the kingdom in the liberty and property of the culprit.(b)

So much for the body. The soul would come of her own accord. More than a century before, (21st January, 1401,) the Parliament assembled by Henry IV. had re-enacted certain ancient statutes, dating from the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. and which had received the name of *Præmunire*.(c)

By virtue of these acts, the clergy were forbidden to sue for provisions at the Court of Rome, or to bring before the ecclesiastical tribunals causes, which came within the province of the secular judges. Any one infringing this law, was compelled by virtue of a writ, commencing with the words, *Præmunire facias*, to appear before the Court of King's Bench; confiscation of his property during the king's pleasure, was the sentence inflicted on the culprit. These statutes had long fallen into desuetude, but the law had never been repealed. The king generally granted letters of license or protection to those who were in a situation contravened by these statutes.

Wolsey was empowered under the great seal to exercise the authority of legate conferred on him. Arrested on this charge, he confessed himself guilty as to the violation of the statute of *Præmunire*. The clergy of England having in a body acknowledged the authority of Wolsey, an authority exercised contrary to the laws of the realm, were in like manner guilty of the same crime; and that crime punishable as we have seen, by confiscation of property and imprisonment.(d) What reward could be conferred on a servant who had discovered in the archives of legislation an act by which the sovereign would obtain more money than he had spent since his accession to the throne? A place in the king's Privy Council, which he immediately obtained.(e)

The following morning's sun witnessed a scene unparalleled even in the annals of paganism, viz., thousands of Christians were guilty, without their knowledge, of high treason, and completely at the mercy of the king, both as to their property and persons. Tiberius could not have been more ingenious than Cromwell. Henry lost no time; on the morrow he sent for the Attorney General, who was instructed to summon all the Anglican clergy before the King's Bench, and taking off a ring from his finger, Henry gave it to Cromwell, authorising him to summon the convocation. The convocation, *i.e.*, the ecclesiastical synod, was divided, like the Parliament, into two

(a) Cromwell became a proselyte to the Protestant faith.—Thomson.

(b) This passage is taken from Reginald Pole, who adds: "That he heard it all from persons actually present." His account is adopted by all the historians.

(c) Rapin de Thoyras.—*Præmunire* is supposed to be a corruption of *præmonere*.

(d) Lingard.—Tytler.

(e) Biographia Britannica, Art Cromwell.

houses; the upper chamber composed of the archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots; the lower, of priests of an inferior order.(a) The fuller's son took his seat on the bishops' bench, and after having read the decree empowering him to act, he spoke respecting the allegiance which every Englishman, whether clerk or laic, owed to his sovereign, the representative of God on earth. None understood his drift. The members of the convocation looked at one another, and paid no attention to the speaker. Cromwell became gradually animated, and soon, as if speaking the feelings of his heart, accused all present of high treason and felony; of high treason, inasmuch as the whole clerical body had violated the statute of *Præmunire*, in submitting to the authority of a legate who had acknowledged himself to be guilty of high treason; of felony, since every archbishop, bishop, abbot, and priest, had taken an oath of allegiance to the Pope, every word of which was contrary to the rights of their legitimate sovereign; two crimes provided for by the statutes of Edward III. and Richard II., and punishable by the laws of the kingdom by imprisonment and confiscation of property.(b)

On hearing this singular accusation, the clergy, at first careless, became excited, endeavoured to speak, lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven, and gave vent to their indignation by murmurs or cries; but Cromwell refused to hear them, and retired, after telling them that they might, provided they repented, obtain their pardon, which the prince was ready to grant them.(c) The matter had been boldly commenced, and the king had intrusted it to Cromwell.

Three days after, (January, 1531,) two questions were laid before convocation, first whether a marriage between a brother and sister-in-law was prohibited by the Divine law; and secondly, whether the marriage between the Prince Arthur and the Princess Katharine of Arragon had been consummated. The discussion was not of long duration; both questions were decided in the affirmative. The king was highly pleased with his first victory. He could now, with a safe conscience, sleep in the same abode as Anne Boleyn. How were the clergy, who had violated the statute of *Præmunire*, to escape the punishment which they had unwillingly incurred? They were plainly told that money alone would pacify the offended sovereign. To obtain their pardon, therefore, they offered him £100,000, and left the convocation but to return again shortly; for, a thing unheard of, the king had actually refused the money, and would not accept it, unless they consented to introduce into the preamble of the Act of Donation, a clause recognising him as protector, and chief head of the Church and clergy of England.(d) The majority of the members of the convocation were priests corrupted by wealth, and fox-hunters, scarcely taking a thought regarding(e) the souls of their flock, and who possessed not even that golden wing, as the poet calls science, wherewith they might fly to God. One voice alone on that day protested against insolent and arrogant pretensions, and that was the new Bishop of Durham, who had just succeeded the "first bishop in petticoats," that had occupied one of the sees of England; for Anne Boleyn had, through the gallantry of her royal lover, received the revenues of the diocese of Durham for more than a twelvemonth.(f)

It was Tonstall, who, in 1523, had besought Erasmus by the Precious Blood that Jesus Christ had shed for the redemption of the world to defend the Papal authority attacked by Luther,(g) the correspondent of one of the most able Frenchmen of the day, (Budæus,) to whom he addressed letters that seemed to have been written with honey and sugar.(h) Tonstall arose to protest against this act on the part of Henry: "If the required clause means to assert that the king is the head of the temporalities, it is useless, for we who are here willingly acknowledge it to be the case; but if the monarch wishes to

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.
(b) Tytler.
(c) Carte.—Herbert.—Tytler.

(d) Lingard.
(e) Shakespere.
(f) Who thus became the *first female bishop* of the English church.—Howard.
(g) Erasm.—Epist. XXII., 22.
(h) Eras. Epis. II., 30.

become a Pope, it is contrary to the doctrine of the Church, and we warn him not to meddle with that which is holy."(a) Not one of the members of the convocation had the courage to applaud the bishop; but all, on the contrary, endeavoured by some miserable expedient or other to come to terms with their consciences. After a lengthened and tedious dispute, it was at last agreed on, in accordance with a proposition made by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, that the clergy should acknowledge the king as the first protector, the only and supreme lord of the Church and clergy of England, as far as was permitted by the law of Christ, *quantum per legem Christi liceat*,(b) a wretched parenthesis introduced by Warham, because it tended to invalidate the claim made by Henry, and would allow a few courageous souls to reject a supremacy opposed to the law of Christ.(c)

The king at first seemed offended at this restriction on the meaning of their oath. He sent for the royal commissioners, and thus addressed them: "By the holy Mother of God, you have played me a pretty trick. I thought to have made fools of our bishops; but they have made a complete fool of me. Return to the convocation, and tell them I wish to have nothing to do with either their *tantums* or their *quantums*; but all I require is implicit obedience."(d) The king was at length appeased, and allowed the *quantum* to pass, and with his own hand signed the letters of pardon, which the clergy received with every mark of unfeigned joy. The convocation in the north adopted the same formula, and thanks to a donation of £18,550, obtained the same grace.(e)

(a) Wilkins' Concilia.

(b) Strype.

(c) Lingard.

(d) Mother of God! You have play'd a pretty prank! I thought to have made fools of them; and now, you have so ordered the business, that they are likely to make a fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go unto them again, and let me have the business passed without any quantum or tantum. I will have no quantum, nor no tantum in the business, but let it be done. The Life and Death of the renowned John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, by Thos. Bailey, DD., London, 1740.

(e) Cujus singularem protectorem unicum et s premum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem liceat, etiam supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.—Wilkins' Concilia.—Concessio facta in synodo provinciali pe. clerum Cantuariensis provincie pro domino rege.—Ex rot., Claus. XXII., Henry VIII., in 19, An. et Rymer Fœdera, XIV., 413.

Henry was still undetermined how to act with regard to Rome; had Rome, alarmed at these steps, yielded, and granted the divorce, the qualifying clause would have been expunged.(f) The bill met with no opposition in the House of Lords; but the Commons at first refused their consent; not that the members who reserved their opinions believed that the rights of their consciences were attacked, but because, regarding themselves as culpable as the bishops, they wished to be protected by an act of amnesty from the royal anger. Informed by this opposition, Henry sent for their Speaker, Audley, and inquired why the Commons had dared to revolt against the clemency of their sovereign, as if he had not the power of pardoning when and whom he wished, as if he required authority from his subjects to show them mercy? Audley, who faithfully delivered the royal message to the House, was met with only melancholy faces. What could they do to pacify the king?

More, on the morrow, put an end to their sufferings, by informing them that his majesty, satisfied by their compunction, had granted them the same pardon as he had graciously vouchsafed to the clergy. On announcing to them on the 31st May, the prorogation of Parliament, he begged them to let it be generally known in the respective counties that Henry had recovered his peace of mind, as the most celebrated universities in the world had pronounced in favour of the divorce; and that his clergy had sanctioned the sentence of the national and foreign academies. Those colleges and monasteries which had not been included in the general amnesty were compelled to parley directly with Henry; more guilty than the others, inasmuch as they were wealthier, they were obliged, in order to purchase their pardon, to make more ample concessions. The Dominicans of London purchased their pardon, only unreservedly acknowledging

(f) Lingard.

Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church, and bestowing on him a portion of their wealth. Warham (and we are delighted to record the fact) instantly protested, in the name of the Church, against this behaviour of the Dominicans, and thus expiated his former act of weakness, the only one committed by him during an episcopate of thirty years (a)

It was generally believed at court that Katharine, abandoned by the Parliament and the clergy, would no longer offer any opposition to the wishes of the king, and accordingly commissioners were again sent to sound her. How impatiently did Anne Boleyn await their return from Richmond! They came back: Katharine had heard them in silence. She had thus replied to the four spiritual and the four temporal peers:—"May God vouchsafe to my husband rest of soul; but tell him that I am his lawful wife, and that the Church which united me to him can alone dissolve our marriage; let her speak and I shall submit."(b) Henry, no longer master of himself, determined to expel her the court, and on 13th July, 1531, she bade adieu to Windsor for ever."(c) But is the reader aware that a report was put into circulation, that the queen had conspired against her husband, and that his life was in danger were he to continue cohabiting with her?(d)

Henry now began to act openly. He slept in the same palace as his mistress. Anne was treated with royal respect by all the courtiers. Katharine had left Windsor alone, Mary having been taken from her by force. She wrote from Ampthill to her daughter's governess, Lady Salisbury:—"My good lady, I recommend to your care my beloved child; tell her that adversity is the road to heaven."(e) Mary was shortly after her mother's removal taken seriously ill. On hearing this, Katharine, ill at ease on account of her child's illness, wrote thus to Cromwell: "I should much wish once more to embrace Mary, as I am convinced that the sight of her mother would restore her to health; ask Henry, if he still loves me, to vouchsafe me this favour." This petition of a mother to see her sick child was refused.(f) We shall not be able to understand her feelings unless we perceive in her the Christian submitting without a murmur to the dispensations of Divine Providence, and seeking for refuge in prayer, waiting, with angelic patience, for a termination to her misfortunes. As mother and queen, she possessed certain rights which heaven ordered her to defend, and she did so with admirable consistency. After God, she appealed to the Pope and Charles, her two protectors.

Notwithstanding the numerous body of spies with which she was surrounded by the king's orders, she found means of writing to the Pope and to the emperor, and had an angel to forward her complaints to Rome or to Madrid; this angel was her confessor, Abel; Lady Salisbury, the governess of the Princess Mary; Dr. Featherstone, the princess's Latin teacher;(g) and an old Spanish priest, named Allequa, whom she was allowed to keep as her almoner.(h)

Katharine wept herself, and her history made others weep also. If his Holiness was affected by the violent treatment she had received, his heart was nearly broken at the perusal of a letter written in December, 1531. How could he resist the prayers of one whose virtues were as much the subject of admiration, as she was compassionated for her misfortunes. The same word ever and anon occurred in Katharine's letter—"JUSTICE." Justice, for the daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, who had given her hand to the Prince of Wales, in virtue of a dispensation obtained from Rome. Justice, for the wife who had lived twenty years under the same roof as her royal husband; justice, for the mother whose child was threatened with the loss of her claim to the crown; justice, for a queen who had not one fault to expiate.

(a) Wilkins' Concilia.
(b) Hall.—Herbert.—Tytler.
(c) Turner.
(d) 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.—MSS. Vitell, B. XII., 64.
(e) Hearne.—Agnes Strickland, IV., 127.
(f) Hearne.—Agnes Strickland.
(g) Agnes Strickland, IV., 133.
(h) Agnes Strickland, IV., 135.

Clement VII., in order to bring such unparalleled misfortunes to an end, resolved to write to Henry, rather as a father than as Head of the Catholic Church. His brief is a perfect model of evangelical firmness and mildness. He refers, in chaste and studied language, to the rare virtues displayed by a woman allied to the first sovereign in Europe, who, after having spent twenty years at the English court, had been ignominiously expelled as the vilest of creatures, and compelled to yield her throne and bed to a rival who had robbed her of her husband's love and affection.(a) It was essentially necessary that this melancholy scandal, so grievous to both heaven and earth, should cease, and that at once. "I speak to you as a father, listen then to my affectionate and paternal voice: Your rank, your name, the services which you have rendered to the Holy See, call on me, as an act of duty, to deal charitably with you. It is not the Catholic alone who is scandalized, but the heretic also rejoices in seeing you ignominiously expel from your court a queen, the daughter of a king, the aunt of an empress, your wife for upwards of twenty years, while you are publicly living in defiance of our prohibition with another woman. Had one of your subjects behaved thus, you would have punished him severely. My son, set not such a bad example to your people, especially now when heresy is troubling the Church. . . . Remember that the examples of kings, and especially of great kings, serve as a rule of conduct to their subjects. . . . In the name of that love which we have ever borne towards you, listen to our voice, if you desire still to merit our love; in the name of our paternal affection for a well-beloved son, we address you; it will redound to your honour, if you recall Katharine and restore her to her rights and to your affection."(b)

At the time that this brief was addressed to the king, (in December, 1532,) more than a year had elapsed since an act of Parliament had conferred the title of Supreme Head of the Church on Henry; an act attacking the rights of the Church, a monstrous usurpation of power, which Clement VII. might have condemned, but of which he makes no mention in his letter to the sovereign. He does not even refer to another measure adopted by England against Rome; Richmond could also fulminate its thunders against the Papal See.

The Annates were the duty which the Pope received from all the large consistorial benefices, as a compensation for the Bull which conferred the possession; this compensation was generally equivalent to a year's revenue. From this treasury, which could never be empty, the Pope had been enabled to defeat the great crusade levied by the Turks against Christianity and civilization. The fortifications of Rhodes had been partially made by the aid of this tax. In the Middle Ages, the Annates assisted the Papacy in founding colleges and building hospitals, preserving or purchasing valuable MSS., restoring the ruins of paganism, rewarding and occasionally supporting literary men and artists. The apartments of the Vatican, the burning of Borgo, the School of Athens, the Virgin of Donatario, the cupola of St. Peter, had been erected by the money collected by the Annates. Without the Annates and all those subsidies levied by Christian charity, civilization would have been arrested in its progress, and the world would have been still plunged in barbaric darkness, for whatever and however great the power of the Papacy, still it could not, like God, say: "Let there be light." The Papacy had need of books and men to resuscitate and extend its influence; but books must be bought and men must be recompensed. The dedication of a literary work to the Pope was a Bill of Exchange, drawn by a writer in want, and which His Holiness could not allow to be protested.

The Parliament had been convoked at the commencement of 1532. The Annates were then severely attacked. A bill for its abolition, under the pretext that it was burdensome to the nation and illegal, was passed. "It is true," says the preamble of the statute, "that this tax was established to repel the invasion of the barbarians; but how often has it been diverted from its original use!" The clergy were prohibited in future to pay the Annates under pain

(a) See Appendix.
(b) See Appendix.

of resigning the revenues arising from their benefices to the crown, and of forfeiting their own property. As Rome might refuse to forward the requisite bulls, the Parliament enacted that bishops, deprived of canonical institution, should be consecrated by an archbishop and two bishops, and that if Rome placed the king under the ban of interdiction or excommunication, or any one of his subjects, the excommunication and interdiction were both commanded to be regarded as null and void. The bill passed the Lower House after it had gone through the Upper, and received the royal sanction in 1533.(a)

Cromwell, however, meditated another blow against Rome. His plan was to deliver England entirely from Papal authority, and to make the king thoroughly independent of the Holy See, as were the Dukes of Saxony, who had revolted against the Pontifical authority. He complained, therefore, to the Commons, of the continual encroachments of the clergy, who, under pain of spiritual censure, had interfered in temporal matters.

The address was sent by Henry to the convocation on the 10th of May, 1532, accompanied by a summons to the clergy, forbidding them to publish any synodal constitution without the sanction of regal authority. They were farther ordered to submit all those that were then in existence to an examination of a committee of thirty-two members, half lay, half ecclesiastic, selected by the king. This committee were to determine what rules should be abolished, and what preserved.(b)

Gardiner quoted Henry's language, when twelve years before he showed in the "*Assertio septem Sacramentorum*," that the pastor had received from Christ authority to establish laws necessary for the government of his flock in matters of discipline and faith.(c) Gardiner was not attended to. The priest was farther forbidden, by a royal proclamation addressed to the nation at large, to correspond with Rome in the obtaining of those bulls, briefs, or decisions of which he might stand in need under pain of imprisonment according to the king's pleasure.(d) As if he feared that His Holiness would not be informed soon enough of these iniquitous attempts against the authority of the Church, Henry lost no time in showing him what was his personal opinion of the man who then occupied the chair of St. Peter. One might have said with truth, that the "Defender of the Faith" had been inspired to like ideas with Luther. In his opinion both were in fault;—the Pope, for following the pernicious counsels of his advisers, and the king, for believing in the Pontiff's sincerity. All Clement's briefs were as replete with bad faith as with ignorance. The Pope had only been guided by worldly motives, while the King of England had always taken his conscience as his guide. Had not the king consulted the most learned theologians in Europe, and were they not unanimous in the condemnation of his marriage as prohibited by the Divine Law? Wisdom had no longer her throne at the Vatican. Had not Clement himself often acknowledged his insufficiency in theology? To pay obedience then any longer to the Papal briefs would be to scandalise the world. After having placed a limit to the insolent authority of Rome, Henry desired to stop, being unwilling to go to further extremities, unless the Pope refused to regulate his conduct by the unanimous testimony of the most learned theologians of the day.(e) Is not this the style adopted by the apostate monk of

(a) Burnet.—Statutes of the Realm.
(b) Wilkins' Concilia.
(c) Lingard.

(d) The king's proclamation that nothing shall be hereafter purchased from Rome.—Fox. The king's highness straitly chargeth and commandeth that no manner of person, what state, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome, or elsewhere, nor use and put in execution, divulge, or publish any thing heretofore within this year passed, purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royall of this his said realm, or to the let hinderance, or impeachment of his grace's noble, and virtuous intended purposes in the premisses, upon pain of incurring his highness' indignation, and imprisonment, and further punishment of their bodies, for their so doing, at his grace's pleasure, to the dreadful examples of all others.—Wilkins.

(e) Burnet.

Wittemberg, save his picturesque and expressive language, imbibed with the sickling beer of Eimbeck?

Clement VII. replied to the manifesto of Henry VIII., and Leo X. again seemed to be alive. "Do you not remember, dear son in Jesus Christ, about four years ago, requesting the aid of one of our legates, who, in concert with an English legate, was to examine into the validity of your marriage with our well-beloved daughter in Jesus Christ, Katharine, a marriage, too, celebrated twenty years back. We acceded to your petition, though it seemed to us rather unjust that such a case should be tried in your state? It remained undecided until the queen's appeal compelled us to call the matter before ourselves;—not to the states of her nephew, nor in any other country, where the queen might meet with partial judges, but to Rome, the country of the Christian world, to our tribunal of the Rota, and afterwards before us and our brethren of the Sacred College. You should have waited the issue of this appeal; and yet we are informed by the queen, and by the receipt of numerous letters, that notwithstanding our prohibition you have sent away Katharine to cohabit with one Anne. . . . Careful of the house of God, our own duty, and the salvation of your soul, we beseech you, without in any way infringing on your rights, to recall Katharine, to re-establish her in her dignity as queen, to cohabit with her, and to cease living with Anne, and this in the space of one month, under pain of excommunication. . . . And for fear that you should think of contracting a marriage with Anne, we now beforehand pronounce such a marriage to be null and void."(a) But Henry had resolved to brave the menaces of the Sovereign Pontiff. If he had not bestowed the title of Queen on his mistress, it was owing to the non-existence of any visible sign, whereby happier than with Katharine he might hope for an heir to the throne;(b) for it is an undoubted fact, that they had the same apartment, the same table, and the same bed.(c) It was impossible for

(a) The brief is dated 23rd December, 1532. It is certain that at that period it was believed at Rome that Anne was Henry's daughter. De Rossi mentions the report. He says, speaking of Cranmer, "Who exercised the office of private chaplain in the household of Thomas Boleyn, *reputed father of Anne*."

(b) Henry's wish for an heir was one of the principal motives alleged in favour of his divorcing Katharine.—De Rossi.

(c) Cranmer wrote from Durham House in 1530:—"The King and Lady Anne arrived yesterday from Windsor. They stopped that night at Hampton Court."—Strype. Sir Harris Nicholas has published the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII." Miss Agnes Strickland is of opinion that she has discovered in those details a sufficient proof of intimacy between the royal lover of his mistress. "The entries connected with Anne Boleyn, in Henry's privy purse accounts, are curious; and, in some measure, tend to elucidate the peculiar terms on which they stood.——22nd November, 1529, paid Cecilia for 1¼ yard of purple velvet for Mrs. Anne, 15s. 8d.; on the same day to Walter Walsh, for different stuffs, £216. 8s. 6d.; on the 31st December, to Anne, by the king's order, £110.; 16th May, 1530, paid up the tailor and furrier of Mrs. Anne; May, 29th, for bows, arrows, and hunting gloves, £1. 3s. 4d.; 5th June, 6s. 8d., for the Lor. Mayor of London's servant, for cherries for Lady Anne; on the 8th September, £10. to the woman who keeps the shop at the sign of the Dove, for linen furnished to Lady Anne; on the 25th Sept., £10., for a cow, which Urian, Lady Anne's greyhound, had killed; on the 25th Dec., £5. to Lady Anne; on the 30th Dec., £100., for the new year; £4. to the currier; 1531, for articles of the toilette furnished by John Taylor and George Scott, £18. 6s. 4d.; £34. to John Scott, on account; £40. to Rasius, for a gold ornament for Lady Anne's desk; on the 22nd May, 1532, £12.; 7s. 6d. to Lady Anne's butler, which he had gained at bowls; item, (May, 1531,) £4. 15s., and other sums lost by Lady Anne at play; to the sailors, who took her, on the 29th of May, from Greenwich to Durham House, 16s.

	£	s.	d.
Item, to John Malto, for twelve yards of black satin, for a mantle destined for Lady Anne, at 8s. per yard..	4	16	0
For the pattern of the aforesaid mantle	0	5	0
A yard of black velvet, for border..	0	13	4
3¾ yards of black velvet, for the neck and sleeves	1	16	0
2 yards of white satin, for lining for the sleeves	0	16	0
4 yards of Bruges satin, for lining for the mantle	1	5	8
2 yards of buckram, for lining for the sleeves.....	0	2	0
	£9	14	0

This £9. 14s. is equal to about £80 of the present currency. One of the evening dresses, lined with black taffeta, in black

More, whose candour equalled his piety, to remain any longer a member of the Privy Council. Deceived for a moment by appearances, he could no longer be deluded. As in Germany, so also in England, the wealth of the clergy excited the avarice of the nobility. At London, as at Wittemberg, they began by undermining their spiritual influence to divest them of their wealth afterwards. The treasures of the churches were coveted by the sovereign, who was in want of money to keep up the splendour of his crown, and to satisfy the extravagance of his mistress. The Parliament, urged on by the king, daily made fresh inroads on the ecclesiastical privileges; and, at last, over their ruins, arrived at the gold vessels which sparkled and adorned the Catholic temples.(a)

On studying the history of the Reformation in Saxony, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and England, the student must be struck by that fatal identity of means used by the spirit of ends in perfecting its work; it every where commenced by calumniating the priest to rob him afterwards; to run down his Breviary and then deprive him of his cassock. More, with his prophetic spirit, had foreseen all; he had long before foretold, by signs which have never yet deceived men of gigantic intellect, that the Reformation, passing through licentiousness, would end in despotism. He would not, by his presence at the Privy Council, consecrate the immolation of the liberties of the Church, and Chelsea was the harbour where he took refuge against the storm.

A few days before he resigned the seals he had the honour of being visited by the king, who came to converse with his chancellor on business. They were walking in the garden for nearly an hour, Henry leaning on the arm of his minister. As soon as Henry had left Chelsea, Roper joined More, and said: "How happy ought you to be, my dear father; his majesty never treated Wolsey so familiarly." "Do not rejoice, son," replied Sir Thomas More, "for if my head could win him a castle in France it would not fail to go."(b) On the 16th May, 1532, More resigned the seals to his majesty at York Place, (near Westminster Hall,) which were given on the 26th to Sir Thomas Audley, Speaker of the House of Commons.(c) It was Sunday, and none at Chelsea were yet acquainted with the circumstance of the resignation. Lady More and her family had taken their place at church. More was, as usual, in the choir, vested as a chorister. Lady Alice in her *pue* lined with velvet, surrounded by her children and attendants. One of the attendants was accustomed, at the termination of the office, to whisper to Lady More: "My lord is gone;" thus intimating that she might also leave. More, on that day, took on himself the office. "Madam," said he to his wife, bending low his head, "my lord is gone."(d) Alice, by the chuckling of the servants, and absence of the usual attendant, comprehended the mystery, and, bewildered by this unexpected event, exclaimed, "What do you propose doing, Mr. More? Do you think that one can roast a goose with the ashes? Far better is it to be obeyed than to obey."(e) Alice, ill able to conceal her temper, began finding fault with every thing, and scolding her daughters because every thing was in disorder. "But, mother," was their reply, "we have only done as we always used to do." "Your mother is right," said More, "don't you perceive that her nose is out of

satin, cost £10. 15s. 8d. Anne, in 1532, had lost that bloom which had charmed the courtiers in 1528. Carlo Capello, the Venetian ambassador at London, thus describes her: "Ill made, a long neck, a large mouth, but lively eyes;" and adds: "It is generally believed that she has been confined of a still-born child." —Agnes Strickland, IV., 208.

(a) De Rossi seems to have been perfectly *au courant* with the important events that occurred in Europe: "In consequence of these unheard-of novelties, the wisest and most religious of the nobility and gentry, foreseeing the ruin which is preparing to fall upon this unhappy kingdom, have retired from the court, and from the magistracies which they exercised, amongst whom is Sir Thomas More, the glory and honour of this great island."—Memorie, p. III., 69.

(b) For if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go.—Roper.

(c) Rymer, Fœdera.

(d) My lord is gone.

(e) Was wollt ihr nun thun? Wollt ihr euch hinsetzen und gänschen in der Asche braten? Ist's nicht besser zu regieren, als regiert zu werden?—Rudhart

joint?"(a) Then assembling his wife and family, he asked them what they purposed doing; every one was silent. "Well, then, I shall tell you what I shall do. I was at first educated at Oxford, where I had but ill cheer; afterwards at New Inn, where I was a little better off, and lastly at Lincoln's, where, thanks to my industry, my family was well provided for. I afterwards went to court, and, step by step, reached the highest point of the ladder. I have now no more than £100 per annum. We can still live together, but we must prepare for some privation. Yet I do not expect that we shall be obliged to go back to the lowest step of the ladder, Oxford, to bad fare, nor even to New Inn, but only to Lincoln's Inn. If, after a year, we find the expenses too great at Lincoln's Inn, we can return to New Inn, and if that be too extravagant, well then we must take up our sack and wallet and beg together like poor scholars. We shall sing the *Salve Regina*, from door to door, and no doubt we shall find some good soul who will bestow alms on us. Better, a thousand times better, is this kind of life than the being separated for ever."(b)

(a) Rudhart.

(b) Roper.—Revue Indépendante.—Rudhart.

CHAPTER XXV.

MARRIAGE OF ANNE BOLEYN.—1532-1533.

Plan for an interview between Henry and Francis.—Anne Boleyn desires to be present thereat.—Created Marchioness of Pembroke.—Interview between the two Sovereigns.—Before separating Henry pledges himself to abstain from every act of hostility towards Rome.—Anne becomes *enceinte*.—A secret Marriage.—Incidents.—The Divorce proceeded with.—Cranmer nominated Archbishop of Canterbury.—He solicits and obtains the Bulls.—Curious phases in Cranmer's Life.—His oaths and perjury at the time of his consecration.

The resignation of Sir Thomas More was regarded at Rome as importing a melancholy futurity for the English Church. The repeated attacks on the liberty of the clergy fully explained the chancellor's act, and deeply grieved the heart of the Holy Father. The learned, at the Pontifical court, felt assured from these portentous signs that Henry's passion would precipitate his kingdom into the sin of schism.(a)

Never had Charles V. been so powerful; master of Italy since the capture of Rome; in quiet in his own possessions after the suppression of the Aragon insurrection; in peace with France, which he had overcome at Pavia, he held the Reformers of Germany in awe. The Lutheran princes had assembled at Smalkald to oppose the projects of the emperor, and to preserve the creed of Luther as well as the wealth which they had amassed from the spoliation of the convents. To defeat the plans of the adversary of their new faith, and to defend the fruit of their sacrilegious robberies, they craved the aid of Francis, who immediately made Henry acquainted with the existence of the league, and that prince dispatched Gardiner to urge on the conclusion of a treaty which would unite all the Reformed States under one banner,(b) and at the same time sent 5000 crowns to the confederates of Smalkald, to aid them in holding out, by serious preparations of defence, against their powerful enemy.(c)

Luther was the soul of the league: it was a true revolt of vassals against their sovereign lord! Who could ever have foreseen that the author of the *Assertio*, would have joined the ecclesiastic of Wit-

(a) De Rossi, Memorie.

(b) Du Bellay, Memoires.
(c) Du Bellay, Memoires.

temberg in waging war against the German Catholics.(a) Henry requested through his ambassadors an interview with Francis. It was not now, as in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, to break a lance with a prince of his own age, for Henry could scarcely sit on horseback, and imprisonment had made the hair of his chivalric rival perfectly hoary.

Henry, while precipitating England into a state of schism to spite the Pope, had hoped to urge France into the same step. Anne was unwilling to remain at Greenwich while her lover was in France: her caprice must be indulged. Du Bellay served as her interpreter, who had given him, as he had the indiscretion to reveal, a present of a complete hunter's dress. Alone with Anne, "with the bow flung across his shoulder he waited for the deer to pass by." Seated at the table of the amorous monarch, "he had good cheer, and had often the honour of being with the king the whole of the day." The reader will not be astonished at being told that this mitred hunter was one of the warmest partisans of the divorce.(b) It was probably at one of these hunting parties that Anne expressed a wish to the ambassadors to be present at the interview. Du Bellay could not resist the entreaties of the favourite, and accordingly wrote thus to De Montmorency, "I am informed by the best authority that the greatest pleasure the king could show his brother and Madam Anne would be for his majesty to write to me to request the king to bring the afore-mentioned Lady Anne with him to Calais, so that they might not be together without the company of ladies. I cannot give you my authority, as I have sworn not to reveal it."(c)

Before embarking for France, Anne was created Marchioness of Pembroke, a title formerly borne by one of the king's uncles (Jasper Tudor.) She received the letters-patent, conferring on her the dignity of Peeress of the realm at Windsor Castle. She entered the reception-room, preceded by a herald-at-arms, having at her side Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, and Dorothea, Countess of Sussex, and followed by her witnesses, the Earl of Wiltshire, Gardiner, Secretary of State, and the Duke of Norfolk. Behind the herald-at-arms walked the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, carrying on her left arm the velvet robe lined with ermine, and in her hand the gold coronet destined for the favourite. On approaching the king, Anne made three curtsies, then knelt down, and received the insignia of her Marquisate.(d) The royal letters-patent, assuring his mistress £1,000 per annum, were then read aloud. Henry, on this occasion, presented her with various miniatures painted by Holbein, and mounted by the first goldsmiths in London,(e) and objects for the toilette worth more than £1,000. Her household was composed, at her royal lover's command, of three chamberlains and four maids of honour (taken from the first families of the country,) three gentlemen of the bedchamber, and thirty servants.(f)

On the 14th of October, 1532, the king and the Marchioness of Pembroke landed at Calais with a numerous suite of ladies and gentlemen, and the interview between the two mouarchs took place at Boulogne-sur-Mer, on the 21st. Francis was unaccompanied by his wife, sister, or any other lady, an insult which Henry's mistress felt deeply.(g) The prayers of Du Bellay had had no effect. The chevalier king gave a convincing proof of his tact on this occasion. They remained but a few days at Boulogne, so eager was Anne to return to Calais. Magnificent and sumptuous festivals were given at that town. One evening, after supper, twelve young women masked came into the ballroom, and

(a) Sleidan, History of the Reformation.
(b) MSS. Béthune, Bib. du roi, v. 8528.—Le Grand
(c) MSS. Béthune.—Le Grand.

(d) Mill's Catalogue of Honour.
(e) Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII., by Sir Harris Nicholas.
(f) A list of the various articles given to Anne Boleyn is to be seen in the Chapter House at Westminster.
(g) A mortifying circumstance to Anne Boleyn, since nothing could afford a more decided proof of the questionable light in which she was regarded at this time by her old friends at the Court of France.—Agnes Strickland, IV., 214.

selected each a partner, (they were the most beautiful of the English ladies at Calais.) After the dance Henry ordered them to unmask, and the Marchioness of Pembroke, all radiant with beauty, was discovered beside Francis, as his partner. On the morrow she received, on awaking, a jewel of the value of 15,000 crowns, which her royal partner had sent her.(a) Time was found amidst all these festivities to speak on business of importance. The two monarchs agreed to levy an army of 80,000 men to oppose the progress of the Turks in Europe, or, to speak more plainly, to be a source of inquietude to the emperor; they also spoke of the real or imaginary insults which they had each received from the Sovereign Pontiff; both determined to be revenged. Francis, by placing barriers in his states to the pretensions of the Holy See; Henry, by breaking off from the yoke of the Holy See; but the anger of the one was more studied than sincere, while the resentment of the other was more sincere than apparent. Henry proposed to appeal to a general council which would check the exactions of the Papacy.(b) Francis preferred a personal interview with the Holy Father as the best means of terminating the dispute.

After a long discussion, Henry was compelled to yield to the opinion of his noble ally; and it was accordingly arranged that the King of England should either be present himself or be represented by one of the aristocracy at the interview which should take place at Marseilles, in case Clement accepted the invitation of the King of France; that Francis I. should send the Cardinal de Tournon to Rome to regulate the preliminaries of the meeting; and lastly, that the French cabinet should protest by letter against the insult which the Pope had offered to the sovereigns of Christendom, by citing Henry to appear personally at the Vatican as an ordinary culprit. Clement had, by a summons affixed to the walls of the churches in Flanders and Italy, ordered Henry to defend himself at Rome.(c) Henry pledged his word to Francis, on leaving Calais, that he would abstain, until after the conference, from any act of hostility towards the Holy See.(d)

Let us here remark, that Francis was actuated rather by a feeling of jealousy towards Charles than friendship for Henry, in showing himself favourable to the divorce. When at Boulogne, he was still thinking of reconquering Italy. It was his day-dream, the cheering vision that bade him live. The conquered of Pavia lived in hopes of again being the hero of a second Marignano. Who could tell? Heaven might vouchsafe him an opportunity of vindicating the arms of France. Katharine de Medici would bring to his second son, to whom she was betrothed, as her dowry, her right to the Duchy of Urbino and the cities of Piacenza and Parma; but the emperor kept a vigilant watch at the foot of the Alps to obstruct Francis. It is plain that the monarch was occupied with warlike thoughts. Hence his sympathising with Henry, and his endeavours to uphold a disgraceful divorce, openly as well as in secret, by means of his own personal influence as well as by his ambassadors. But so far from favouring a rupture between the courts of Rome and London, he rather desired that an amicable arrangement should be entered into. His projected plan of an interview had no other object than that. If he had reason to complain of Clement's partiality, still his jealousy would never have led him to the extreme to which Henry was carried by his passions.

A few weeks after the interview at Boulogne, the courtiers remarked such a change in the appearance of Anne as to prove that she had violated the oath she had taken, when Henry first endeavoured to seduce her, and that Henry had not kept his pledge with Francis of not giving the Pope any further subject of discontent. Anne was *enceinte;* and it was, of course, a matter of the greatest importance that the legitimacy of the child should not be even disputed.

On the 25th January, 1533,(e) the king

(a) Le Grand.—Hall.
(b) Martin du Bellay, Mem.
(c) Lingard.—Le Grand.
(d) Lingard.
(e) The date of the celebration of the marriage, an important point in history, has long been a subject of controversy. Hall and Hol-

summoned his confessor, Roland Lee, before dawn, to Whitehall, to a chamber in the Western Tower, where every thing was prepared for the nuptial ceremony;—the altar and the sacerdotal vestments, Henry and his mistress, the witnesses, Norris and Heneage, two footmen, and Anne Savage, trainbearer to Anne Boleyn. On the previous evening, Henry had informed Lee that the Pope had at last allowed him to divorce Katharine, and to marry again, provided it was done privately and without giving scandal. The chaplain vested himself, but felt somewhat scrupulous as he was to commence Mass. "Sire," said he to the king, "show me your bull. It must be read publicly, otherwise we shall all incur the pain of excommunication. I am already under an interdict, should I, as I am about to do, marry you without your bans having been published, without the divorce having been read, and in an unconsecrated place." The king replied with a smile, "What! do you, my spiritual director, you whom I see daily, suspect your royal master! But do you really think me so indifferent to my spiritual interest as to lay myself open to dangers, the consequence of which none know better than myself? The bull is in my cabinet, where none can go during my absence. What occasion have you now to hesitate, when I assure you that it is there? But at this hour, at daybreak, to leave this room to go for it, would be an act of madness, as I should thereby be exposing myself to the remarks of my courtiers. Put your confidence in me, you have my word."(a) This marriage, which Viscount Rochford, (brother to Anne Boleyn,) communicated to Francis, defeated the plan that that good sovereign had formed of a reconciliation between his good brother and the Pope. Francis did not disguise his displeasure, but Henry apologised, alleging his scruples of conscience as a reason. "If Clement," argued Henry, "pronounced in favour of the divorce, what mattered the marriage? If he persisted in disobeying the precept contained in the Book of Leviticus, then what good was all this discretion?" The king had decided to separate from the authority of the Bishop of Rome.

The monarch, as the reader will perceive, uses the distinction of the schools. Clement would be Pope or Bishop, as he showed himself obliging or obstinate. Unhappily for Henry, the interview at Marseilles was unavoidably postponed for awhile, and the situation of Lady Anne daily becoming more and more apparent, it became necessary that the important secret should be made known. Henry therefore ordered that all the honours due to his queen should be paid to her; but it was highly important to conceal another secret, the period of her conception. The marriage was said to have taken place at the time that the two monarchs separated at Calais, (14th November,) and thus saved the honour of both the mother and the child.

It now became necessary, notwithstanding the prohibition of Rome, to proceed with the divorce. Henry would have found in his kingdom more than one priest prepared to execute his wishes. His former confessor, now Bishop of Lincoln; Sampson, who aspired to the see of Chichester; Lee, who daily expected his nomination to the see of Lichfield; perhaps Stephen Gardiner, who, as yet, had no mitre. But Longland was a doctor, without learning; Sampson, an intriguer; Lee, a fool; Stephen Gardiner, a man, compromised at Rome.

linshed placed it on 14th November, Festival of St. Erkenwald, the day on which Henry and Anne left Calais. If the marriage was celebrated on the 14th of November, Elizabeth, born in September, 1533, was not a natural child, say the Anglican historians, since the marriage was celebrated before the child's conception. But the majority of historians are of opinion that the nuptial benediction was given 25th January, 1533, so that Elizabeth could not have been conceived in wedlock. This date is adopted by Mrs. Thomson, Miss Agnes Strickland, Stowe, Godwin, Lingard, and is perfectly correct. For what testimony can be more conclusive in such a question as this, than that of Cranmer? —"But nowe, sir, you may nott ymagyn that this coronacion was before her mariege, for she was maried muche about Sainte-Paules daye last, as the condicion thereof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe sumwhat bygg with chylde."—Ellis, 2nd series, II., p. 34-39.

(a) Sanders, from an original MS. — Le Grand.

Henry determined on employing a priest who had taken no prominent part in any of the different phases through which the divorce case had passed, and whom he could elevate to the first sacerdotal dignity in England as a reward for his docility. He accordingly determined to bestow the Archbishopric of Canterbury on Cranmer, who at first rejected the proffered dignity, but not through any fear of taking on himself a situation so awfully responsible, for Cranmer could not boast, amongst the few virtues with which he was gifted, of either modesty or humility. The husband of Osiander's niece did not dare to accept the Archiepiscopal see of Canterbury; for in the eyes of Henry every married priest deserved either the wheel or the halter.(a)

Cranmer, after his marriage at Nuremberg, had prudently left his bride in Germany, in the hope of brighter days dawning in England, when Popery being uprooted from her island home, he might openly acknowledge his marriage, and as Luther, whose creed he had adopted respecting continence, might walk in the streets of Canterbury arm-in-arm with his wife.(b) Warham had died without gaining the crown of martyrdom which he had merited by his constant and persevering opposition to the attacks on the Church, and which he would have certainly obtained had he but lived a few years longer. He would doubtless have been one of that holy phalanx of confessors whom we shall soon see going to execution singing songs and hymns of thanksgiving.

Cromwell had repeatedly urged him to be silent; but the prelate was indefatigable to protest by word as well as by deed, against the anti-Catholic tendency of the Parliament. To those who urged that the Government would not dare touch Warham, Cromwell replied that he would be hanged in a gallows twice as high as that commonly used, out of respect to his title as Archbishop.(c) Tormented by the prayers of Henry and his friends, and seduced by the hope that the king's divorce would lead to the fall of Catholicism in England, Cranmer determined to become Warham's successor. Henry felt great confidence in the docility of the former frequenter of the Dolphin and the husband of Jacqueline. Was this confidence an insult or an act of justice to the new archbishop? Cranmer was accordingly, to the surprise and sorrow of a great number of Catholics, nominated to the see of Canterbury.(d) They remembered the bill passed by the Parliament in 1531, a bill prohibiting the solicitation of all bulls from the Court of Rome. The king, however, requested them of Clement for the new prelate, which was immediately granted. There were eleven in all taxed at 900 ducats, which Cranmer paid from the revenues of his see, which, by the prince's order, he was to receive from the 9th of September of the preceding year.(e)

We have now arrived at one of the most curious phases in the life of Cranmer;—the history of his oaths and perjuries. At first, ere he could take possession of his see, he took an oath of allegiance to the king as Archbishop elect. He then swore to renounce all and every clause, sentence, and injunction, contained in the divers bulls of the Pope, acknowledging that he only held his episcopal see during his majesty's good pleasure, to whom he promised on the gospel, and by God's help

(a) See Henry's letter to Luther, and the "*Assertio septem Sacramentorum.*"

(b) Mr. Todd thus explains the resistance of Cranmer to his appointment:—"There can be little doubt that he foresaw the difficulties and the danger that were likely, under a monarch so impetuous, and yet so superstitious as Henry, to surround the lofty station proposed to him. This, of itself, would lead him to decline the proposal. His recent marriage might strengthen this reluctance."

(c) Le Grand.

(d) M. Parker, De Antiq. Brit.

(e) By the first of these bulls, Cranmer was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury; by the second, elected Archbishop; by the third, absolved from every censure; the fourth is addressed to the suffragans; the fifth, to the dean and chapter; the sixth, to the clergy of Canterbury; the seventh, to the laity of the diocess; the eighth, to the tenants of all lands dependent on the see. These bulls are dated 21st February, 1533. By the ninth, (of the 22nd of the same month,) he was to be consecrated after *taking the oaths prescribed by the Pontifical*; by the tenth, he received the pallium; by the eleventh, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London were commanded to invest him with it.

obedience, and fidelity.(a) The ceremony of the consecration took place at St. Peter's Abbey, Westminster, on the 30th of March, 1533. Cranmer's consecrating bishops were those of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph.(b) Before his consecration, the archbishop elect was obliged by the formula of the Pontifical to swear obedience and allegiance to the Holy See, with his hand laid on the holy gospel, and calling on God and the saints to witness. He was also obliged to swear that he submissively received the traditions of the Fathers and the constitutions of the Holy See, to promise obedience to St. Peter in the person of his Vicar, the Pope, and his successors, according to canonical authority, and to preserve chastity.(c) Cranmer no longer believed in either the authority of the Fathers or the constitutions of the Apostolic See. In his eye, the Pope was no longer the Vicar of Christ, or the head of the Church; but, on the contrary, his Holiness was marked with the sign of the beast on his forehead, to use the very expression of the Reformer, whose niece he had married. The vows of chastity, which he had just renewed, were in his opinion a piece of sacerdotal mummery, since he had been recently married at Nuremburg. The words he pronounced at his consecration were taken from a book which he rejected, as filled with idolatrous ceremonies. The saints, whom he would invoke, were unable, according to his view, to hear him. His consecrating bishops belonged to that scarlet whore of Babylon, whom he had condemned while at supper with Osiander.

At the time of his consecration he received, as bishop, power to raise those whom he should deem worthy to the priesthood, to breathe on the foreheads of the neophytes, to confer on them the power by their benediction of changing the bread and wine into the body and blood of JESUS CHRIST, to offer the Holy Sacrifice, and to say Mass as well for the living as the dead.(d) Cranmer no longer regarded the Mass in the light of a sacrifice, nor did he believe in prayers for the dead, nor in Purgatory, nor even in the Real Presence. He had left all these superstitious nonsenses in his second wife's bed-chamber at Nuremberg; twice married he could not, according to the canons, have become a priest. What would he not do? Tear the Papal Bull, break his crozier, destroy his pallium, reject the Pontifical, and boldly proclaim his new faith? This would have been too courageous an act for Cranmer. Perjured before taking the oath, according to the expression of Cardinal Pole, he went, a few minutes before his consecration and by royal permission, into the chapel of St. Stephen, accompanied by four witnesses and a notary.(e) And in their presence he protested that, in the oath he was about to take, *pro formâ*, to the Pope, he did not engage to perform any action contrary to the law of God or of the state, nor to offer any opposition to such reforms as the king might deem expedient to make in the Church of England; disavowing every kind of oath that his proctors at Rome might have taken contrary to that which he had taken to the king his master.(f)

(a) I, Thomas Cranmer, renounce and utterly forsake all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have of the Pope's holiness in his bulls of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, that in any manner was, is, or may be hurtful, or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, estates, or dignity royal, knowing myself to take and hold the said archbishopric immediately and only of your highness and of none other. Most lowely beseeching the same for restitution of the temporalities of the said archbishopric: professing to be faithful, true, and obedient, subject to your said highness, your heirs and successors, during my life. So help me God and the holy evangelists.—MSS. Cleop. V.—Strype.

(b) Todd.

(c) Pontificale Romanum; in consecrat. Episcop.

(d) Bossuet, History of Variations.

(e) "Subscribed in presence of me, — Watkin's protnonotary royal, and a notary public, and of John Tregonwell, doctor of laws, Thomas Bedyll, clerk of the council, Richard Gwent, doctor of decretals, and principal official of the court of Canterbury, and John Cocks, doctor of laws.—Lambeth, MSS., No. 1136. This protestation, therefore, was not made before the consecrating prelates.

(f) Thomæ Cranmeri protestatio contra jurisdictionem papæ Romani.

In Dei nomine, amen. Coràm authenticâ personâ et testibus fide dignis, his præsentibus, ego Thomas in Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum electus, dico, allego, etein his scriptis palam et publicè et expressè protestor: quòd cùm juramentum sive juramenta, ab electis in Cant. archiep., summo pontifici præstari solita ma

Cranmer then returned to the church vested, and bending his steps towards the high altar, where the Bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph awaited him, turned towards his witnesses, declared to them that he persisted in the protest he had just made,(a) lifted up his hand, and took the oath prescribed by the Pontifical on the open gospel.(b) He promised not to divulge any secret that the Pope might confide to him either directly or indirectly; he promised to defend the Holy See and its rights; he promised to treat the Apostolic Legates with due honour, and to assist them as far as lay in his power; he promised, too, his homage to the Pope once every two years; he promised neither to sell, alienate, or pledge his episcopal possessions without the sanction of the Sovereign Pontiff.(c) The ceremony of the anointing commenced. As soon as he had been consecrated, Cranmer again reminded his witnesses of the protest;(d) took the oath of allegiance, for the second time, to the Pontiff, and received the pallium from the Papal delegates.(e) Three oaths and three separate acts of perjury in three hours! Cranmer, on taking off his mitre, must have been delighted with his day's work, if it be true, as a modern historian suggests,(f) that these oaths and acts of perjury were only a proof of the candour and loyalty of the Archbishop.

antè consecrationem, aut temporè ejusdem pro formâ potiùs quàm pro esse, aut re obligatoriâ ad illam obtinendam oporteat; non est nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis, per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualitercumque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur, me obligare ad aliquod ratione eorumdem po-thàc dicendum, faciendum aut attemptan tum quod est aut esse videbitur contrà legem Dei, vel contrà illustrissimum regem nostrum Angliæ aut rempublicam hujus sui regni, Angliæ leges aut prærogativas ejusdem; et quod non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum aut juramenta quovis modo me obligare quominùs liberè loqui consulere et consentire valeam in omnibus et singulis reformationem religionis christianæ, gubernationem Angliæ aut prærogativas coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæve commoditatem quoquo modo concernentibus, et ea ubique et secundùm hanc interpretationem et intellectum hunc et non aliter alio modo dicta juramenta me præstiturum protestor et profiteor. Protestorque insuper, quodcumque juramentum sit quod meus procurator summo pontifici, meo nomine antehàc præstiterit, quòd non erat intentionis aut voluntatis meæ sibi aliquam dare potestatem cujus vigore et quòd juramentum meo nomine præstare aut imposterùm præstando præfato illustrissimo Angliæ regi. Et casu quòd aliquid tale contrarium aut repugnans juramentum meo nomine præstiterit, protestor quòd illud, me inscio et absque meâ auctoritate præstitum, pro nullo et invalido esse volo.—Strype.

(a) Manibus suis tenens, ante lecturam ejusdem scedule et juramenti in eodem contenti prestacionem, in meâ et eorumdem testium presentiâ asseruit et protestatus est se dictam cedulam lecturam ac juramentum inibi insertum præstiturum sub premissis protestacionibus aliàs per eumdem eo die in dicto domo capitulari in meâ et eorumdem testium presentiâ habitis et factis et non aliter neque alio modo.—Lambeth, MSS., No. 1136. —The above is the deposition of the notary Watkins, taken at Cranmer's trial in 1555.

(b) Lambeth MSS., No. 1136.

(c) Ego Thomas, electus Cantuariensis ab hàc horâ, ut anteà fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro, Sanctæ apostolicæ romanæ Ecclesiæ et domino meo Clementi VII., suisque successoribus canonicè intrantibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, vel membrum, seu capiantur malâ captione. Consilium verò quod mihi crediturî sunt per se aut nuncios ad eorum damnum, me sciente nemini pandam. Papatum romanum et regalia Sancti Petri, adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo nomine, contrà omnem hominem. Legatum sanctæ sedis apostolicæ in eundo et redeundo honorificè tractabo et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Vocatus ad synodum veniam nisi præpeditus fuero canonicâ præpeditione. Apostolorum limina romanâ curiâ existente citrà Alpes singulis annis; ultrà verò montes singulis biennîs visitabo per me aut per meum nuntium, nisi absolvat licentia. Possessiones verò ad mensam mei episcopatûs pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignerabo, neque de novo infeudabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, inconsulto romano pontifice. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Evangelia.—Strype, Eccl. Memorials.

(d) Lambeth MSS., No. 1136.

(e) Lambeth MSS., ib

(f) "Is a proof of his candour and integrity."—Soames. Bossuet was of another opinion; and, in consequence of that, Mr. Todd says of him, "Even Bossuet has descended to the rank of a slanderer of Cranmer."—See Hallam's Constit. History of England.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DIVORCE AND CORONATION.—1533.

Convocation of the National Clergy convened, who pronounce in favour of the Divorce.—The case tried before Cranmer at Dunstable.—Katharine summoned.—Refuses to appear.—Is pronounced contumacious.—Sentence given by the Primate.—The Queen informed of it.—Behaviour of Katharine.—Ampthill.—Coronation of Anne Boleyn.—Birth of Elizabeth.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury continued, as he had commenced, his twofold character. Henry, secure of his accomplice, resolved to obtain from the clergy assembled in convocation the divorce which he had in vain attempted to wrest from the Pope during the last five years. The preliminaries of the proceedings were intrusted to Cromwell. As Katharine had it in her power, by claiming the protection of the Pope, to put a stop to any measure Cranmer might desire to commence, the Parliament forbade her to appeal under pain of the statute of *Præmunire*, imprisonment and confiscation being awarded for every appeal from the sentence of the spiritual to Rome,(a) and thus enchained the tongue, which they could not cut. The members of the convocation were divided into two classes;—theologians and canonists. To the one belonged the religious question; to the other the question of canon law. The theologians were asked if a dispensation from the Pope could sanction a brother marrying his widowed sister-in-law, in case of the first marriage having been consummated. The canonists were asked if the depositions taken before the legates proved that the marriage had been consummated. The discussion lasted two days, under the presidency of Cranmer,(b) when the votes were taken. The theologians were consulted by ayes and noes. To the question, whether Henry had lawfully married Katharine, sixty-six decided in the negative, and sixteen in the affirmative.(c) Out of forty-four canonists, six only voted against Henry.

At the convocation at York, which took place on the 6th of May following, the same mode of proceedings was carried on, and there were only two dissentients in each department.(d) There was then played a scene between Henry and Cranmer, *or vice versâ*,(e) (for we are not certain which was the principal actor,) comparable only to the farces enacted on the Italian boards. The archbishop requested from the king permission to try the case as primate in the Archiepiscopal Court of Canterbury, and thus avoid the dangers menacing the succession. Henry refused, not that he did not foresee the dangers menacing the succession, but because Cranmer had stated in his petition that he would judge the spiritual cause by virtue of the Divine Laws of Holy Church (f) Henry was adverse to such an expression being again used. The archbishop, penitent for his fault, became more urgent. Prostrate at the feet of his sovereign, he again requested permission, but this time in the name of God alone, to pronounce on the validity of the marriage.(g) The king yielded, but at the same time reminded the

(a) Lingard.
(b) In the presence of the new prelate.—Todd.

(c) Burnet has changed these *ayes* into so many universities.
(d) Lingard.
(e) It is evident the whole matter, relative to the request of Cranmer, had been previously concerted between the archbishop and the king.—Tytler.
(f) According to the lawes of God and Holy Church.
(g) State Papers, I., 390, 391.

archbishop that, as king, he recognised no other master than God on earth, and would be submissive to the authority of no created being, and as the minister of the master of all spiritual jurisdiction in the kingdom wished to decide the question in the name of GOD ALONE, he could no longer resist his humble petition.(a) As a consequence of this epistolary intrigue, a court of justice was formed at Dunstable, about four or five miles from Ampthill, where Katharine had been exiled. Couriers were in readiness who were to convey to Cromwell the various transactions of each day.(b) Cranmer had requested the secretary to keep the holding of this court a profound secret from all; for if it had been known, Katharine, perhaps, might have made up her mind to appear, and, notwithstanding the late statute, would not have failed to appeal to Rome; a step which would have entirely disconcerted their plans and prolonged the trial.(c) The king only required secrecy and promptitude.

On the appointed day (8th May, 1533) the primate, assisted by Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, Gardiner, recently elected to the see of Winchester, Drs. Claybrooke, Tregonwell, Bell, Hervey, Oliver, Bretton, Mr. Bedyll,(d) and other canonists, took his seat as president; both Henry and Katharine had been summoned. On Saturday the king appeared by deputy, but Katharine refused to acknowledge the authority of the court. A second writ was issued and served on the queen, and on the following Monday, witnesses were called to prove the serving of this second citation, as also to prove the consummation of the marriage between her and the Prince of Wales. Katharine was pronounced "Verily and manifestly contumacious." On the Saturday following, Katharine was cited for the third time to hear sentence pronounced; but she still preserved the same silence; and on the Friday after the Festival of the Ascension the court assembled, and Cranmer, as president, pronounced the sentence: "The marriage between Katharine and Henry is, in the name of God, declared null and void, as having been contracted and consummated in violation of the Divine Law."(e) The judges left their seats, and one of them, Mr. Bedyll, hastened to write to Cromwell: "My Lord of Canterbury has behaved with great prudence and rare skill, so that even the counsel of Lady Katharine, had she employed any, would not have suspected him of partiality."(f)

The sentence of the court at Dunstable was immediately communicated to the king, when Cranmer, imitating St. John the Baptist, bade the prince submit to the decree of heaven, whose wrath he would most certainly incur, were he to persist in living with his brother's widow; yet Henry had ceased cohabiting with Katharine for three years, and Anne had now been *enceinte* for nearly six months.(g)

Cardinal Pole pretends that Cranmer could not have been serious in thus menacing Henry with Divine vengeance.(h) But matters were not yet at an end. Many curious questions unfavourable to Henry's honour were raised. It was asked how the king could contract a new marriage before the first had been dissolved! What was the actual position of the Princess Mary, since the court at Lambeth had decided that the king's only child had been conceived and born in incest? Who was the heir to the throne, the Princess Mary,

(a) In consideration whereof, albeit we, being your king and souverayne, do recognyse no superiour in yerth, but onely God, and not being subjecte to the laws of other erthely creature; yet bycause ye be, under us, by Goddis callying and owers, the moste pryncipall mynyster of our spirituall jurisdiction, within this our realme, who we think assuredly is so in the feare of God and love towardes thobservance of this lawse, tho the whiche laws we, as a Christen Kyng, have alwayse heretofore, and shall ever moste obedyently submyt ourself, will not therefore refuse (our preeminent powr and auctboritie to us, and our successours, in this behalf, nevertheless saved) your humble requeste, offer, and towardnes.—MSS Harl., Vol. 283, p. 97.

(b) Lingard.

(c) Heylin, Ecclesia restaurata, the History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

(d) Thomas Bedyll was clerk of the council.

(e) Wilkins' Concilia.

(f) And my Lord of Canterbury handleth himself very well, and very uprightly, without any evident cause of suspicion to be noted in him by the counsel of Lady Katharine, if she had had any present here.—Cromwell's Correspondence, State Papers, II., 394, 395.

(g) Lingard.

(h) Pole Epist., de Sacram. Eucharist.—Le Grand.

or the child with whom Anne Boleyn was *enceinte?* Cranmer held a second court at Lambeth, and after having heard the king by council, officially declared that Henry and Anne had been lawfully married; that their marriage was public and manifest; and that if deemed necessary, he would confirm it by his authority as judge and primate.(a) During these unfortunate discussions Katharine was confined to her bed by illness, as much a prey to mental as bodily anguish.

On the 3rd of July, her former page, Mountjoy,(b) arrived at Ampthill, with others of the king's counsellors, to inform the invalid of the double sentence pronounced at Dunstable and Lambeth. Mountjoy, after having obtained permission, entered the queen's apartment, accompanied by the commissioners and some of her attendants. On hearing the first words of the message, which she requested to be read, and finding that it was addressed to her as the Princess Dowager of Wales, she lifted herself up, and leaning on her elbow, stopped Mountjoy, stating that the order could not be intended for her who was Queen of England, for her the crowned wife of Henry, and who had the glorious titles which she would claim to the last day of her life. The commissioners, as they tell us in their official dispatch, (c) endeavoured to calm her by boasting of Henry's generosity, who had consented, as a reward for Katharine's submission, not only to allow her the dowry secured for her by the Prince Arthur, but even to increase it. Katharine only replied to this insulting offer by a smile of contempt. They then adopted another course, and appealed to her feeling as a Christian and a mother. Was it through pride that she persisted in preserving the title of Queen? If she refused to obey Henry, perhaps Mary would be disinherited, and did the future prospects of her child influence her? "Do you accuse me of pride, when I wish to prove to the world that I am the wife and not the concubine of a prince with whom I have lived for twenty years?" replied Katharine energetically. "Mary is my beloved child, the daughter of the King and Queen of England. Such I received her from God, and as such I give her to her father. Like her mother, she will live and die an honest woman. Speak not to me of any danger that my daughter may incur. I have no fear for him who has only power over the body; but I fear Him who has alone power over the soul."

During the interview, one of the commissioners drew up a detailed account of the circumstances. Katharine ordered him, as his queen, to show her the report. The courtier respectfully obeyed the princess, to whom he handed the paper on his knee. Then Katharine asking for a pen, effaced, with a trembling hand, the expression "Princess Dowager" wherever it occurred. This document still exists with the erasures (d) Mountjoy ordered her servants, in the name of the king, to swear fealty to their mistress as the Princess Dowager of Wales; but Katharine, collecting her little remaining strength, forbade their taking such an oath, and she was obeyed.(e) This heroic queen was a woman, and she wept. We have her letters that were moistened with her tears; others, where her trembling hand in vain endeavoured to write legibly. In writing to Charles, her nephew, she begged him to pardon the many erasures she had made, as her heart was so troubled that her pen refused to perform its wonted work.(f) Bugden, (now called Buckden,) where Katharine had removed, was a palace of the Bishop of Lincoln's, about four miles from Huntingdon. She there spent a miserable time, being only allowed to retain from her numerous suite of domestics one chaplain and two or three female servants, who still gave her the title of Her

(a) Lingard.
(b) Butler's Erasmus.
(c) The commissioners were Lord Mountjoy, Sir Robert Dymmock, John Tyrrell, Griffith Richards, and Thomas Vaulx. Their report (MSS. Otho, c. 10.) is in the State Papers, II., 397, 401.

(d) Miss Strickland, IV., 130.
(e) State Papers, II., 397.
(f) Supplycando a V. M. que perdone myes borones per que asy como my corazon está ynqyeto, ryge my mano á que no escryva my carta, come debya. En Bucdon. á VIII. de febrero. Letter in the possession of M. Feuillet de Conches, at Paris.

Majesty. Her sole happiness was in prayer, and she spent hours in that exercise, with her forehead reclining on a small window commanding a view of the chapel. One day, one of her servants coming to shut the window, perceived the marble on which Katharine's head was reclining, wet, as if rain had fallen on it.

Every heart in Christendom was touched with Katharine's sufferings. They recalled to her modesty amidst all her grandeur, her angelic piety, her resignation to the will of heaven, and her courage and virtue. They wept over her child, and cursed Henry and his favourites Cromwell and Cranmer. The one had arisen from a fuller's shop, and the other from an hostelry at Cambridge, to be the instruments of an artful designing woman, who, although at Paris she had sold her favours at so cheap a rate, was exceedingly gay in England. The men in England were silent; the women were far from being so. Henry, in order to silence them, sent Lady Rochford, the sister-in-law of the Duke of Norfolk, to the Tower, for refusing to give the title of Queen to his mistress.(a) Trials yet more acute were reserved for Katharine. The day which would behold the coronation of her rival was fast approaching; and it was said that the king desired that the festival should far exceed anything yet known, and this to brave the thunders of the Vatican, and to elevate in the eyes of his people the queen of his choice.

A contemporary historian, whom we quote, has given a faithful but simple account of the festivities of that day: "The Queen of England left Greenwich,(b) on Monday, at 4 p.m., and went by water in a boat, having several pennants flying from her mast. Anne was accompanied by her ladies and maids of honour. There were, moreover, a hundred or a hundred and twenty which accompanied her likewise adorned with pennants. These barks had slim and high masts, with tackling as on vessels of a larger size, adorned with small taffeta bannerets and tinselled with gold, (unless I am much mistaken), for they reflected in the sun, and they had on board many drums, trumpets, flutes, and hautboys, and they arrived at the Tower of London in less than half an hour after leaving Greenwich, where they were saluted by the artillery. Their landing was a magnificent sight; for besides the above-mentioned barks, I believe there were more than two hundred little boats which followed, and the whole river was crowded with boats. The queen did not stir from her apartments on Friday.

"On Saturday, about five o'clock p.m., the aforesaid lady, vested in her royal garments, which are after the pattern of those of the Queen of France, entered an open coach, lined within and without with white satin, and above it was a canopy of gold cloth. There followed twelve ladies dressed in gold cloth, on nags likewise adorned with cloth of the same material. After them came a chariot, in which was the Duchess of Norfolk, step-mother of the duke of that name. Then came twelve maidens on nags, dressed in crimson velvet, afterwards three gilded chariots containing several young ladies, and in the rear twenty or thirty more on nags dressed in black velvet. Surrounding the queen's carriage were the Duke of Suffolk, who was for that day Constable, Lord William Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, who acted as Earl Marshal and Chamberlain, in lieu of his brother. Before them walked two men wearing ermine caps, similar to those worn by the high sheriff at Paris Then came the French ambassador, accompanied by the Archbishop of Canterbury; then the Venetian ambassador, accompanied by the Lord Chancellor; then several bishops and the nobility and gentry, in all about two hundred; and before them walked French merchants, dressed in violet-coloured velvet, with sleeves of the queen's colour, their hair adorned with velvet-coloured taffetas intermingled with white crosses. There were stages erected in the various squares, where some of the mysteries were performed, and a fountain playing with wine; and the merchants were arranged in ranks in their various streets; the queen then entered a room which had been prepared for her, where she took some wine, and then retired to her room, and the procession was dismissed.

(a) Lingard.
(b) Mélanges Historiques de Camusat.

"On Sunday morning, accompanied by the afore-mentioned lords and gentlemen, she walked to church, at Westminster; the road through which she passed was covered with gold cloth, and was twice the length of the gardens at Chantilly. The bishops and abbots, in their mitres and Pontifical habits, met the queen and accompanied her as far as the church, and after having heard a low Mass, she ascended a platform that had been prepared in front of the high altar, covered with scarlet cloth, and near to where she had been sitting, and which was moreover raised by ten steps and covered with a velvet carpet; and there she sat after that she had been crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who afterwards said the Mass of the coronation. The Duke of Suffolk was for the nonce Master of the Ceremonies, and stood beside the queen with a large white rod in his hand. The Lord High Chamberlain and Lord William Howard were also near her. Several peeresses were behind her, dressed in scarlet velvet and ermine mantles; the peers, with the knights, were also dressed in scarlet robes lined with ermine. The coronation being over the queen left in like manner as she had come, with the exception of the bishops, and went to a room prepared for a banquet. The tables were very long, and the Archbishop of Canterbury was seated at a separate table at a distance from her. The queen had two ladies seated at her feet to serve her secretly with all that she might require; and two others standing near her, on either side, often held to her face a fine cloth when she required to spit.(a) The dinner was very long and well served. She had an enclosure around her where none, save the attendants, who were noblemen, were allowed to enter; the banqueting hall was very large, but there was no confusion. Below the queen's table were four long tables, where the nobility were seated, and below them were many of the gentry; at another table were the archbishops, bishops, the Lord Chancellor, and several earls and knights. At the tables at the other side of the room were the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, and the peeresses of the realm. The Duke of Suffolk, sumptuously dressed, was on horseback, richly caparisoned in scarlet velvet, and rode round the table, so also did Lord William Howard, they having been charged with the *surveillance* of the ceremony. The king, who did not make his appearance in the banquet-hall, was with the French and Venetian ambassadors in a balcony, whence he could see the whole affair. All who came in, no matter what was their rank and station, were supplied with meat and wine.

"Trumpets and hautboys summoned the guests to their repasts; on the following day was a tournament of eight against eight, one party being commanded by Lord William Howard and the other by Mr. Carew, Grand Squire."

Anne was confined of a daughter on the 7th September, 1533, about three months after her coronation, who received the name of Elizabeth, at the font. Henry was much disappointed as he had wished for a son and heir. Indeed Anne, before her *accouchement*, wrote to different members of the aristocracy in forming them that she had given birth to a prince.(b)

(a) Hall relates the same circumstance. "On her right hand stood the widowed Countess of Oxford, and on her left, the Countess of Worcester, all the dyner season, which dyvers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the quene's face when she list to spit, or do otherwise at her pleasure." Neither Strutt, in his "Manners and Customs," nor Mill, in his "History of Chivalry," relate this singular incident at the coronation dinner.

(b) The Queen Boleyn to Lord Cobham,.. And where as it hath pleased the goodness of Almightie God, of his infynite marcie and grace, to send unto us, at this tyme, good spede, in the delyveraunce and bringing furthe of a *Prince*.—MSS. Harl., Vol. 283, p. 75. After her confinement, the letter *s* was added to the word *Prince*.—State Papers, II., 407.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SCHISM OF ENGLAND.—1533-1534.

Clement VII. annuls Cranmer's sentence.—The Duke of Norfolk sent to France to persuade Francis to plunge his country into schism.—Motives for his conduct.—The Pope arrives at Marseilles.—Henry has no accredited ambassador to meet His Holiness.—He appeals to a General Council.—Clement's patience.—New encroachments on the authority of the Holy See.—Clement's definitive sentence.—England separates from the Roman Communion.—Services rendered by Catholicism to England.—Death of Clement VII.

The Sacred College at Rome was deeply grieved on hearing of Cranmer's sentence, the divorce of Katharine—the king's marriage—and the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Charles V. earnestly besought the Pope and cardinals to chastise the perjured monarch, the oppressor of the queen, the faithless husband, the persecutor of the Church.(a) But His Holiness had the *Assertio septem sacramentorum* before his eyes, and that magnificent work had the effect of pacifying Clement VII. With his wonted irresolution, the Holy Father assented, hesitated, repented of his promise, prayed fervently in his oratory, implored the Divine Light, and listened to the insinuations of the French ambassadors, who daily proposed to him some new project of reconciliation.(b) But patience must be exhausted; and as Head of the Church, whose authority Henry had insulted, Clement had a duty to perform. He accordingly annulled the sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on the 11th July, 1533, excommunicated Henry and Anne, unless they separated before the end of September; but on the arrival of that month he yielded to the prayers of Cardinal de Tournon, one of the luminaries of the French Church, and consented to postpone the promulgation of the fatal sentence till the end of October, and Raince lost no time in communicating this welcome intelligence to Francis.

"Sire, owing to the excellent reasons adduced by Cardinal de Tournon, His Holiness, out of love to you, has consented to delay the promulgation of the sentence of excommunication till the end of October, to which arrangement the Sacred College have unanimously given their assent. Sire, our Holy Father has ordered me since dinner to write and inform you of what has been done in Consistory, and to assure you that the principal cause has been the diligence shown by his Eminence Cardinal de Tournon, as well as his trust, that you will be able to effect something for England in your approaching interview with him. Such, I can assure you, has his Holiness' most earnest desire."(c) It was imagined both at Paris and Rome that a month's delay would be sufficient to effect a reconciliation, especially as they expected that much would be done at the interview at Marseilles; Henry would then see the Sovereign Pontiff, and he would assuredly be unable to resist the tears of Clement. But these hopes were soon dashed to the ground; for Henry had just given his sanction to the bill for the abolition of the

(a) Palmieri states in his letter to Cardinal Corneo, that Clement laid the account of this incestuous marriage before the college of cardinals, that proceedings might be taken according to the ecclesiastical laws; but that he deferred giving sentence that he might consult with Charles V. on the subject, or consider it more at leisure.—Lettere de' Principi, III. 22. Raynaldus, XIII., 31[illegible].

(b) Lingard.

(c) Lettre de Raince a Francois I.—MSS. Béthune, v. 8625.

Annates,(a) pretending, as he had the audacity to assert, that the Pope had never either directly or indirectly opposed the measure: thus was Clement's silence and patience turned against himself. The Duke of Norfolk, attended by a numerous suite, had just left for France, on the plea of entering into an arrangement with the Sovereign Pontiff; his embassy was, however, in fulfilment of a promise made by Henry at Calais; the king thus appeared to keep to his word; but Norfolk was instructed with a twofold mission, in the eye of Europe, he was a messenger of peace; but in reality had to fulfil a mission of hatred. He was instructed to persude Francis to relinquish the interview at Marseilles, to liberate himself from all allegiance to Rome, and to appoint a Patriarch in his kingdom;(b) in other words, to violate his promise to the Pope, and to imitate the conduct of the Saxon princes in separating from unity. This Duke of Norfolk had been suddenly transformed by his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury into a divine; *i.e*, into one of Osiander's disciples. He urged the necessity of "attacking the Holy See, and the authority which the Pope had unjustly usurped." He pretended that the Pope "had no greater authority out of the diocese of Rome than any other bishop; that the authority which the Pope exercised over Christendom had no force, save and except by the assent of the princes whom the Pope, under colour of sanctity, had so blinded respecting their usurpation, which was contrary to the Divine Law, as till now to be supported by them."(c) This, if the reader recollects, was the argument used by Luther in his "De Captivitate Babylonicâ."

"Usurpation!" was Henry's reply to the German apostate; "usurpation! but *when* was this power usurped? Stolen! Let them tell us! How many ages ago? Look at history; search its pages through. If this power be so old that its origin cannot be traced, then are we not aware that all authority whose origin is lost in the night of time is legitimate, and that it has been forbidden by universal law to touch that which time has made immutable."(d) Beneath this appearance of zeal for popular liberty were concealed evil passions which did not escape the observation of the Bishop of Bayonne. "It was the *goods* and not the *good* of the Church," as Fisher wittily observed in the House of Lords, in 1529, that stimulated the zeal of Norfolk, and of other courtiers; but Rome was not to be thus duped; (e) and these desires formed the most active element in the Reformation of England.

About the middle of October, 1533, Clement made his solemn entry into Marseilles, amid the pealing of bells and the genuflexions of the people; and lodged in the ancient Monastery of St. Victor. Francis would not remain in the city, in order that the Pope might be the sole master of the town in which he took his residence.(f) In the Pontifical *cortége* was a young maiden dressed in gold cloth, and who had hold of the hand of an aged man, the Duke of Albania;(g) it was Katharine de Medicis, niece of Clement VII., and betrothed to the Duke of Orleans, son of Francis I. The Pope was truly inebriated with delight; Francis desiring to profit by it, exerted his influence in favour of Henry VIII.; but the English Ambassadors, (the Bishop of Winchester and Bryan) had received at this decisive moment no order from their sovereign, to act officially in the negociations introduced by the French King. Clement could no longer conceal his indignation; Francis who felt himself deeply insulted, concealed his dissatisfaction, lest by any hasty act to

(a) Statutes of the Realm. "An act concerning restraynt of payment of Annates to the see of Rome."—Burnet.

(b) Lingard.

(c) MSS. Béthune, v. 8565.

(d) Assertio septem Sacramentorum.

(e) "I began to speak of the affairs of England in the same manner as I had spoken to his majesty. To which M. de Granvela answered; first endeavouring to show that the end and object of the Lutherans and the King of England was one and the same, not to dispute about the doctors of the Church, or about any article of the Faith, but to seize ecclesiastical property, and shake off the yoke of the Apostolic See."—Cod. MSS. Scritto da Toledo [Card. Farnese.]

(f) Gregorio Leti, Vita di Carlo V.

(g) Capefigue Hist. de France.

lose an ally whom he desired to benefit; this command of temper completely disarmed the Pope. It was arranged that a courier should be dispatched to London to ask for letters accrediting the ambassadors to the Holy See, and that in the interval, the marriage of Katharine with the Duke of Orleans should be solemnized.(a)

On the 4th November, Bonner, the devoted friend of Cranmer,(b) and whose sympathies in favour of the Reformation were at that time notorious, arrived from England, and asked that evening for an audience with the Pope, which was granted for the following day, in the morning of the 8th; and Bonner presented himself to the Sovereign Pontiff, holding in his hand a paper from Henry appealing to a general council. This insolent challenge, which had been secretly settled on in London, about the end of July, had not been communicated to the noble prince, whose mediation Henry had sought.(c) The Pope, as he was then on the point of entering the Consistory could not attend to Bonner, who returned in the evening to read aloud his master's appeal. The unexpected apperance of Francis, happily intercepted a scene in whom the Sovereign Pontiff would have found it difficult not to have given vent to his indignation. But Bonner, two days after, again presented himself at the Monastery of St. Victor, and after waiting two hours was introduced into His Holiness' apartment; the old man had resumed his wonted serenity.(d) He calmly told the ambassador, who demanded a reply, that he had never intended to offend Henry; that his predecessor, Pope Pius, had condemned an appeal to a council, and that, consequently, he rejected that of the King of England, as rash and unlawful. (e)

(a) Raynal, Histoire du divorce de Henri VIII.—Lingard.

(b) Turner speaks of this ambassador as "unfearing and fierce."

(c) Strype has inserted this letter, dated Windsor, 18th August, 1532, in his Life of Cranmer.

(d) Raynal.

(e) That 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.—Bonner's Letter.

Francis was for some time suspected by Clement of conniving with Henry, he had however no great difficulty in justifying himself, and pacifying the Pontiff. The Pope left Marseilles for Italy, promising his host that Henry's appeal to a general council, would not by any means be an obstacle to his reconciliation with the Holy See, provided the King of England was pacific in his intentions. Henry consented to negociate, and accepted as his advocate at the Court of Rome, the Bishop of Bayonne, then at Paris; the prelate whom Anne Boleyn had dressed as a hunter, when she used to go deer-stalking in the park at Hampton Court. Henry seemed for a moment to relent, his agents were ordered to thank Clement for his kindness; to propose to him to appoint a court to try the divorce in England, with a clause that the sentence before promulgation, should be submitted to the approval of the Holy See; to promise him that England should in the mean while be obedient, as in days of yore, to the Apostolic authority, and to flatter him by the offer of concessions yet more important, if Rome should yield in any way to the "Defender of the Faith."(f)

Henry deceived Clement as he had already deceived Charles V., Francis I., James IV. of Scotland, and all his allies. It might have been supposed that Wolsey had left his coffin and resumed the seals; England had not changed her politics. Read the dispatches of her ambassadors; in every page a falsehood, and often one in every line. But Wolsey, had his life been spared, would have shrunk from an act of schism, and it was to this goal that the king was urging on his subjects. While Du Bellay was on his way to Rome, commissioned to negociate for a reconciliation between Clement and Henry, the Parliament had assembled, and were discussing several bills, destined to wrest the kingdom from the Roman communion. The drawing up of these bills had been intrusted to the two greatest enemies of the Holy See; Cromwell, who had been appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer;(g) and Cranmer,

(f) Lingard.

(g) Lingard.

who had nothing more to expect, and whose interest it was, at every hazard, to retain the Archiepiscopal see; both would, therefore, support the bills introduced by the crown to Parliament.(a) The first of these bills rescinded the statute passed under Henry II. against heretics; not that Parliament desired to exempt them from all legal punishment, since a new act was passed condemning heretics to the fire; but it was essentially necessary that the clergy should no longer be the sole judges in such matters. In future, heretics were to be tried like all other criminals, without any reference being made to canon law.(b) By virtue of a second act, no synod, no convocation could be convoked without royal authority; such existing canons and decrees as were not contrary to the rights or prerogatives should be considered valid in law, until it was deemed proper that they should be revised. A committee was formed of sixteen members of Parliament, and an equal number of the clergy, to examine the ecclesiastical constitutions, and to retain such as were useful.(c)

A new bill, confirming the statute which abolished the Annates, enacted that the nomination of bishops should no longer be submitted to the approbation of the Papal See; that on a see becoming vacant, the king should issue to the dean or chapter, the prior or monks, a *congé d'élire* within twelve days, nominating the subject whom he would himself present; that in case of refusal, the right of election should devolve on the crown; that the prelate nominated or elected should first swear obedience and fealty to the king; that the monarch should inform the archbishop of the election, or if there were no archbishop, four bishops, enjoining them to confirm the election, and to consecrate and invest the bishop, in order that he might receive from the prince the immunities, possessions, and attributes, spiritual as well as temporal, of his diocese.(d) Another act abolished the Peter pence, and all procurations, delegations, and expeditions or bulls emanating from Rome, and enacted that all graces, dispensations, and indulgences should be issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on condition that a portion of their province be paid into the royal treasury. All religious houses exempted from visits lost this privilege.(e)

People now began to inquire what Du Bellay was to do at Rome, since Henry, by these various legislative measures had precluded every hope of reconciliation with the Holy See! How could a French bishop, who had so long frequented the court at Greenwich, consent to advocate the cause of a sovereign who was in the habit of breaking his word? Du Bellay, as ambassador, must have been well acquainted with Anne Boleyn's early life at Paris and her subsequent intrigues with Henry. He had himself witnessed *tête-a-têtes* between the lovers which he had given to the world in a vein of rich satire. He knew that the Archbishop of Canterbury was a married priest. He was also aware that Lee, who had secretly celebrated the marriage at Whitehall, had been rewarded for his silence with a bishopric; he had predicted six years before the revolt of certain noblemen against the authority of the Pope; he had seen through the secret motives of cupidity which actuated the king's counsellors in carrying on the affair of the divorce; every thing was known to him, even Anne's secret inkling for the Reformation. And yet this was the bishop whom we meet with in Clement's apartment, teazing an old man by supplications and entreaties, to become the accomplice of a sensual, hypocritical, and perjured sovereign. The Pope, on the 28th March, went to the Consistory; Simonetta, auditor of the Rota, laid before the cardinals all the documents regarding the divorce, and out of twenty-two, nineteen were in favour of the validity of the marriage; and three only (Trembrio, Pirani, and Rodolfi) proposed an adjournment. Clement was obliged to yield to the opinion of so overwhelming a majority; a definitive sentence declared Henry's first marriage to be valid, condemned the queen's trial as

(a) Melchior Adam, Vita Cranmeri.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras.
(c) Lingard.—Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) Lingard.

(e) Collier.—Hume.—Rapin de Thoyras.

unjust, and ordered the king to restore Katharine to her triple rights as queen, wife, and mother. This decree was not to be published until after Paschal-tide, as they still hoped at Rome to alleviate the king's resentment by this act of procrastination.(a) Five days before (20th March, 1534) an anticipatory reply had been given to the bull by a legislative act regulating the succession to the throne of England.(b)

The marriage between Henry and Katharine was declared by Parliament to be null and void, and his union with Anne valid and legal. Mary was deprived of her right of reigning after her father's death; and the children born or that should be born of Anne Boleyn, declared capable of inheriting the crown. The Parliament lost no time in enacting penal laws against those who should dare disobey the prescriptions of the statute of succession. Every act against the marriage, every attempt to injure the sacred rights of the king's lawful heirs, if the crime was committed by writing, printing, or any external act, was declared to be high treason; every word against the king, queen, or their children, uttered publicly, was to be treated as "misprision of treason;" every subject on attaining his majority was obliged to swear obedience to the law, under pain of suffering the penalties due to misprision of treason; *i.e.*, confiscation of property and imprisonment for life.(c) Henry, perfectly bewildered by the servile conduct of his Parliament, determined to transform Francis I. into a spiritual sovereign,(d) who should, by his authority, pronounce on the nullity of his first marriage and the illegitimacy of Mary, and, if required, support the legality of his royal sentence by an appeal to arms. It is highly probable that Francis never had any idea of the designs of his brother of England; it however seems certain to us that he would never have consented to be transformed into a Pope to depend on the honour of Anne Boleyn; he had been guilty of too glaring an act of indiscretion in defending her virtue with a lance.

This twofold sovereignty over body and soul discovered by Cranmer, and confirmed by act of Parliament, was far from satisfying Henry: he desired to prove that he held this double diadem from Heaven and not from men, and consequently he again became a theologian, as when he fought hard with Luther. He was going to prove to the world that he had not forgotten the language of the schools, for which he had been applauded by Sadolite. He endeavoured to prove to the priests of the north of England, who were far from being convinced by the arguments of Cromwell, that every king was born a high priest. "Has not Christ said: 'Obey, and be submissive?' Where was the distinction of the two powers in this precept? Was not the command addressed to all, the priest as well as the faithful? What signifies the garment? Doubtless it was the priest's duty to preach and to administer the sacraments as physician of the soul, but in his acts, as well as in his person, the priest represented his Master. Christ was a Priest, Christ was a spiritual Physician; as Physician and Priest, Christ appeared before Pilate. It behoved the prince to watch over the property, honour, acts, and words of his subjects. Does not the priest recollect the *Non habet vir potestatem sui corporis, sed mulier.*"(e) This argument of Henry's has rather the appearance of a defiance of common sense, and was accordingly answered by two of his mitred laureates. Edward Fox, in his "*De Verâ differentiâ regiæ potestatis et Ecclesiæ;*" (f) and Gardiner, in his "*De Verâ Obedientiâ.*"(g) These official controversialists were careful

(a) Appendix (K.)

(b) Statutes of the realm, an acte for the establishment of the Kinges succession.—Journal of the House of Lords.—Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer.

(c) The punishment of misprision of treason is by perpetual imprisonment, loss of the issues and profits of their lands, during life, and loss of goods and chattels.—Harl. Miscell., V. p. 303.

(d) Burnet.

(e) Gladium portat princeps, not only against them that break his commandment and laws, but against him also that in any wise breaketh God's laws. . . Ad tribunal Cæsaris sto, dixit Christus, ubi me judicari oportet.—Letter of King Henry to the clergy of the province of York, anno 1533, (1534) touching his title of Supreme Head of the Church of England.—Wilkins' Concilia.

(f) Gerdes, Hist. Reformat.

(g) Schelhorn, Amœnit. Hist. Eccles.

to invent nothing in their works on the origin of power; they servilely copied their master, and endeavoured to prove that the power of the temporal sovereign was illimited. But about this time a reactionary movement, over which Catholicism could triumph, took place in Germany. At the commencement of his apostolate, Luther had asserted that every one regenerated by baptism was a priest; a few drops of water, while effacing original sin, anointed the forehead of the new-born with sacerdotal unction. This grand spiritual royalty Henry only granted to those Christians who had slept in an ermine cradle. But Luther, owing to the revolt of the miners of Mansfeldt, and Münzer, their leader, lost no time in depriving the Christians of this magnificent privilege, which he had only adduced as a means of extending the new gospel; and while the priest was being at Greenwich reduced to a state of slavery, it was asserted at Wittemberg that the dispensation of the sacraments, teaching and preaching, were functions altogether spiritual, which the priest held only from God, and to whom alone he was accountable for his position.(a) The schism was complete: England then witnessed a melancholy scene. The inhabitants of the large towns tore in pieces the Papal bull, and, as at Wittemberg, bonfires were kindled, wherein they cast the Papal decretals. If they had been asked to account for their indignation, they would have replied that Rome wished to impoverish England; this was their principal complaint against the Holy See. If the Parliament had on the morrow condemned Henry to the block, the populace would have flocked, all exulting with joy, to see the culprit pass by, (for all mobs are by nature persecutors), their cry will be to the end of the world, "Woe to the conquered." The clergy, impelled by ambition or fear, rallied round the king, who threatened to deprive them of life or bestow on them bishoprics. The priest, by becoming an apostate, was sure of living a few days longer: he became a coward through weakness, and servile through cupidity. To the question which the king addressed to all that wore the cassock: "Has the Bishop of Rome more power in England than any other bishop?"(b) The reply was from the lips, but not the heart, in the negative. The prelates were seen taking to the Court of Chancery their bulls of institution to change them for the royal license, when the king as supreme head of the Church vouchsafed to confer on them the mitre or the pallium.(c) Had they been living in the time of St. Peter, they would have gone to Nero, had Nero wished to make them apostles. The English episcopate first set the example of apostacy in England. Cranmer took the lead as a Reformed minister, by forswearing his vow of celibacy, and acknowledging his marriage.(d)

The clergy of Oxford, Cambridge, and York, solemnly acknowledged that the Pope had no more authority, as regarded spiritual government over England, than any other foreign prelate.(e) The dean and chapter of St. Paul's renounced with great pomp the primacy of the Pope.(f) The majority of the religious houses in the vicinity of London lost no time in acknowledging the supremacy of Henry, hoping thereby to escape the visits of those harpies with whom they were menaced by Parliament, in case of disobedience. They hoped, by kissing the king's ring in lieu of the Fisherman's, to preserve their riches; but they were soon undeceived. Their apostacy met with its just recompense, for Henry knew to the last ounce of gold all that they possessed. Nearly the whole of the aristocracy took the oath of allegiance, because they coveted the property of the clergy,

(a) Bugenhagen, Disputation zu Flensburg. —Bucer, von der wahren Seelsorge und dem rechten Hirtendienste. — Luther, von den Schleichern und Winkelpredigern.

(b) Whether the Bishop of Rome had any greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom, than any other foreign bishop.—Todd.

(c) Hume.

(d) Gerdes.

(e) Oxon. Papæ in regnum Angliæ non majorem esse potestatem quàm cujusvis alterius Episcopi.—Burnet.—Wilkins. Cantab. Quòd Romanus Pontifex non habeat à Deo in sacrâ scripturâ concessam sibi majorem auctoritatem aut jurisdictionem in hoc regno Angliæ quàm quivis alius episcopus externus. — Wilkins' Concilia.

(f) Burnet.

and felt convinced, from what had occurred in Germany, that they would come in for a share of the spoils.

In England, as in Germany, remarks a modern writer,(a) the aristocracy were far from being indifferent to the idea of being liberated from that fearful control of the Papacy, which, without extirpating vice, (an impossibility,) preserved the rule of morals. They carried on, therefore, a political revolution, while the king obeyed the voice of his passions and debauchery. The reader has now seen how the storm which devastated England was brought about. Could Henry have been taught to forget Anne Boleyn, England would have preserved the old faith of St. Dunstan!

What crime, then, had Catholicism committed to merit so severe a punishment? Catholicism had rescued England from the darkness of paganism; had taught her the Divine truth of the gospel; had civilised her; had, after the Norman conquest, shielded her against the oppression of the conqueror, and for a number of ages had preserved her from the tyranny of the barons. She was indebted to Catholicism for the *Magna Charta*, for the important statute *de tollagio non concedendo*, and several other regulations, the basis and foundation of her freedom and liberty. At the time of her falling into schism, she had but one pastor and formed but one flock.(b) Not a village but had its chapel, where the peasants betook themselves, at the tolling of the bell, to assist at the awful and sacred mysteries of the Christian religion. On the road-side were niches, ornamented with flowers in spring, where the passing pilgrim saluted the image of our Blessed Lady or the Patron Saint. In the country, the silence of the night was often disturbed by pious psalmodies; for if the Church had taught the Islanders to pray, she had also taught them to sing the Divine praise. In each city, near the cathedral, was a school for singing where the child, destined for the service of the altar, was taught to chant, and a library of good books, sacred or profane, for the use of the learned.(c) Every where hospitals were built and endowed by the munificence of a bishop, where the pauper was sure of finding a bed and medicine for his suffering body. To whom was England indebted for all those sacred edifices, those hospitals, those bridges? To priests or monks! At the time of her separation from Rome, commerce, literature, arts, and science, were there prosperous. The prince's court was brilliant; the treasury was still rich; no public debts; the fourth of all the tithes were reserved for the poor; and no poor-rates were then known.(d)

Clement did not long survive this blow. There are some whom Divine Providence has adorned with every gift as an example to the world. She only refuses them, by a secret which we cannot fathom, that attribute called the WILL, and which is serviceable to direct and govern the most eminent virtues. Every eye is dim with grief when a person of this description goes hence to dwell in heaven. Piety, affected by the loss inflicted on her, inquires into the cause of so irretrievable a death. The physician is sent for, and if the deceased wore a crown, he takes his lancet to seek for an explanation, whereby he may account for the accomplishment of the Divine decree; and after the *post mortem* examination, he pronounces the accustomed sentence, "Died from an affection of the heart." The heart had killed the invalid. Such is the history of Clement VII.(e)

(a) Laurentie.—Histoire de France.
(b) C. Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church.
(c) Friedrich Blum. Iter Italicum.
(d) Burns' Justice.
(e) De Rossi has thus described Clement's character: "He was truly Clement by name and Clement in deed."—Memorie.—Clement died on 25th Sept., 1534.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE NUN OF KENT.—1534.

Visions and predictions of Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent.—More and Fisher's opinion of her.—Examined before Cranmer and Cromwell.—Condemned and executed.—Execution of some of her disciples.—Fisher accused of being one of her accomplices.—Acquitted.—Again imprisoned with More for refusing the Oath of Supremacy.—The alteration made by the King in the formula of the oath.—Distrust and despotism.—The Pope's name officially erased from the Prayer Book.

HENRY had not found the tranquillity of mind he expected in the arms of Anne Boleyn. The shade of that spiritual royalty, which he had imagined to have wounded mortally, continually haunted him. Cranmer and Cromwell had succeeded in stifling his remorse of conscience; but they could not expel his fright. There lived at Aldington, in Kent, a peasant girl of the name of Elizabeth Barton, subject to an affection of the nerves, which her neighbours attributed to some supernatural influence (we quote Protestant authority.(a) It appears that the young maiden, whose morals were of angelic purity,(b) had been favoured in her attack with visions; and that during these extacies, which lasted for hours, she had the gift of prophecy. Her predictions, which were carefully recorded as she gave utterance to them, were written in a poetic strain, and sometimes in rhyme, which caused them to be much circulated among the peasantry. They came into the king's hand, who showed them to Sir Thomas More. Without entering into any explanation on those lofty visions, which the soul, disengaged from the senses, can contemplate, More smiled at the incoherent phrases, whose rustic rhyme evidently betrayed the ignorance of the prophet, without, however, bringing into suspicion the good faith of the young peasant.(c) Richard Masters, rector of Aldington, with the intention, if partial historians can be credited,(d) of examining into her state, advised her to enter the convent of St. Sepulchre, at Cambridge. Elizabeth obeyed her parish priest. Sir Thomas More visited her in this retreat, where she was only known by the appellation of the Nun of Kent. After a lengthened interview with Elizabeth, he left, presenting her with two ducats, recommending himself to her prayers, and not endeavouring to conceal from the bystanders either his own admiration for the wonderful things he had heard, or his respect for her who had related them.(e) Fisher was of the same opinion as Sir Thomas More, and, with his friend, regarded her as a saint.(f) Himself of a pensive and affectionate cast of mind, he felt no difficulty in admitting the existence of a supernatural connexion between Elizabeth's soul, disengaged from the body, and the infinite essence. His ideas on the subject of exstacies seem to have been similar to that adopted by Goëres in his "Mysticism." Unhappily, the extatic, unaware that death awaited those who aroused Henry's anger, left heaven for terrestrial objects. She said that, one night, God appeared to her in a dream, holding three swords in his hand, which he gave to his servant Wolsey; the first, as to the legate and spiritual minister of England after the

(a) Morrison.
(b) Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.
(c) Burnet. — Stapleton. — Hoddesdon. — More.—Roper.
(d) Hume.—Todd.
(e) He had a great good opinion of her, and had her in great estimation.—More's letter to Cromwell, by Levis.
(f) Burnet.

Pope; the second, as to the Lord High Chancellor, the temporal master of the kingdom after the king; the third, as to the sovereign judge of the trial between Henry and Katharine. Those who were aware of the fervent prayers addressed by Elizabeth to Almighty God, to save the queen and confound her rival, had no difficulty in understanding this mystical language.(a) The other prophecy was yet more apparent; she had said that if Henry divorced Katharine, he would die at the end of one month, and that Mary would ascend the throne. The month had elapsed, and Henry was still living; but that month, in the language of the young maiden and her disciples, might mean an indeterminate number of weeks. Henry wished to prove that Elizabeth was a demoniac. Cranmer, and afterwards Cromwell, were ordered to examine the holy Maid of Kent; this was a mild expression employed by majesty, which the ministers hesitated not to translate into the hypocritical Maid of Kent.

The Religious was taken from her convent and brought before her judges; there, says Burnet, she willingly renounced the character of an inspired person which she had been compelled to adopt; acknowledged herself as guilty of fraud, and attributed her extacies to a desire of worldly praise. The examination took place without witnesses, and we have no reason to believe the veracity of the judges who were well known to be perfect masters of perjury.(b) A few monks, denounced as her accomplices, were arrested, and appeared before the Star-Chamber; on being examined with the torture before their eyes, they confessed their guilt, and threw themselves on the royal clemency, imploring pardon from God. It is probable that they were more culpable in the eyes of Henry than in that of God; they were taken one Sunday, in the month of November, with halters round their necks, as far as St. Paul's Cross, and there heard a sermon from one of the royal chaplains, and were afterwards re-conducted to prison.(c) It was generally believed that Henry, after having exposed the monks to the ridicule of the populace, would have granted them their lives, and thus vaunted his clemency. Cranmer had, however, discovered high treason;(d) a Bill of Attainder was accordingly brought into the House of Peers against Elizabeth Barton and six of her accomplices, viz., Masters, Deering, Brocking, Gould, Rich, and Risley. They were not even tried; they had before them as evidence their confession wrenched from them by threat of the torture; and it was stated by the introducers of the Bill, that this confession had been urged by the agonies of a conscience ill at ease. But on the second reading of the Bill, several of the Peers, urged by remorse of conscience, had sufficient courage to pray the king to allow the accused to be examined personally.(e) The State Archives have not preserved Henry's reply; but we know that a short time after Elizabeth and her accomplices suffered at Tyburn. Before her execution, the Religious acknowledged the justice of her sentence, but that she had only been an instrument in the hands of the clergy, who would follow her into eternity.(f)

During the course of this reign, we shall often hear the victim bless his executioner, whom his religion prohibited him to curse. If the Nun of Kent had been put to death for high treason, such as had a knowledge of her predictions, and had not denounced them, had incurred the penalties, according to the act of Parliament, due to *misprision of treason*. Henry had no wish to take the life of a poor Religious. His object was, if possible, to ensnare More and Fisher, whose virtues were an eyesore to him. Fisher was a Burrhus the Second, who had been the adviser and mentor of a

(a) 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.—Roper.

(b) And she confessed that she never had vision in all her life, but all that ever she said was feigned of her imagination, only to satisfy the minds of them which resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise.—Cranmer's letter to Hawkins.—Harl. MSS., No. 6148; and Lansdowne, B. M., No. 1045, p. 71.

(c) Lingard.

(d) They consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition, and also treason. — Cranmer to Hawkins.

(e) Lingard.

(f) Statutes of the Realm.

second Nero. The Duchess of Richmond, shortly before her death, had turned towards the bishop, and begged him to watch over her grandson Henry. Fisher had accepted this pledge, and the royal orphan, on taking hold of his guardian's hand, had often acknowledged that he had never found a prelate equal to the Bishop of Rochester in wisdom and in virtue.(a)

Fisher had grown old, his head was hoary, and his forehead covered with wrinkles, so that he imagined himself to be at liberty to speak to his king in a plain manner. It was suddenly reported abroad that Fisher had been arrested on the charge of misprision of treason Cromwell, at first, was anxious that the bishop should enter into one of those detailed confessions, similar to those made to a director in the tribunal of penance; but Fisher refused to answer the Privy Counsellor. They then endeavoured to make him write, hoping by that means to extort his written words into an acknowledgement, but Fisher again refused. His life must be sacrificed at every cost, and he was consequently included in the Bill of Attainder.(b) He was now compelled to defend himself. This he did in a letter bespeaking his grandeur of soul, in which, calling on JESUS CHRIST, before whose throne he was soon to appear as a witness, he swore that he was perfectly innocent of any treasonable intention which the Nun of Kent or any one else might have imagined against the king.(c) He had not denounced Elizabeth's revelations, because he had not perceived anything treasonable in them, but rather an appeal to the decrees of Providence; and, moreover, he was aware that the Religious had spoken to the sovereign in a private audience. The old man's words had no effect on the Peers. The bill was read a second time. Fisher now addressed Henry himself, assuring him that he would have revealed the predictions had they been treasonable; beside, he was aware that his majesty was already acquainted with them. Aged, infirm, and having but a few more days yet to live, he begged that he might be allowed to prepare in peace for eternity. Henry refused to hear him. The bill was read for the third time. Fisher might prepare to die; but as he was confined to his bed, almost given up by his physician, it was apprehended that he might breathe his last on his way from the Tower to Tyburn, and that the executioner would only receive a corpse. He was spared, on his paying a fine of £300, which the royal messenger was to receive at his house.(d)

Sir Thomas More was living at Chelsea, away from the world, in the bosom of his family, when the Nun of Kent appeared before the Star Chamber. His different interviews with her, and the two ducat-pieces he had bestowed on her, less through alms than a sympathy of feeling, might cost him his life. His name had been placed on the list of the proscribed; but he had a zealous advocate in the Duke of Norfolk. That nobleman, in an interview with Henry, besought the monarch on his knees to erase the ex-chancellor's name from the fatal list, to which a reluctant consent was given. This was an act of compassion for which More had no occasion to be grateful to Henry, as his innocence was so evident, that, like Fisher, he would have escaped. After the execution of the holy Nun of Kent, Henry required that all his subjects should take the oath of supremacy. No layman had as yet been called on, when the commissioners determined, at Henry's suggestion, to apply to Sir Thomas More. If More and Fisher yielded, there would be no fear of opposition;(e) if they refused, their death would serve as a salutary warning to other recusants.

Assembled at Chelsea, in their father's company, More's family listened trembligly to the slightest sound. At each fall of the leaf or rustling of the wind among the branches, they expected to see the officer. To prepare the family for this awful scene, More ordered one of his

(a) Apol. Poli.
(b) Statutes of the Realm.
(c) Lingard.

(d) Lingard.—Carte says, "His sentence was imprisonment for life, and the forfeiture of all his estate to the crown." (The historian however was deceived.)
(e Madam Panline Rolland, l. c., p. 17

attendants, dressed as a king's officer, to present himself suddenly at his residence at Chelsea, with the royal citation in his hand, while the family were at dinner. It was done; and the whole party, even the very youngest, terrified to death, flocked round More, who was obliged to pacify them by acknowledging that it was only a trick of his own suggestion.(a)

On the morning of the 13th of April, a royal officer, with his wand of office in his hand, knocked at the door. Sir Thomas, before leaving for Lambeth, the place of rendezvous, went to church, confessed, heard Mass, and communicated.(b) His wife and daughters generally accompanied him as far as the boat when on his way to London, and would then bid a fond adieu to him on the banks of the Thames. He now, however, gave strict orders that none should follow him. He carefully shut his garden-gate himself, and giving one fond and lingering look at his cottage, entered the barge accompanied by his son-in-law, Roper, and a few of his servants. More was the first to break the funeral silence which reigned in the boat, by saying in a low voice to his son-in-law, "God be praised, the day of battle is arrived, and of victory also."(c)

Fisher had arrived at Lambeth before Sir Thomas More; he had walked like a poor pilgrim leaning on his staff. They embraced each other affectionately; a secret voice told them that their next meeting would be in eternity. "Do you observe how narrow the gate is," remarked Fisher to his companion, "well, it is but a type of the true gate of heaven."(d) More was the first called; he was asked if he would swear to the Act of Succession, which was read to him. It was this Act that guaranteed the crown to the issue of Anne Boleyn by her marriage with the king; decided on the invalidity of every matrimonial dispensation within the degrees prohibited by the Book of Leviticus, and the illegality of the union between Katharine of Arragon and Henry, Prince of Wales.(e) More replied to the Lord Chancellor Audley, that "he was quite prepared for the first article of the statute, but that he should be silent on the other two points as from prudent motives." "We are indeed truly grieved by your reply, my lord, as it must be construed into a refusal to take the required oath," remarked the Lord Chancellor. "See, here are the names of those who have already sworn." "I blame no one," rejoined More. "Be on your guard, my lord," replied several of the commissioners at once; "your refusal proceeds from obstinacy, as you will not explain why you refuse." "It is not from obstinacy," replied the ex-chancellor, "but from a fear of offending the king; if his majesty will guarantee to me my freedom, I will give my reasons." "The king," replied Cromwell, "cannot save you from the penalties enacted by the law against all those who refuse to take the oath." "Then it is not obstinacy which induces me to refuse to account for my rejecting the oath, if I cannot safely speak; I however blame none of those who have taken the oath." "By not blaming those who have obeyed the oath, you are not convinced," remarked Cranmer, "that it is contrary to conscience; now the law of God orders you to obey your prince, therefore you can take the oath in all security."

More himself confessed that he was slightly shaken at one time by the argument adduced by the archbishop; he reflected awhile, and then addressing Cranmer, said, "I do not, my lord, in any way blame those who have taken the oath, as I am ignorant both of their intentions and motives, but I should blame myself were I to take it, as I should then be acting against my own conscience. Your argument seems to me to annihilate every case of a dubious conscience; a yes or a no from the reigning sovereign would be enough to decide them." "Indeed," exclaimed the Abbot of Westminster, "you are wrong. Do you think that you can be acting

(a) Campbell.
(b) Rudhart.
(c) More.—Stapleton.—Rudhart.
(d) Bailey.

(e) Statutes of the Realm.—An Acte for establishment of the King's succession.—Journals of the House of Lords.

right in opposing the Privy Council?" "Why not, my lord," replied Sir Thomas More, "if I have on my side the whole of Christendom?"(a) There was a meeting of the Privy Council at the Palace; Cranmer took an occasion to insult More's courage. He asserted that the ex-chancellor had refused the oath through pride, as it would injure the popularity he enjoyed in England (b) The archbishop, however, was of opinion, that Fisher and More should be allowed to take the oath with any restriction they might be pleased to put on it, inasmuch as it would be the only way to convince the emperor, the Pope, and Katharine, that they could no longer depend on men who had rallied round the crown.(c) Cromwell agreed with Henry in desiring that the oath should be taken without the slightest restriction. Roper is of opinion that Anne, the evil genius of England, was seated like the ghost of Banquo, in the royal *fauteuil* during the deliberation of the Privy Council.(d) Fisher and More were reconducted to Lambeth, and, persisting in their heroic determination, were committed to the Tower.(e) More, passing the Traitor's Arch, took off his cap and presented it to the gaoler, apologising at the same time for its being so old. "I want your cloak," replied the gaoler. More, confused at his mistake, took back his cap and gave him his cloak.(f) Both prisoners were deprived of writing materials, lest they should compose anything against the divorce;(g) the servant (John Wood) told them that he had been strictly charged by the lieutenant of the Tower, not even to allow a Book of Hours in their cell.(h)

The house at Chelsea remained just as Sir Thomas had left it; no armed sentinel had yet intruded on the repose of the holy women dwelling there; while by the prince's orders, guards were searching the episcopal palace at Rochester, the furniture being carried away and sold by auction for the benefit of the crown. Fisher's property was confiscated, and he himself deprived of his see, and was scarcely allowed, while at the Tower, a few rags to defend him from the cold and damp.(i) We shall soon hear him complain of his cruel sufferings. Of these Confessors of the Faith, one was in the eyes of the law more culpable than the other, for bishops had a perfume of oil which was excessively offensive to Henry; but the angel of God is like the light, pervading every spot. One morning, on awakening, he found on his bureau a note from his former collegians and pupils of St. John's College, Cambridge: "All we have," wrote they to him, "is yours; we are at your service from this day and henceforward. You are our glorious master, our beloved head; every evil, every misfortune that may overtake you, we shall also feel deeply.(j)" It is a pity that no signatures were attached to this note, or else we should have felt much pleasure in handing down the names of these charitable Christians to posterity. During the trial at Lambeth, the king took it into his head to revise the Oath of Succession, which had not been given by Parliament. Henry, in altering the text of a law, was acting against the constitution of the country. Until then, the laity had only been required to take an oath according to the general prescriptions of the bill; but with the clergy it was necessary to be excessively cautious. The priest was required to swear that the Bishop of Rome had had no more authority in England than any other foreign prelate; but that a full, entire, and unreserved submission and obedience, not as restricted by the law of God, was due to the king as supreme head of the Church. The docile clergy took the oath as required by Henry.(k)

Parliament, which did not like being outstripped by the king in the road of iniquity, assembled on the 4th November, 1534, and immediately set to work. By

(a) Rudhart.
(b) Rudhart.
(c) See a letter from Fisher to Cranmer and Cromwell.—Strype.
(d) Rudhart.
(e) See the Act of Attainder in Rudhart—Appendix (L).
(f) Stowe's Survey of London.
(g) Rudhart.
(h) Burnet.
(i) Rudhart.
(j) Harl. MSS. No. 7030. p. 230.
(k) Wilkins' Concilia.—Rymer, XIV. 487. 527.

one of its acts,(a) it converted the king into a pope, a father of the Church, and a parish priest. The king on this earth is the supreme head of the Church, hence he is a Pope. The king has full power to examine, revise, or punish dangerous innovations, which may glide into the dogmatic teaching of the Catholic Church; hence he is a father of the Church. The king has a right to reform any or every abuse which may be introduced into the administration of a religious community; hence he is a parish priest.(b) At Wittemberg, and in the circle immediately affected by the preaching of Luther, there was a time when there were as many priests as there were individuals, for according to the theory of the Saxon monk, every Christian received at baptism the sacerdotal unction. In England, by virtue of the Parliamentary rule of Faith, there was but one priest, and that was the king. In its servile eagerness, Parliament had anticipated every step. It had confided new and weighty functions on the sovereign, whose duty it was to furnish naval and land forces, sign treaties, create peers, convoke Parliament, sanction laws; viz, those of watching over the dogmatic teaching of the Church, confounding heresy, condemning the works of heretics, keeping up the *police* of the Church, and regulating the Liturgy. To recompense royalty for this fresh weight of responsibility, it bestowed on the crown the first-fruits of every benefice and spiritual attribute, and the tenth of the annual amount of all ecclesiastical revenues.(c) There was every ground to fear that some soul, more courageous than Christian, irritated by such baseness, would make Henry responsible for these all but divine honours which he quietly accepted from a senate of slaves.

(a) An acte concernynge the kinge's hignes to be supreme heed of the Church of Englande, and to have auctoryte to refourme and redresse all errours and abuses yn the same.—Statutes of the Realm.

(b) And that our soveraigne lorde, his heires and successours kinges shall have full power and auctoritie, from tyme to tyme, to visite, represse, redresse, reforme, ordre, correct, restrayne, and amende all such errours, heresies, abuses, offences, contemptes, and enormyties what so ever they be.—Statute of the Realm.

(c) Lingard.

To place a check on such an attempt, Parliament enacted it to be high treason "to desire or maliciously wish, (the king requested that this term should be erased from the act), by word or by writing, to cause or to imagine anything obnoxious to the king, queen, or their heirs; to deny them the honours, titles, and qualifications due to their royal dignity, or to accuse them wickedly or falsely of schism, heresy, or tyranny."(d)

Thus it was death by the law to deny Anne Boleyn the title of highness, or the king who had broken unity the title of Catholic. The Parliament had created a new kind of legislation; therefore we have no right to be astonished at its requiring new oaths. In three years, the old formula had become too antiquated, and therefore it was changed. By swearing to the king's spiritual supremacy, the bishops had already acknowledged that the Pope had no longer any spiritual authority in England; that they were never to appeal to his decision; to renounce all correspondence with him; and to send the king every message or letter they might receive from Rome. But did not the prelate, whose tongue and fingers were thus bound, act with the same hypocritical reserve as Cranmer, and protest against what he wrote or swore? Henry anticipated this, and he was not at rest until he had obtained from every bishop in the kingdom a formal renunciation of every ulterior protest which could possibly elude or weaken a single letter of the Oath of Supremacy;(e) so that it was impossible to repeat the farce formerly acted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. We much doubt whether the primate was pleased with this royal stratagem. But there was still remaining in the Prayer Book an obnoxious name which represented an image. The word *Pope* was inscribed in *Horæ quotidianæ* of the Faithful. Henry ordered it to be effaced from the Missal

(d) Archæologia XXV. 795.

(e) 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. —Statutes of the Realm.

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and Kalendar. The name might be uttered, but on the condition that it should represent to the eye and mind, as the Antichrist predicted by the prophet Daniel, the beast of the Apocalypse, and the "Old man of Sin" of the Old Testament. It was under this triple form that Cranmer spoke of the Pope in his sermons.(a)

There may yet be met with some old books, printed in the commencement of Henry's reign, in which the erasure of the accursed name seems to have been committed by a trembling hand. It was as in Saxony at the time of the Iconoclastic warfare raised by Carlstadt, when every soul regenerated by the word of the archdeacon could only preserve his Book of Hours by cutting off the head of the saints with which some old artist had embellished it. There then appeared a royal proclamation, affixed to all the doors of the churches, and, according to custom, cried by the sound of a trumpet in the city of London, ordering that from henceforward the pure Word of God alone should be preached in the temples of the Lord; that the name of the Bishop of Rome should be effaced from every liturgical book; that on each Sunday and holiday, the priest should ascend the pulpit to declare to the people that the jurisdiction, title, and qualification of Supreme Head of the Church belonged to the king alone.(b) The sheriffs of the counties, by the good pleasure of the king, transformed into spies, were ordered to keep a strict watch over the clergy, and to denounce to the Privy Council not only those who neglected to obey the sovereign, but those who accomplished their duty with but manifest negligence and indifference

(a) Todd's Life of Cranmer.

(b) That the true, mere, and sincere Word of God should be preached in the churches; that the name of the Bishop of Rome should be erased out of all liturgical books; that on every Sunday and Holy day the people should be taught, that the title, style, and jurisdictions of Supreme Head appertained to the King, &c. —Wilkins, Concilia.

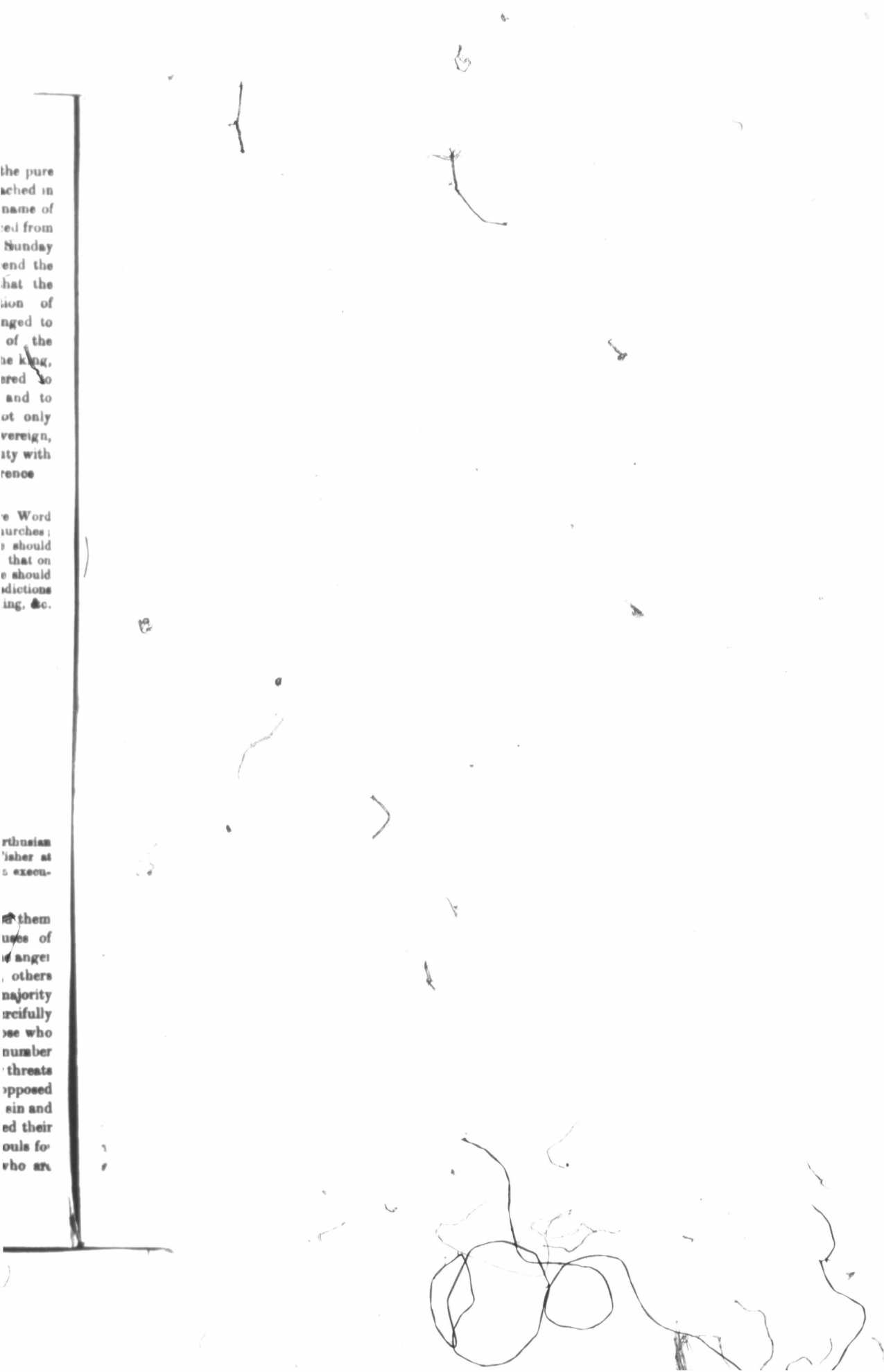
CHAPTER XXIX.

THE CARTHUSIANS AND FISHER.—1535.

Resistance of a few of the Religious Houses to the Statute of Supremacy.—The Three Carthusian Priors.—Their heroic death.—Calumnies propagated against those who had suffered.—Fisher at the Tower.—His letter to Cromwell.—Either before his judges.—His last moments.—His execution.—Legend.—Appeal of Paul III. to the Princes of Christendom.

We have every reason to be thankful to Almighty God for having preserved a spark of Faith during this period of apostacy in England to be a consolation to faithful souls, and a chastisement to the wicked. Virtue fled for refuge to some of the Religious Houses in the vicinity of London, especially to the Monasteries of the Carthusians, Brigittines, and Reformed Franciscans.(a) Called on to take the oath of allegiance, the monks who inhabited them preferred rather to quit their Houses of Prayer than expose themselves to the anger of the despot. Some went to Italy, others to Spain, many to France, and the majority to Flanders, that land which so mercifully received these poor exiles. Of those who remained in England, a great number unhappily fell victims to the craft or threats of Cromwell; but some heroically opposed the government, and placed between sin and martyrdom, preferred rather to shed their blood for God than sacrifice their souls for the tyrant. It is a pleasure for us who are

(a) Cardinal Pole assures us that the Carthusians, Brigittines, and Observants enjoyed the reputation of being the most regular.—See his Apology.



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(d) Chau

Catholics to relate the death of these glorious confessors of Christ; may they obtain from all who read these pages a tear of remembrance, which will serve them instead of the grave, refused by their cruel persecutors! We take a pleasure in relating how Peyto and Elstow, defenders of the true liberty of conscience, answered Cromwell, when he threatened to throw them into the Thames: "Go threaten those wealthy in the goods of the world, who drink in goblets and sleep on down; what matters it to us if we are thrown into the Thames; the road to heaven is as short by water as by land."(a) Cromwell pardoned these brave and generous defenders of the Faith. Perhaps his motive was to win over the monks of their orders by clemency; but he soon perceived that all were animated by the same faith, and accordingly, by the king's orders, he drove them from their monasteries, throwing some into prison, and confining others in conventual cells; and nearly fifty of them perished in the dungeons, of cold or starvation. Wriothesley (one of those timid souls, and a number of the Privy Council, who were afraid to acknowledge their faith) saved several, by using his interest in obtaining their banishment to France and Scotland.(b) On the slightest appearance of danger, Henry invariably had recourse to his general remedy —blood.

There was in the vicinity of London a Carthusian house, (known by the name of the Monastery of the Salutation,) of which John Houthon was Superior.(c) On the Bill of Supremacy passing into law, Houthon assembled his brethren, read to them the new statute, and asked them if they were prepared to take the oath. They replied, "We would prefer death, and Heaven and earth will bear witness that we died unjustly."(d) "God's holy name be blessed," replied the prior; "and may he vouchsafe to you the grace of perseverance in your holy resolution. Prepare then to appear before God by a general confession of your sins, and let each of you select a spiritual father, to whom I grant the power of giving the last absolution."

The night was spent in tears of penance and the joy of reconciliation. On the morrow, at the first stroke of the bell, the brethren assembled in the hall, and soon afterwards the prior appeared, who thus addressed these noble champions of the Faith: "Dear fathers and brethren, do as I am about to do, I beg of you;" then advancing towards the senior monk, he knelt down and said to him: "Father, bless me in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost;" and each of the brethren prostrated himself before him, whose virtue or age made him an object of veneration among his brother Religious. While this affecting scene was going on, two priors, alarmed at the intelligence they had just received, knocked at the gate, having come to take the advice of Father Houthon, who was renowned for his great learning and piety; they were the Prior of of our Lady of the Visitation, (Father Augustine Webster); and the Prior of Belleval, (Father Robert Lawrence.) They decided that it was best to have an interview with Cromwell, to beg of him to let them be in peace, and not to require of them the oath prescribed by the statute. Cromwell endeavoured to show them that in refusing to take the oath, they would devote both their bodies and souls to destruction, as they would be guilty of disobedience to God and the king, whom Christ had made Supreme Head of the Church. The Fathers shook their heads, as a sign of their disbelieving his assertion. The minister, irritated at their obstinacy, (as he called it,) ordered them to be taken to the Tower, and they ascended the step leading to the Traitor's Gate with great alacrity and cheerfulness of mind.(e) A few days after Cromwell, accompanied by some of the Privy Councillors, went to the Tower, and did all in his power to persuade these Religious to take the oath. Father Houthon, speaking for himself and his companions,

(a) Stowe.
(b) Lingard.
(c) Innocentia et constantia victrix, sive commentariolus de vitæ ratione et martyrio 18 Carthusianorum qui in Angliæ regno sub Henrico VIII., ob Ecclesiæ defensionem crudeliter trucidati sunt; edita primùm à R. P. F. Chancæo, Anglo ejusdem ordinis. 1608, in Carthusiâ Horti Angelorum, Wirceburgi.
(d) Chauncey. Innocentia et constantia.
(e) Chauncey. Innocentia et constantia.

declared that they were quite ready to take any oath that was not opposed to the commandments of the Church "(a) "What care I for the Church?"(b) replied Cromwell. "No restriction; the law does not admit it. Answer simply: Will you, or will you not obey the law?" "We cannot," replied Houthon, "for St. Augustine has said: 'I would not believe the gospel, unless authorised to do so by the Catholic Church.'"(c) Cromwell retired.

The following morning the Religious, included in a Bill of Attainder, appeared before the court with a monk of Sion (Reynolds) and a secular priest. The jury at first refused to convict the poor Religious, whose piety was so well known, of high treason; but the text of the law was formal. The statute which bestowed the title of Supreme Head of the Church on the monarch, declared those guilty of high treason, "who should endeavour, either by writing or printing, to deprive him of that dignity and those honours;" the brethren had neither said nor written anything. But other statutes, suggested by the king himself, had been enacted condemning any one for obstinately refusing to take the oath, whether he was silent to save his life, or gave his reasons. Was he silent, he refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy? Did he bring forward any reason on which to found his refusal, he then derogated from royalty the attributes of Divine right? Thus caught in the meshes of the law, the culprit resembled a bird fascinated by the eye of the serpent, which remains motionless on the tree, or flutters with its wings as if desiring to take to flight. The jury still hesitated. Cromwell urged them to convict, as the king was impatiently awaiting their decision. A first message seemed to make no impression on the court. A second was no less unsuccessful. The minister entered their room of consultation himself, and pointed out to the jury that the scruples and objections of the prisoners, tending to deprive the king of the honours, titles, and attributes conferred on him by the law, constituted the crime of high treason;(d) and after several entreaties threatened to deprive them of their lives, unless they returned a verdict of guilty (e) The foreman of the jury accordingly, with his hand on his heart, pronounced the ordinary formula—GUILTY.

Five days after, (5th May 1535), the three monks, in their religious habits, Reynolds and the priest, were fastened on a hurdle and dragged by horses as far as Tyburn, the place appointed for their execution, about three miles from London.(f) After untying the cord which bound Father Houthon, the executioner approached, and according to the custom of the period, begged his pardon; the Father could scarcely raise his arm to give him the kiss of peace; on arriving on the platform, he turned towards the people, when one of Privy Council, who was standing at the foot of the gibbet, cried aloud, "Father John, the king will pardon you on condition that you take the oath." "No," replied the Carthusian, lifting up his eyes to heaven. "No; all you who now hear me, will witness at the great day of judgment that it was neither through obstinacy nor malice that I refused to take the oath, but out of obedience to my God, my Church, and my conscience. Pray for me, and take pity on my poor brethren whose unworthy prior I was."(g) The executioner leant forward to tie his arms, when the prior, with a countenance resplendent with heavenly joy, sang, "In thee, O my God do I put my trust, let me not be confounded, but deliver me according to Thy justice." Then turning round, he ascended the ladder, put his head into the noose, and uttered his last cry. He was not dead when cut down,(h) and his body was embowelled while yet warm, and his heart and entrails(i) cast into the fire. The trunk was divided into four pieces, which, when half roasted, were sent to the four most important cities

(a) Chauncey. Innocentia et constantia.
(b) Ib.
(c) Ego verò evangelio non crederem, nisi me Ecclesiæ Catholicæ commoveret auctoritas.
(d) 26th statute Henry VIII.
(e) Chauncey, Innocentia, &c.
(f) Ib.
(g) Ib.
(h) Ib.
(i) Ib.

of the kingdom, to frighten(a) all those who wore a monk's habit. The head was fixed on a pole at London Bridge, and one of the arms fastened to the gate of the Monastery of the Visitation.(b) The other two priors, Reynolds and the priest, died with like resignation, and endured the same torments. Three monks of the Carthusian Order, who had in vain requested permission to accompany their brethren to the gallows as confessors, were hanged on the 18th of June, and were followed by others. There is in Reginald Pole a frightful and harrowing tale of some of these immolations renewed by this second Decus. The executioner, who well knew from frequent practice at what moment the fatal knot should be tied, "suspended the embraces of that fell tyrant Death, and thus prolonged the sufferings of his victim."(c) How can we justify the unwonted and unheard of torments?

It was stated at court, that the convict had died not for refusing to take the oath, but for having been an accomplice in a plot against the king's life.(d) Those three Religious, who, of their own accord, had an interview with Cromwell, conspired against the Tudor dynasty! The proofs of their guilt, it was said, had been laid before Parliament with their confession. Had they not, a moment before they were launched into eternity, demanded pardon of God and men? Witnesses swore that they heard the dying men call the king merciful. In vain would the search be now-a-days for these abominable documents. They are no longer in existence; they were destroyed for fear that the heir of Henry the VIII. should curse the memory of his father.(e) But we are acquainted with all that the martyrs said. They are protests, when within a hail of eternity against the injustice of the sentence by which they were condemned to death, or prayers, truly affecting and heart-touching for the conversion of the despot.

Listen for a while to Father Humphrey Middlemore: while they were tearing off his flesh with red-hot pincers in searching for his heart, he smiled at the executioner and said: "Our heart is not there, it is in heaven where is our treasure."(f) "Tell your master how we died," said William Meuwe, "may he repent." And if some pious soul had not written the narrative of these sufferings, no trace of them would have been now extant.(g) Fisher languished for some time in prison, deserted by his friends, as they were afraid of being implicated. Almost without food, never by chance a drop of wine, his clothes almost in rags, and deprived of even his office book; such was his lot! After earnest entreaties, a pen and slip of paper were given him, on which he addressed a few lines to Cromwell. "Have some pity for me," writes the old man, now in his 77th year. "I have no shirt, no linen, no clothes. My nakedness makes me ashamed of myself. I could, however, still bear up with it, if I was enabled to support the body,

(a) Chauncey, Innocentia, &c.

(b) There is no doubt that these persons, for denying the supremacy as may be proved by the bill against two of them, John Rochester and James Walworth.—B. M. MSS. Cleop., E. VI.—Archæologia XXV., 84.

(c) Reg., Pol.—Raynald., Annal. Eccl.

(d) The ordinary report went among the common people that these (three Carthusian Priors) combined together to kill the king, and therefore justly underwent this punishment.—H. Strype. Hall says: That the indictment stated that they had traiterously spoken against the king, his crown and majesty; and foolishly acknowledged their treason, which maliciously they avouched.—Hall was the annalist of the festivities of the court.

(e) We have no detail what these were, as the legal documents have disappeared.—Turner.

(f) Chauncey, Innocentia, &c.

(g) Goclenius (Conradus), the friend of Erasmus, has related in detail the deaths of Fisher and More. His MSS. letter still exists, (it was sold in 1843, by M. Van Slopen, at Paris,) and is in the possession of a notary at Châlons-sur-Marne. The narrative of the death of the three priors, and fifteen other Carthusians, was sent by the fathers of that order to Mayence in 1550, to be printed. Pole, in his apology to Charles V., speaks of their death, and deplores the fate of one of them (Reynolds), "qui, quod in paucissimis ejus generis hominum reperitur, omnium liberalium artium cognitionem non vulgarem habebat, eamque ex ipsis haustam fentibus."—Strype. Theatrum crudelitatum hæreticorum nostri temporis.—Burnet asserts that their death was neither cruel nor new.

but they give me little or nothing to eat, as God knows! At my age, the stomach wants food; and if I have it not, I shall soon die. I beseech you then, in the name of charity, beg the king, to deliver me from this cold and murderous prison; this would be indeed an act of of charity, for which I should be ever grateful, and God would reward you for it by taking you under his protection and good guardianship. I have yet two more favours to request: the first, to allow me to see a priest to whom I may confess, for Christmas is drawing nigh; and secondly, to lend me an office book, that I may be able to say my prayers during that holy season, and comfort my soul. Grant me all this, I beg of you, for the sake of charity. May our Lord vouchsafe you as happy a new year as you can wish. —From the Tower, 22nd Dec., 1534; written by the hand of your poor servant."(a) Such were almost word for word, the expressions of Servetus, when he wrote from the prisons of Geneva to Calvin: "I am devoured by lice and other vermin. I am in rags, and have no clothes wherewith to change, and suffer much from the cold, and am subject to attacks of cholic, which have given rise to other inconveniences, of which I am ashamed to write. It is indeed cruel that I am not allowed to leave, even for a season, to obtain what is necessary. For the love of God, or for pity's sake, or from duty, give the requisite orders."(b) The theocrat who reigned at London was as merciless with regard to Fisher, as had been the theocrat who reigned at Geneva to the prayers of Servetus. At Florence, Macchiaveili, after having been implicated in the conspiracy of Boscoli against the Medicis, was waiting in prison the chastisement due to his crime, when Leo X., compassionating the secretary of the Republic, gave him his liberty.(c) If modern historians are to be believed, Henry prayed that death might deliver him of Fisher. Death, however, came not; instead of falling a victim to that grim tyrant, the prisoner was about to receive a crown. Clement VII. had been succeeded by Paul III. One of the first thoughts of the new Pontiff was to reward Fisher's heroism and attainments by the cardinal's hat. On hearing that a courier was *en route* with the emblem of this glorious dignity for the Bishop of Rochester, the king gave orders that he should not be allowed to land at Dover; then, in order to be acquainted with the impression that this intelligence would produce on the old man, Cromwell was commissioned to visit the prisoner. "What would you say, my lord," asked Cromwell of the bishop, "if you were told that the Pope intended sending you a cardinal's hat; would you accept it?" "I think myself truly unworthy of such a favour," replied Fisher; "but if the Pope, as a testimony of my conduct, were to send it to me, I should receive it on both my knees, as a mark of respect and gratitude." "Mother of God!" exclaimed the king, on hearing Fisher's reply, "he shall wear it then on his shoulders, for I shall leave him no head to set it on."(d)

During Fisher's imprisonment, the Parliament had on the 31st November, 1534, by a new statute, declared those to be traitors to the state who denied to the king the title of Supreme Head of the Church in England; and it was by virtue of this statute that the prisoner was to be adjudged. It would indeed have been a victory if they could have made the captive acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pontiff king: this they hoped to accomplish by means of privations and sufferings, but the bishop was inflexible; and it was only necessary to secure his condemnation that he should utter one or two indiscreet words. Rich, the Solicitor General, went one day to the Tower with a message from the king; he entered the captive's room and told him, with a smiling countenance, that his majesty wished to have the opinion of so enlightened a prelate as the prisoner, on the supremacy which Parliament had acknowledged to be one of the attributes of royalty, as the prince had his scruples on the subject. Rich assured Fisher that he had no cause to be afraid, but that he might express himself freely and unreservedly; the

(a) Biog. Brit., (Art. Fisher.)—Tytler.
(b) Audin.—Hist. de Calvin.
(c) Audin.—Hist. de Léon X.

(d) Mother of God: he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on.—Biog. Brit.—Tytler.

king expressly wished to have the prisoner's opinion; favourable or unfavourable, none should know anything of it. Rich spoke with such persuasive candour that the old man took courage. "More than once have I, if I remember rightly, spoken with his majesty on this subject, and I shall not change my tone now that I have but a few more days to live; I am of the same opinion to-day as I was yesterday, that if the king is at all concerned for his salvation, he will have nothing to do with the statute of supremacy."(a) Rich now took his leave. The case was tried. Before the trial, however, the prisoner was examined several times. He was asked on 14th June, 1535, if he would recognise the king as Supreme Head of the Church, that prince's marriage with Lady Anne as legal, and Henry's union with Katharine as incestuous.(b) Fisher made the same reply as he had previously done to several prelates who had visited him in prison; he was prepared to take the Oath of Succession, but he begged that they would not press him to give an answer to the other questions.(c)

Robert Southey regards Fisher's refusal as a fit of obstinacy;(d) but happily sectarianism is not universally inimical to the light of truth, for another Protestant writer (Bruce) laments that "so dangerous a doctrine had so able an advocate.(e) The bishop appeared at the bar before the Duke of Suffolk and other peers, appointed to try him by virtue of a royal commission.(f) The indictment was read aloud. The bishop was accused of having falsely, maliciously, and traitorously desired, imagined, invented, essayed (the terms as well as the idea of the bill are equally barbarous) to deprive the king of his royal attributes, *i.e.*, of his title and of his name as Supreme Head of the Church. This crime, provided for by the statute, had been committed among other places at the Tower, on 7th May, when Fisher had maliciously, traitorously, and falsely said: "The king is not the Head of the Church."(g) Rich arose to affirm that he had heard these blasphemies; the old man then perceived the snare into which he had fallen by means of the Solicitor General; but he did not endeavour to justify himself, still less to implore the pity of his judge, and he was accordingly condemned to be beheaded. He was led back to prison on horseback or in a boat, as he was unable to walk;(h) on returning to his cell he prepared, by prayer, to appear before God.

On the 22nd of June, the lieutenant of the Tower came to awaken him. Kingston was at a loss how to communicate the purport of his mission to the prisoner. "My lord," said he, with great effort, "you are very old, very infirm, and almost worn out, and a day more or less———. My lord the pleasure of his grace is that this morning ———." "Thank you," said Fisher, "I understand; but at what hour?" "At nine, my lord." "And what o'clock is it now?" "It has just struck five?" "Five o'clock. Oh, I have yet time to take a good two hours' sleep. Let me rest." "It is the king's pleasure that you do not speak too long to the people." "His grace shall be obeyed." Fisher went to sleep. He arose at seven, and dressed himself in the best clothes he had; for permission had at last been obtained for him to have books and clothes.(i) "Why such care?" inquired Kingston, "Because I am going to my wedding. I shall to-day be married to death, and one ought to dress well on a festival. Kingston, give me my fur cravat, that I may keep my neck warm." Kingston smiled. "Eh! have you forgotten that this neck belongs to God, who gave it to me, and that I must therefore take care of it."

The scaffold was ready and waiting to receive its victim. Fisher asked for a New

(a) Biog. Brit. (Art. Fisher.)

(b) Lingard.

(c) To this interrogatorie he desireth, that he maye not be driven to answere lest he shuide fall thereby into the daungers of the statutes. —MSS. Chap. House, Westminster, VII. 5.

(d) The bishop's persistance in refusing to do the oath was plainly a matter of obstinacy, not of conscience.—Book of the Church.

(e) It is a pity that a doctrine so dangerous had so able an advocate —Archæol. XXV. 68. —Bruce.

(f) Rapin de Thoyras.

(g) Tytler.

(h) Thomson.

(i) He received a letter from Erasmus while in prison.—MSS., Harl., No. 7047, p. 21.

Testament, which he opened on leaving his room to enter a carriage. The distance was long, it being some miles from the prison to the scaffold. On arriving at Tyburn, he gave the book to one of his guards, and turning to the people, said, "I die for our holy Faith, pray for me. O my God, take my soul, and save the king and his people!" Then kneeling down, he sang the *Te Deum Laudamus*, and laid his head on the block.(a) His head was picked up and placed on London Bridge, where it was exposed for five days. The legend relates that the countenance, preserved from corruption, seemed to be coloured with a supernatural redness, and that his vermilion lips appeared as if about to speak, as has been related of several noble martyrs.(b) Henry, fearing that the saint's lips might open, had his head thrown into the Thames.(c) The body, stripped by the executioner, remained until evening at the place where the sacrifice had been accomplished, when it was buried in the churchyard of All Hallows, Barking.(d) The legend again relates, that one day Cromwell and the king, who were passing near the bishop's grave, "saw some blood, and fled quite alarmed."

The Catholic world lamented deeply the bishop's death. At Rome, Paul III., affected even to tears, called on Christendom to commence a crusade against a sovereign who "had allowed the saints of the Lord to be devoured by dogs." He wrote to the emperor, Ferdinand of Austria, and the Kings of Portugal and Scotland, calling on them to avenge the rights of the Church and the world. He thus addressed Francis I.:—"The Roman Church has recourse to you, dear son in Jesus Christ, as she ever had to your predecessors when oppressed. She appeals to your piety, your benevolence, your love. Come to her succour by following the example of your ancestors, who vindicated her rights when insulted."(e)

Henry did not only write his title of Supreme Head of the Church in the blood of his victims, but on brass and on paper. On a medal is the following inscription around the effigy: "Henry VIII., King of England, Ireland, and France, and Supreme Head of the Church of Christ."(f) He wrote with his own hand at the commencement of a Latin Bible, of which only the Pentateuch appeared, *Ut in regno sumus sicut anima in corpore et sol in mundo*.(g) The poor peasant who assisted at Mass, at his parish church, could only pray in a book of prayer in which the hand of an apostate had inserted the spiritual titles of the King of England;(h) and the priest who ascended the pulpit was compelled to recommend to God's care and protection the anointed Head of the Church. Some canonists, as Sampson, endeavoured to prove to the people the sacerdotal descent of Henry: "The state is the body, the subjects are its members, the king is the head; the head commands the body and the members. Open Holy Writ; what read you there? Obey the king: *obedite regi*;(i) is it *obedite episcopo*?" Calvin was deeply hurt when he heard of these servile titles being heaped on Henry, and he cursed, as blasphemers, these bold zealots for the primacy of Henry. Woe to Sampson had he preached the royal supremacy at Geneva!

(a) These details have been taken:—1. From a Life of Fisher, in English, by Richard Hall, D.D., of Christ's College, Cambridge, who died in 1604, at St. Omer. The manuscript came after the author's death into the hands of Bailey, who published it under his name.—(Wood, Ath. Oxen, Art. Lewis Bayly.) More than one Protestant writer has borne witness to Hall's veracity. 2. From an excellent work by Mr. Bruce in the Archæologia, vol. XXV. 3. From Newcourt's Repertorium. 4. From Dodd's Church History.

(b) Roverus Pontanus, Rerum memorabilium jàm indè ab Anno Domini M.D. ad annum ferè LX. in Rep. Christianâ gestarum, libri v. Coloniæ, 1559. Goclenius, in the MSS. letter above quoted, says that Fisher's head was exposed for several days without the slightest trace of decomposition being remarked.

(c) Dodd's Church History.

(d) It was removed from the churchyard, and placed in the chapel of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the Tower, near the remains of More.—Newcourt.

(e) Raynaldus.—Ann. Eccles. (1535.)

(f) Bibliothèque Anglaise, par Armand de la Chapelle.

(g) Ut in regno sumus sicut anima in corpore et sol in mundo.

(h) The order for a form of bidding prayers set out by the king's authority.—Wilkins' Concilia.—Strype.

(i) Richardi Sampsonis regii sacelli decani oratio quâ docet, hortatur, admonet quamplurimos potissimùm Anglos regiæ dignitati ut obediant

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CHAPTER XXX.

MORE AT THE TOWER.—1535.

More's first thoughts on entering the Tower.—His Commentary on the Psalms.—Margaret permitted to see her father.—And why?—She endeavours to administer the Oath of Supremacy to the prisoner.—Struggle between the daughter and the father.—Triumph of the Christian.—Alice goes to see her husband.—A fresh struggle.—Kingston.—Cromwell endeavours to overcome More, and fails.—Mission of Rich, the Solicitor General.

Sir Thomas More did not only lose his life in refusing the Oath of Supremacy, but all that could make life dear. Never did there exist a more united family: a wife, who overcame every obstacle on account of her devotion to her husband; three daughters who adored him, and whose minds and hearts he had himself formed—three models of learning and grace, especially the eldest, whom Erasmus regarded as a treasure of virtue and learning; sons-in-law, who studied to make their wives happy; a library filled with rare books, which he had collected on the continent; autograph letters from the cleverest men of the day; pictures from the pencil of Hans Holbein; a cottage built after his own design; a chapel, of which he had been the architect and decorator—a retired sanctuary, where he was wont to pray every morning; a garden, which he had planted with his own hand; a green sward, where in summer he entertained his friends, numerous acquaintances, and a yet larger number of poor dependants. All this More gave up when he followed Kingston to the Tower of London.(a) On entering his future apartment, he cast his eyes on a small wooden table and smiled, as if thanking Heaven for this unexpected fortune, for on this table

(a) It is presumed that the Tower of London was built by William the Conqueror in 1078. His successors, William Rufus and Henry I. enlarged it considerably, and the former surrounded the Tower with a thick wall in 1087. In the reign of Richard I., (1190,) Longchamps, Bishop of Ely, who was then governor of the Tower, increased the fortifications, and surrounded it with an outer ditch. Henry III. (in 1240) added a stone gate to the one at the entrance, and a rampart and other buildings towards the west. Edward I., and several of his successors, enlarged and fortified it. This fortress is situated on the northern bank of the Thames, at the extremity of the city, and occupies twelve acres of ground; the exterior enclosure is 3156 feet in circumference. It is surrounded with a ditch, fed with water by the Thames. There are four entries; the principal is on the S.W. of the building; it is large enough for a carriage to pass through. He built a double gate over this ditch, with a small stone bridge, and a third beyond it. The Tower is separated from the Thames by a platform and a portion of the ditch; at the two extremities of the platform were passages leading to Tower hill. Besides the two drawbridges on the south, which separate the fortress from the terrace, there is a private entry, called the Traitor's Gate, because state prisoners were brought that way. The royal apartments (for the Tower was for a lengthy time used as a royal residence) were in the principal turret, encircled by a stone wall twelve feet thick and forty feet high; they had battlements, and were fortified by thirteen turrets, the majority of which still exist. The White Tower is the largest and most ancient part of this fortress; it is not, however, the most interesting. It is a massive edifice, of a quadrangular form, 116 feet in length, by 6 feet broad, and 92 feet high. It has battlements, with a turret at each angle; the walls are 12 feet thick; the steps are round, and the whole building is composed of three floors. In the second floor is an apartment called Cæsar's Chapel, which may be regarded as one of the most perfect models (we have) of Norman architecture. When the kings of England held their courts in the Tower, this chapel was destined for their devotions, and those of the members of the royal family. It was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. The principal hall

were a writing desk and pens, but the gaoler soon deprived him of them. Happily there was in the grate a little charcoal, which he sharpened on the wall and used as a pen.(a) Henry had not thought of this device, or he would have been so mean as to deprive him of this consolation. More was soon at his desk, and wrote a few passages of the Psalms on a soiled sheet of paper: "I have slept and I have awoke, because the Lord kept me under his care." "My God! Thou hast armed me with a shield of strength." "See how sweet the Lord is!" "And I said who will give me wings like a dove that I might fly towards thee, O Lord?" And other texts from the royal Psalmist appropriated to one in suffering, on which he commented, and collected under the title of "Prayers taken from the Psalms of David "(b) We doubt not that our fair readers have long wondered at what Margaret was doing. Meg had been for a whole month imploring the Lord Chancellor (Audley) and others of the Privy Council with whom she was acquainted, to grant her permission to have an interview with her father. Margaret, after much deliberation on the part of those in authority, obtained the necessary authority to see her father and write to him, provided her letters were first read by the king, and she could only converse with Sir Thomas in the presence of one of the guards.(c) How many prayers of thanksgiving, and with what true sincerity, were offered up that evening by More's family to Almighty God! Henry acted from crafty motives for which they did not give him credit at Chelsea. He hoped that Meg would be able to influence her father, and what a victory for

was used as the Privy Council Chamber. Besides Cæsar's Chapel there was another in the fortress built in the reign of Edward I., and consecrated to St. Peter *ad vincula*. It is a very small building, and is interesting, inasmuch as it was the burial place of many of Henry VIII.'s principal victims. Here repose the remains of Anne Boleyn, as well as her brother, George Boleyn; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; Thomas Cromwell, who was for some time the tyrant's favourite; the Lord Chancellor, Thomas More; the Countess of Salisbury, the last of the Plantagenets; Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, executed in 1552; and the two victims of Elizabeth's jealousy, Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scotland. The famous Earl of Essex, one of Queen Elizabeth's favourites, is also interred here. The belfry is of a circular form, and its vaulted roof is exceedingly curious; it is said that Elizabeth was confined here; the room belongs to the governor. Near the Belfry Tower is Beauchamp or Cobham Tower, which has always been used as the state prison. It consists of two stories, and the walls of the apartments bear evidence of the sufferings endured by those who were imprisoned there. Among the celebrated persons incarcerated in this tower, were Anne Boleyn and Lady Jane Grey, Charles Bailly, John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Philip, Earl of Arundel, son of the Duke of Norfolk. The Pearl Tower, known also by the name of the Martin Tower, contains the crown jewels. The value of the crown jewels is estimated at about £2,000,000. Here are kept the gold orb which the sovereign holds in his hand at the time of his coronation; the swords of justice and mercy; the large gold salt-cellar; the silver baptismal fonts, which are only used for royal christenings; the vessels used for the coronation; the gold *ampulla* for the sacred oil, and other articles of value. The following parts of the building are remarkable:—The Broad-arrow Tower, built on dimensions somewhat smaller than those of Beauchamp Tower; the Salt Tower, celebrated for an inscription written by an hotel keeper, who was confined there for sorcery, in 1560; the Lantern Tower, which is very ancient: it contained formerly the king's bed chamber, and communicated with the banquetting hall; the Bloody Tower, where it is supposed that Edward V. and his brother Richard, Duke of York, were suffocated, by order of their uncle, Richard III. There is a fine octagonal hall in the Wakefield Tower, dependant on the Records office, were it is said that Henry VI. was assassinated. This tower is called Wakefield Tower in consequence of the prisoners taken at the Battle of Wakefield having been there confined.—Lake's Guide to London.

(a) All the while Sir Thomas was in the Tower he was not idle, but busied himself in writing, with a coal, spiritual treatises.—More.

(b) Devout Prayers, collected out of the Psalms of David. More also wrote while in confinement: A Goodly Meditation, written in the Tower 1534. A Devoute Prayer, made by Sir Thomas More after he was condemned to die Thursday, the first day of July, 1535. A Dialogue of comfort against the tribulacion made by an Hungarien in Latin, and translated out of Latin into French, and out of French into Englishe, by Sir Thomas More, Knt., 1534, while he was a prisoner in the Tower of London, in 3 books. These various pamphlets are in "The works of Sir Thomas More, sometyme Lord Chancellor. London, at the costs and charges of John Cawood, John Valey, and Richard Tottell, 1557, in folio."

(c) More.—Campbell.

him could he have proclaimed that More had taken the oath! With what pious art did Margaret array her arguments to triumph over her father; rhetorical arguments which she, poor creature, thought irresistible; the silence of the people, the example of the bishops, the behaviour of the clergy, the wish of the prince, the statute of Parliament, the organ of the nation.(a) She thought not of something that was yet more powerful—her tears and her kisses. Had More been actuated by his feelings as a father, he would have yielded, but he was a Christian, and therefore he resisted. The Christian had his arguments also. Christ, the Apostles, the Fathers of the Church, the doctors of canon law, the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST on earth, the choir of angels, the seraphims and the blessed spirits, the Catholics who had departed from this life and those who were yet living, all cried out to him: "Take not the oath." "But father," said Margaret, "people here below do not always act as they intended; you may change your opinion, and Heaven grant that it may not be too late." "God forbid!" replied the prisoner, "the more acute my sufferings, the quicker shall I be delivered. I place all my hope in Jesus Christ, he will not allow me to yield; and should I yield so far as to take the oath, He will glance with an eye of mercy at me in my fall, and permit me to rise as he did St. Peter. But God will not desert me. Courage, Meg, and do not be annoyed at anything that may happen in this world; the will of God alone be done."(b)

Margaret returned in great sorrow to Chelsea. She was one day met by Audley, who thus addressed her: "Your father is decidedly wrong. Fisher was similarly situated; but he has repented and taken the oath." "Are you sure of it, my lord?" "Sure of it! I know it. Fisher is now with the king." On entering her father's cell, Margaret exclaimed in a triumphant manner, "My lord of Rochester has taken the oath." "Silence, child," said More, in a tone of surprise, "it is utterly impossible." "The Lord Chancellor has just told me so." "Go away," cried More, indignantly, go away, you are mad."(c) Margaret was not discouraged. It was she, as doubtless the reader recollects, who wrote those beautiful letters that Erasmus showed Budœus, the pure Latinity of which completely astonished the *savans* of the day. We have not seen the letter which she addressed to her father after her first failure; but it must have been exceedingly affectionate and eloquent! We have the prisoner's reply: "Know then, my child," says this noble soldier of Christ, "that of all that may happen to me, nothing will give me greater pain than seeing my well-beloved daughter, of whose judgment I have so high an opinion, making a second attempt to induce me to belie my conscience." This letter was written with a piece of charcoal. Margaret now dried up her tears. She would not be overcome in this contest between filial love and duty. "Yes, father," wrote she, "I shall willingly obey the wish expressed in your saintly letter, a faithful interpreter of your heart, and I rejoice in your victory." But after this sublime effort, her tears again flowed, and she thus finished her letter: "Your very affectionate and very obedient daughter, Margaret Roper, who will not cease to pray for you, and who desires above all measure to be in John Wood's place." This John Wood was the poor boy who swept the prisoner's cell and made his bed. Margaret wrote another letter on the following day. More again had recourse to his charcoal, and traced a few more lines to his beloved daughter. "If in writing to you," said he, "I could possibly describe the joy I feel in reading your letters, a bushel of charcoal would not suffice the place of a pen."(d)

After Margaret came Lady More, who was also permitted to visit the prisoner; an ordinary person, who spoke only in proverbs, an admirer of every thing that attracted notice, but endued, nevertheless, with an excellent heart. "What are you doing here?" was her first salutation to her husband on entering his cell, "a man like

(a) Rudhart.
(b) Rudhart.

(c) Away, away, out fool.—Bailey's Life and Death of Sir Thomas More.
(d) More.—Rudhart.—Campbell.

you, you are a fool! stopping in a miserable cell, a companion of rats and mice, while you might be at court, if you would only follow the example of all the bishops, of all the learned men in the kingdom. At Chelsea, you had a nice little cottage, a library, a gallery, a fruit and flower garden, and all that could make life comfortable. How can you, in God's name, remain here?" More allowed her to go on, and when she had finished, said, "My dear wife, I wish to ask you one question. Tell me, is not this cell as near heaven as our house at Chelsea?" "There you are again with your nonsense," rejoined Alice.(a) "No, no nonsense," added More, "reply to my question." "Oh, my God, as if this were a time to act so childishly," said Alice. "Pardon me," rejoined the prisoner. "If my house at Chelsea is not nearer heaven than the Tower, why should I change my abode? Again, one more question. How much longer do you think I may live?" "Twenty years at least." "Indeed! And should you have said a hundred, I could not risk an eternity for the life of a century."

We must, however, do justice to Lady More. More than once did she go to the Tower to scold her husband, but never without evincing such attention as would tend to alleviate his sufferings.(b) A few months after his confinement, the commissioners seized all his property at Chelsea. She then was seen to sell her garments in order to supply More's wants,(c) and even to implore Cromwell to show some mercy to the prisoner.(d) Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, was one of those good souls who never forget kindnesses which they have once received. When More was in office Kingston had never been repulsed by the Lord High Chancellor, but had obtained from him all that he asked. Now that he was in adversity, Kingston endeavoured, as far as lay in his power, to alleviate his sufferings. Often, without being perceived, he would bring the prisoner some delicate viands, at the same time complaining that he could not supply him with better fare. He knew, he said, that he was suspected, and consequently under a continual *espionage*, and that walls had both eyes and ears. "Thank you, my good Kingston," replied the prisoner, "I know that you love me, and I thank you very sincerely for your kindness. I assure you that I have no cause for complaint; and when I do complain, turn me out."(e) The royal commissioners traversed England during More's confinement to receive the Oath of Succession from the clergy, nobility, merchants, and every grade of society.

On the 3rd November, 1534, Parliament decreed that the spiritual supremacy of the sovereign was an attribute inherent to royalty. Within a short period, as we have seen, every one in England was called on to swear fealty to the Supreme Head of the Church personified in Henry VIII. More, who languished in prison, could not evade a law sanctioned by Parliament. Henry was cruel enough to inquire into the opinion

(a) Rudhart.

(b) Campbell.

(c) I have been compellyd of verey necessite, to sell part of myn apparell, for lack of other substance to make money of.—Howard's Collection of Letters.

(d) The letter is addressed: To the Right Honourable and her especyal gud Maister Secretarye.

(e) Stapleton.—More.—Rudhart.

It having been recently stated by some that Sir Thomas More was a lay preacher, the translator of "L'Histoire de Henri VIII.," in order to *disprove* this *gratuitous* assertion, founded on the fact of his commentary in "De Civitate Dei" of St. Augustine, begs to call the reader's attention to the following passage from Stapleton's Life of the Martyred Chancellor of England, by which it will be seen that Sir T. More rather exercised a privilege, according to the *literati*, than usurped the pulpit of the Priest for "ajournant a une *autre* epoque (that of his ordination) l'examen de l'œuvre sainte sous le point de vue théologique, le jeune professeur se borna à en exposer les principales parties sous le rapport historique et philosophique."—French translation of Stapleton, edited by M. Audin. Libri (*Hist. des sumus Mathematiques.*) and Facciolati (*Fasti gymnasii dataviui*) both acknowledge that this method of lecturing adopted by More was "one of the extraordinary privileges granted by the literati of the day;" and another writer (Roper) adds that More "commenta seulement sous le double point de vue historique and philosophique le 1er livre "*De Civitate Dei*," de St. Augustin car les théologiens auraient vu de mauvais œil, et avec quelque raison un jeune homme lancé de la dogmatique en chaire."—Audin's Stapleton.

of his victim upon a bill which Parliament had enacted to be a law.

Cromwell, on the 30th April, 1538, entered the prisoner's cell, accompanied by the Attorney-General and two doctors of canon law, as witnesses would be required at the trial. Cromwell thus commenced: "Sir Thomas More," he said with an air of indifference, "are you aware that Parliament has sanctioned the bill which acknowledges the king as Supreme Head of the Church? His majesty is anxious to hear your opinion on this important act." "My lord," replied More, "I am not prepared for such a question; indeed I do not feel myself capable at this moment to discuss the respective rights of the Pope and the king; all I can say is that I am, that I have been, and that I always shall be the faithful subject of his majesty; that I daily pray for my king, his family, his councillors, and the state; believe me and let us not argue." "But," replied the secretary, "his majesty will not be satisfied with such a reply: he requires a more explicit answer; explain your views then openly. You know that the king is a mild and clement prince, who, though he be insulted by a subject, is ready to pardon him on the slightest sign of repentance. He is ready, I assure you, to grant every favour, and to permit you to re-enter the world of which you were an ornament." "The world," said More; "I think no more of it; you see," pointing to his work, "I have under my eyes the sufferings of Jesus Christ, my pattern and my model; I am preparing for death, that is my leading idea." "Be on your guard, for this is but obstinacy; in prison even you are a subject of the king, and the prince has a right to require from you obedience to his orders as well as to those of his Parliament. He can punish your obstinacy with all the rigour of the law; your example is capable of encouraging rebellion."(a) "If to pray for the king, for his family, for the state," rejoined the prisoner, "to speak evil of none, to do evil to none, but even to wish good to every one, cannot procure me a long life, then must I think of dying soon, and I am resigned to it. More than once in this Tower have I imagined that I had but one hour more to live; that idea does not at all unnerve me; my poor body is at the king's disposal."(b) It must not be imagined that Henry gave way to impatience; he struggled obstinately with More's virtue. He tried this glorious confessor of the Faith, weakened by old age, worn out by privations and sickness, in a way which would have made others shrink; a woman would be there who would perhaps be able to overcome the old man; the body once vanquished the soul would yield. On the 4th May, 1535, the three Religious, whose death we have above related, passed, by Henry's orders on their way to be executed, by More's window. At that moment it was so arranged that Margaret should be with her father. On hearing the tramp of the guards, the clashing of the arms, the trotting of the horses, Thomas More arose, went to the window, and perceived through the iron bars of his cell the three victims on their way to the scaffold. "Do you observe," he exclaimed, seizing his daughter by the arm, "how the countenance of those Fathers is radiant with joy; one would say they were going to a wedding; God purposes to reward their lives of devotion, and therefore they are not permitted to remain longer in this valley of tears, and He calls them to Himself to give them the crown of eternity. How happy are they! But your poor father is not worthy of so great a happiness; he is condemned, on account of his sins, to remain yet longer in this world a prey to misery and suffering."(c)

Scarcely had the three Religious been executed before Cromwell entered More's cell.(d) He came to see what effect the Carthusians had produced on the prisoner: he was quite joyful. The secretary endeavoured to mutter forth a few remonstrances in the name of his sovereign, for he no longer felt sufficient courage to make use of threats. More always appealed to his conscience, which no human power could vanquish; the interview was only for a few minutes. Scarcely had Cromwell left, ere the chancellor, imbued as it were with celestial light, took up a piece of charcoal,

(a) Roper,—State Papers, I., 431, 432-435.

(b) Rudhart.

(c) For God, considering their long-continued life, in most sore and grievous penance, will not suffer them longer to remain in this vale of misery.—More.

(d) More.

and wrote in the language of angels :— "Avaunt tempter! with thy Satanic smile and thy deceiving words thou hast lost thy time; my hope is in God. Sail, O my bark, sail towards the celestial haven! It is the only harbour where thou wilt find shelter against the tempestuous storm."(a)

His trials were not yet at an end. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Wiltshire came to besiege him in his strong castle; but God watched over his servant. Cromwell ever played the part of the tempter. "His majesty," said he to the prisoner, "is not at all pleased with you, Mr. More, and he is perfectly right; for you do him great wrong. You have an inexplicable antipathy against your sovereign. Remember your duty as a subject, and reply to the lords who are now listening to us. We ask you, in the king's name, if you mean to recognise him as Supreme Head of the Church, or if you still maliciously persist in refusing him that title."(b) "*Maliciously!*" replied Sir Thomas, with a smile. "Oh, no. I bear no malice in my heart. I persist in making the same reply as I have already given you, my lord. My only grief is in finding that his majesty, as well as you, my lord, has so bad an opinion of me; but the day will come, and this hope encourages me much, when my innocence will be made manifest before God and his saints. The Lord hears me, and he knows, that although the king may wreak his vengeance on my head, still I wish him no evil. I can lose my life, and yet retain my honour. I bear no hatred in my heart to the king. I revere the king more than any one else, after God." "But the king can compel you to say whether you accept or reject these statutes," remarked some of the councillors. "I do not dispute his majesty's power, my lords. I have not expressed my opinion on the statutes; I have on that subject no answer for you; only I solemnly declare that I cannot reproach myself with having acted or spoken against either of these statutes." "Here is a formula of the oath to which, doubtless, you will subscribe," said Cromwell: "swear that in all that regards the king's person you will act as a true and loyal subject." "I shall not swear; because I have vowed never again to take an oath." "What obstinacy! But every one at the Star Chamber has taken this oath." "I understand you, and I know what use you would make of it; it is a double-edged sword. I shall not swear." "Will you then refuse to tell us whether you have read the statute of supremacy?" "I know it." "Does the statute seem to you to be legal?" "I shall not answer." On retiring, Sir William Kingston was strictly ordered by them to keep a strict watch over his prisoner. The lieutenant now perceived that there was no hope for the ex-chancellor's life.

Shortly after this interview, the Solicitor-General, Rich, accompanied by Richard Southwell and Mr. Palmer, deprived More of all the books and papers in which he had till then found such delight. More was employed in his favourite work, his Commentary on the Passion, which he desired to bequeath to his children, and had arrived at the words, "And they laid their hands on Jesus," when the piece of charcoal was taken out of his hand. While Southwell and Palmer were packing up his books and MSS., Ritch took him by the hand, and led him gently towards the window of the cell, at the same time making a signal to his companions to listen to their discourse; but they were too deeply affected to do so. After a few indifferent subjects had been introduced, Rich smiled on his unhappy victim, and after a long silence thus addressed him: "Really, Mr. More, I know that you are possessed of as much wisdom as science. You are a celebrated lawyer, deeply versed in canon law, may I venture to ask you to solve a question for me? If Parliament enacted a law, compelling the kingdom to acknowlede me as king, would you do so?" "Certainly," replied More. "Very well," continued Rich, with the same apparent candour. "If Parliament enacted a law, compelling the people to acknowledge me as Pope,

(a) As soon as Mr. Secretary was gone, to express what comfort he received of his words he wrote with a coal certain excellent witty verses, which are printed in his book.

(b) Rudhart.—More.—Stapleton.

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would you do so?" "That is another point. In the first case, Parliament has the legislative power for regulating the temporal condition of the subject. Before replying to the second question, I should, in my turn, ask you if Parliament enacted a law compelling the people to swear that God was not God, would you do so?" "No, sir," replied Rich passionately; "no Parliament could enact such a law." "Neither can the Parliament—" replied More, suddenly stopping on the brink of the abyss. Rich made a sign to his companions, and all the three took their departure.(a)

(a) More.—Rudhart.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EXECUTION OF MORE.—1535.

More appears before his Judges.—The indictment read to him.—His defence.—Deposition of Rich.—More's reply.—The verdict.—Observations of the condemned.—Sentence pronounced by the Chancellor.—More taken back to prison.—Margaret takes leave of her father.—More's letter to his children.—Pope bids his old friend adieu.—More's execution.—The legend.—His character.

On the 1st of June, 1535, More was taken from the Tower to Westminster Hall, where his judges had assembled. He was led on foot like a highwayman, with his shoulders covered with an old cloak. His back bent double, his emaciated appearance, the staff on which he was compelled to lean, showed the sufferings he had endured during his long captivity; but his countenance evinced neither fear nor any other emotion, and a spectator might have imagined that the chancellor was on his way from Chelsea to the court to administer justice.(a) His judges took their places on velvet chairs ornamented with fringes. They were Sir Thomas Audley, Lord High Chancellor, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Sir John Fitz James, Lord Chief Justice, Sir John Baldwin, Sir Richard Leicester, Sir John Port, Sir John Spelman, Sir Walter Lucke and Sir Anthony Fitz Herbert. Nearly all had had the honour of being, as Audley, the prisoner's guests, and some of them were his intimate friends. On the left of the court, and near the jury, was seated Richard Rich, a creature of Cromwell's, and Solicitor-General. The clerk read aloud the indictment. It was drawn up with great art, in which the accusations were clothed in such a multiplicity of phrases and words, that it would have been utterly impossible for the most retentive memory to have recollected the principal charges. Two of the principal accusations against Sir Thomas were his refusal to take the oath required by Parliament, acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of the king, and his obstinate disobedience to the sovereign. All that could possibly be brought to prove these charges was adduced against More: his letters to Fisher, written in prison, his allusion to the oath, which he compared to a double-edged sword, calculated to kill the soul as well as the body, and his conversation with Rich, which had been heard by Palmer and Southwell. More was consequently accused of high treason.(b)

After the reading of the indictment, the Lord Chancellor thus addressed the prisoner: "You have just heard the indictment. You perceive that the charges brought against you are very serious, but such is the goodness of the king that he will pardon you, at least such is our belief, your unpardonable obstinacy, if you will

(a) More.—Rudhart.

(b) Statutes of the realm.—Roper.—Stapleton.—Hodderdon.—More.—Hall.—Stowe.—Collier—State Trials.—Biog. Brit.—British Plutarch.—Liter. Conversationsblatt, No. 1., Jan., 1826.

hear reason." More standing up, and leaning on his staff, thus replied: "Noble lords, I thank you heartily for the interest which you profess to take in me; but I pray God to grant me the grace to persevere until death in the resolutions I have taken." Stopping for an instant, as if to collect his ideas, he thus recommenced:—

"The indictment that I have just heard is so diffuse, the charges so numerous, that I feel much that I have neither sufficient strength nor sufficient memory, (for my mind as well as my body have suffered by my incarceration,) to reply thereto without forgetting something." As his limbs bent under him, the Lord Chancellor ordered the attendants to give him a chair. More sat down and thus continued:(a) "If I do not forget, the indictment contains four principal charges against me, to which I shall reply in the order in which they are laid down. The first charge is that of having disapproved of the king's marriage with Lady Anne Boleyn. I admit this charge: yes, I spoke to his majesty conscientiously, and that freedom you have manufactured into a charge of treason. Henry commanded me, by my oath of allegiance, to give him my candid opinion on the matter. I did so: to speak sincerely was a duty, to dissimulate would have been a sin. Did I offend my sovereign by speaking to him in the uprightness of my heart? If so, I have indeed expiated my fault by the loss of my property, my position, and fifteen months of severe and close confinement. The second charge brought against me, is that I twice maliciously and rebelliously refused to give answer to the Privy Councillors on the question: Is the king the Supreme Head of the Church in England, or not? What I remember on this point is as follows: I replied that it did not behove me as a layman, to decide on the justice or injustice of the law conferring the title, that I had never given utterance to anything treasonable on the subject of the statutes; that I was determined to employ all my leisure moments on the meditation of Christ and preparation for death; that I was guiltless of every crime of treason; that there was no law to incriminate or punish silence;(b) and that God alone was the Judge of the secrets of the heart."

Hales (the Attorney-General) suddenly interrupted him: "Although we have no wish to impute to you any culpable action, still we have the right to incriminate your silence, an evident sign of a bad will; for no faithful subject would refuse to answer when interrogated in the name of the law."

"My silence," replied More, "could not proceed from an evil will, for the king was well acquainted with all that I have done; nor from contempt for your law, for it is an axiom in civil as well as canon law that *qui tacit consentit*. You say that a faithful subject would not refuse to answer; but is it not the duty of a loyal subject to obey God in preference to man; to prefer his own eternal salvation to the happiness of this world? especially when his conscience can occasion no trouble to the state, no revolt against the prince; and mine, my lords, is very tranquil. I assure you, in the name of Heaven, that I have never revealed to a single living soul my interior thoughts."

"We now arrive at the third charge. I am accused of having acted seditiously against the act of Parliament, because, while at the Tower, I wrote several letters to the Bishop of Rochester, urging him both to violate the law and also to oppose the commands of the king; these letters should be produced and read, for my freedom or my conviction depends on them. But I am told, the bishop has burnt them. Well, then, I will tell you their contents. Some of them were from persons who were old and intimate friends. In one, among others, I replied to a question respecting my examination on the Oath of the Supremacy. My words were, 'that I had my opinion as well as he had his.' This is my reply; and I appeal to Him who is the Reader of all our hearts. I now come to the last charge: I said, in speaking of the statute, 'that it was a double-edged sword.' Fisher used the same comparison, therefore we understood each other. I know not what the bishop has said. Our situ
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(b) Rudhart.

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has said. Our situation being similar, we may have been inspired by the same ideas. All that I know is, that I can never be accused of having uttered one single word against the statute; for I never spoke on the act to a living creature." The Attorney-General was unable to utter a word; but the term "treason" was on the lips of all the judges,(a) and therefore it was requisite that the jury should be convinced of More's guilt. Rich was called on to give his evidence.

Rich arose accordingly from his seat on the judge's bench, appeared at the bar as a witness, and declared on oath, that More had in the Tower, in the presence of witnesses, asserted that the act of Parliament on the spiritual supremacy of the king, was illegal. "My lords," exclaimed Sir Thomas More, with his eye steadily fixed on Rich, "were I one capable of laughing at an oath, I should not this day be accused of high treason. If, Mr. Rich, you have said that which is true, may I never see the face of God! Ah! Mr. Rich, I am frightened not at my own danger, but at your perjury; you must be aware that no one has ever trusted you. I have known you for a long time, ever since your childhood; we were in the same parish, and you had there a very bad reputation; you were generally looked on there as well as at the Temple, as a man of no character. Can your lordships then for a moment think that I should have made a confident of Mr. Rich, having such an opinion of his honour and veracity? What? should I have told Mr. Rich, that which I had concealed from his majesty and the Privy Councillors; I ask your lordships, is such a thing probable? And though the conversation did take place as related by Mr. Rich, it was secret, and therefore not rebellious; where there is no evil intention, there is no crime. On every ground, my lords, I cannot think that so many virtuous bishops, and so many eminent persons, so many learned men, who agreed to enact this law in Parliament, would wish to punish with death, one who acted without malice, if that term signifies rebellion. If, by the term malice, you mean one of those trivial acts so common to human nature, who can say that he is innocent? This word can only mean as inserted in the act, a deliberate intention; shall I again tell you, my lords, that his majesty's kindness to me should lead you to believe that I am guiltless of the charge of high treason?" The culprit was now no longer More, but Rich, who kept his head hung down during the defence. In order to justify himself, he begged the bench to call on Palmer and Southwell for their evidence on oath. Palmer deposed that, being engaged in packing up More's books and MSS., he had not heard the conversation of the prisoner with Rich. Southwell's evidence was similar.

The trial was at an end. The Lord Chief Justice thus summed up for the jury, "Is Sir Thomas More guilty of high treason towards our lord the king, in refusing maliciously, obstinately, and rebelliously, the Oath of Supremacy? Is Sir Thomas More guilty of disobedience to the act of Parliament which has conferred that dignity on our lord and master Henry?" The jury who were Sir Thomas Palmer, Knight; Sir Thomas Peirt, Knight; George Lowell, Esq.; Thomas Burbage, Esq.; Geoffrey Chamber, Gent.; Edward Stockmore, Gent. Jasper Leake, Gent.; Thomas Billington, Gent.; William Browne, Gent.; John Parnet, Gent.; Richard Bellame, Gent.; and George Stoakes; retired to consult on their verdict.(b) After the lapse of about a quarter of an hour, the jury returned to the court and took their places. The Lord Chancellor, turning towards the foreman, said, "Is the prisoner guilty or not guilty?" "GUILTY," replied the foreman, laying his hand on his heart. Audley arose to pronounce the sentence, when More, interrupting him, said, "My lord, when I occupied your seat, I was wont to ask the convict if he had any reason to allege why the sentence of the law should not be carried into force?"(c) "What have you to say?" asked the chancellor, perfectly confused. "My lords," commenced Sir Thomas More, "the act of Parliament by virtue of which I have been convicted is contrary to the law of God, and his holy Church. The Church has never accepted

(a) Rudhart.

(b) Rudhart.
(c) Voss.

as master any temporal prince; she only recognises as her Head the Sovereign who reigns at Rome, and to whom Christ transmitted his authority, in the person of St. Peter and the successors of the Apostles. I add, that the Parliament, which is but a very small portion of Christendom, has no right to enact a law violating the constitution of the Church Catholic; that London, which is but a city of this kingdom, has no right to vote a statute in opposition to an act of Parliament for the purpose of binding down the nation. Your law is an attack on the liberties and statutes of the kingdom; on *Magna Charta* itself, wherein you will find the following words, 'The Church of England is free, she has her own rights, her own liberty, which we declare to be inviolate.'(a) The statute, therefore, is in opposition to the oath which his majesty and his predecessors took on the day of their consecration, and England, in refusing to obey the Holy See, is as guilty as the child that refuses to obey his parent.(b) For as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, 'I have begotten you again in Christ;' so also the Pope St. Gregory the Great could say of your ancestors, 'you are my children, for I have given you eternal life, and that heritage is far preferable to that which a father gives his children according to the flesh.'" "But," said the Lord Chancellor, interrupting the prisoner, "all the universities, all the bishops, all the learned men of the kingdom have taken the oath according to the act of Parliament, and I am amazed at your persisting single-handed in your views." "And though the number of those universities, those bishops, those learned men were yet greater," replied More, "I do not see any reason for not persevering in my opinion. I do not hesitate, my lords, in asserting that there are in this kingdom many learned and great men who fully agree with me, how much larger is the number of all those glorious doctors, those great saints who are reigning in heaven, and yet who render the same testimony as myself; why then should I not, my lords, prefer the voice of the Œcumenical Council of Christendom to that of your national council?" The Lord Chancellor, unable to reply, turned towards the Chief Justice for his opinion: "By St. Gillian," exclaimed Fitz-James, "if the act of Parliament be legal, the indictment is not in my conscience insufficient."(c) "You hear him; you have understood what my Lord Chief Justice has just said: *quid adhuc desideramus testimonium? reus est mortis.*"(d) Audley copied Caiphas; and, in a confident tone, the Lord Chancellor pronounced the following sentence: "Sir Thomas More shall be taken from Westminster Hall to the Tower by William Kingston, Sheriff; and thence he shall be dragged on a hurdle through the city to Tyburn, where he shall be hanged, and when half dead, be cut down to be disembowelled; his entrails shall be cast into the fire, his body cut into four pieces, which shall be placed on the four principal gates of the city, and his head shall be exposed on London Bridge."(e)

More did not change in the slightest degree during the reading of the sentence. He smiled slightly at the last words, and with his eye lit up with joy, exclaimed, "Very good," and then lifting up his head, he said, "Now I can speak, I am free, and I boldly avow what human nature has hitherto made me conceal; it is my perfect conviction that the Act of Supremacy is illegal." "You mean that you are more learned than the bishops, the nobility, the theologians, and the people," said the Lord Chancellor. "My Lord Chancellor," said More, "against one bishop that you can adduce I have a thousand in my favour;

(a) In primis concessis Deo et hâc presenti cartâ nostrâ confirmamus pro nobis ut hæredibus nostris in perpetuum quòd Anglicana Ecclesia libera sit et habeat jura sua integra et libertates suas illesas, et ità volumus observari. —Statutes of the Realm.

(b) Rudhart.

(c) By St. Gillian! I must needs confess, that if the act of Parliament be not unlawful, then the indictment is not, in my conscience, insufficient.—More.—Stapleton.—Rudhart.

(d) More.—Campbell.

(e) That he should be brought back to the Tower of London, by the help of William Kingston, Sheriff; and from thence drawn on a hurdle through the city of London to Tyburn; there to be hanged till he be *half dead*, after that cut down, *yet alive*, his belly ripped open, his bowels burnt, and his four quarters set up on four gates of the city, and his head upon London Bridge.—More.

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against one kingdom, the whole of Christendom for ages." "You have all along evinced the same spirit of hatred and malice," remarked the Duke of Norfolk. "No," rejoined More; "I feel no hatred or malice; my conscience compels me to protest against your sentence; I appeal to God." "Have you anything more to add?" demanded one of the judges. "No!" replied More, in a tone which it would be impossible for us to describe. "Yes, another word: St. Paul, as you know, my lords, was among those who consented to the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and yet both are now rejoicing in eternity in the sight of God; so I trust, and indeed it is my earnest prayer, that your lordships, my judges, may be united with me in heaven. May God be with you, and my lord and master the king, and may He vouchsafe him faithful councillors."(a) The executioner lifted up his axe, the edge of which he turned towards the condemned, who bid his judges adieu, and returned to the Tower.(b)

On leaving the Hall, he met his son John, who hastily asked his benediction on his knees. On approaching the Old Swan, Kingston, his eyes filled with tears, left the prisoner. More took him by the hand, saying, "Weep not, my good friend, I shall pray for you and Lady Kingston in heaven."(c) Margaret, who was waiting for the procession near the Tower Quay, made her way through the crowd and officers, and throwing herself at her father's feet, clung to them, exclaiming, "Father, father!" The procession halted, and More, with his two hands extended over her beloved head, looked up to heaven without being able to speak. "My child, my beloved child," murmured the prisoner in heartbroken accents, "I bless you; I am innocent, and yet I am going to die. It is the will of God; submit, my beloved child, to the decrees of Providence, and pardon those who have condemned me!" The halberdiers were deeply affected at this scene, and the procession proceeded on its way, but the young woman rising from her knees, ran like one who had lost her senses to embrace her father once more. The guards moved by her state of mind, made room for Margaret, who fell senseless at her father's feet. On a signal from the commanding officer, the procession again re-formed, and More cast a last look, and gave his last benediction to poor Margaret, who was surrounded by John and his wife. On not again seeing her, he wept bitterly,(d) saying: "The odour of my child is like the odour of a field which the Lord hath blessed."(e) As he was entering the Tower, Kingston kissed his hand affectionately, "Be comforted, and take courage," said More, "we shall meet again in heaven."

More passed four more days in prison, but was not allowed to see any one. On the eve of his death, he asked for some ink to write to Margaret, but was refused. He thought of his charcoal, and after a great deal of trouble, found a piece, and a rag of paper, on which he addressed his last adieus to his family. "May God bless you," wrote he to his beloved daughter, "and your husband, and your child, and all yours, and all my children, and all for whom I have been sponsor at the Baptismal Font. Recommend me to my daughter Cecelia, for whom I pray to God. I send you my blessing, and to all my children; forget me not in your prayers. My daughter, Dauncy, has a picture on parchment, which was given me by Lady Coniers, whose name is on the back. Tell her that at my request it is to be returned to her as a last souvenir. I like Dorothy Coly exceedingly, I pray you to be good to her.(f) I should like to know whether it be that Dorothy of whom you

(a) Rudhart.

(b) Rudhart.—Roper has given the trial at length, having obtained the details from Sir Anthony Leger, Richard Haywood, and John Webbe, who were eye-witnesses.

(c) More.—Historians are harmonious on this beautiful description of Sir William Kingston's character. We cannot understand how Ellis can call him "a man of stern and unfeeling character."

(d) Roper.—Rudhart.—More.—Stapleton.—Nucesimi Ep. Phil. Mont.

(e) More.

(f) She was a servant of Margaret Roper's, who had often sent her to St. Thomas More, while in the Tower.—Stapleton.

wrote to me lately; if it be not, it is some other poor creature whom I likewise recommend to your care; think also of the good Johanna Aleyn (a) I fatigue you, and that gives me trouble, Margaret. It would give me a great deal more, if to-morrow morning was not my last. To-morrow is the vigil of St. Thomas, and the *utas* (octave) of St. Peter; and I long to go to God to-morrow; it were a day very meet and convenient for me. You never made me so happy as when you threw yourself into my arms in the road. Farewell, my dear child, pray for me, as I shall pray for you and for all our friends; adieu till we meet in heaven."

On the 6th July, 1535, More received a visit from one of his old friends, Sir Thomas Pope, who came to warn him of the king's order to prepare for death. "Thanks," said the prisoner, "for your good news; I have ever been grateful for the favour which the king has been pleased to confer, but not so much as this day, since he informs me that my last hour has arrived in order that I may prepare for death. He is indeed acting kindly in delivering me from the troubles of this world." "His majesty desires," continued Pope, "nay, it is his particular request, that you do not address the people from the scaffold."(b) "I am very glad that his majesty has made known to me his will," said the prisoner, "for I should have addressed the people, but not in a way to give offence to him or to any one else. I shall obey; but I wish him to grant me one favour, for which I shall be truly grateful, that my daughter may have my remains." "His majesty," said Pope, "permits your wife, family, and friends, to assist at your interment." "Oh, how glad I am," said More, "to find that the king has vouchsafed to think of my poor body." "His majesty has further instructed me," continued Pope, "that in consideration of the offices you have held, he has vouchsafed to commute your punishment: you are to die by the axe." "I thank you," said the captive, smiling, "but may God preserve my children and friends from his majesty's clemency.

The friends were about to separate. More recalled Pope, who was weeping bitterly, whereon the prisoner taking his hand, said, "No more tears, my dear Pope, we shall again meet, and there will then be no separation." More had resolved to wear a camlet cloak given him by Bonvisius, but Kingston opposed it, on the plea that it would be a pity that so beautiful a cloak should fall into the hands of a degraded executioner. "Degraded executioner! Mr. Lieutenant," exclaimed More, "a man who is about to render me the greatest service that I have ever received! Oh no! I am only sorry that it is not bordered with gold, for my pleasure would have been greater in leaving it for him."(d) The prison doors were thrown open at nine o'clock, and More descended the steps holding in his hands a crucifix. At the entrance a woman offered him a glass of wine to give him courage, but he rejected it, saying to the good woman, "It was vinegar, and not wine, that Christ drank at Golgotha."(e) Another came to ask him for some papers which she had confided to him while he was Lord Chancellor. "An hour of patience," replied More, "and the king will spare me the trouble of looking for them and returning them to you." A third told him, in insulting language, that he had acted unjustly towards her. "I remember your case well, said More, and were I still Chancellor my decision would be the same."(f) Arrived at the foot of the scaffold, he besought one of the executioners to aid him, while he was ascending the steps. "Give me your arm to go up, I shall come down very well."(g) He had promised not to address the people. He kept his word, only saying to the surrounding crowd, "Pray for me, I die a loyal subject and a good Christian."(h) He then knelt, and recited the *Miserere*, arose, and embracing the executioner as a pledge that he had pardoned him, said: "You are about, my friend, to render me

(a) Another servant of Margaret Roper's. —Ib.
(b) Rudhart.
(c) Voss.
(d) Rudhart.—Voss.
(e) Stapleton.
(f) Stapleton.
(g) Rudhart.
(h) Stapleton.

the greatest service I have ever received. Courage: I have a very short neck, endeavour to do your work skilfully.(a) He placed the band over his eyes himself, laid his head on the block, being first very careful as to the arrangement of his beard, "for," said he, smiling, "that has committed no act of treason," and the head fell. Let us now listen to the legend. It happened that Meg, after praying for the repose of her father's soul, was looking in her apron pocket for a few angels that she might buy a shroud for her father, but she had no money, for she had given all that she had to the poor the previous evening. She went to a shop to buy a few yards of linen. After having made her purchases, she commenced ransacking her pocket for her purse, though she was aware that it was empty, to make the shopkeeper imagine that she had left her money at home, in order that he might be induced to give her credit, when by a miraculous interposition from God, she found enough in her purse to pay for the shroud.(b)

Sanders has handed down this pious narration. What does it matter to us that Burnet declaims against this miracle? If More had betrayed, as it was said he had, his prince and his country, is it to be believed that the people would have invented this miracle? The people have never yet descended so low as to canonize a traitor to his country; therefore it is of immense utility to consult legends. They are popular verdicts, condemning, absolving, or amusing, and even judging those who are judges of the earth. More's head was exposed on London Bridge, and then given to Margaret, who had it embalmed, preserved it as long as she lived, and, when on the point of death, ordered that this precious relic should be placed in her arms in her coffin.(c) Scarcely had his remains been interred in the chapel of St. Peter, *ad vincula* in the Tower, ere Cromwell hastened to announce to the English ambassadors, the death of the traitor who had conspired secretly against the life of the king, the peace of the state, and the authority of the laws.(d)

More, as well as Fisher, were but political agitators, who had conspired with the enemies of their country to overthrow the dynasty of the Tudors; two notorious criminals, who were to have fallen under the sword of the law, had they even a thousand heads. On hearing of the last moments of the chancellor, it is said that Henry, exceedingly frightened, arose from the table, exclaiming to Anne, "You have been the cause of his death;" then entering into his cabinet, and seizing a pen, commenced to insult the memory of the two martyrs. "The Bishop of Rochester," he informed the world, "was an infamous traitor;(e) and the ex-chancellor had been convicted of high treason."(f) But Europe paid no attention to Henry's evidence; everywhere was manifested feelings of indignation against the murderer of these two noble victims; even eyes which had never seen More, swam in tears;(g) and more than one scholar became the panegyrist of these two confessors of Christ. "None weep at London, none write, for the eye as well as

(a) "The next Wednesday he was beheaded in the great square before the Tower, and spoke a few words before his execution, and finally begged the bystanders to pray for him, promising that he would pray for them. Then he exhorted and earnestly entreated them to pray to God for the king, to give him good counsel, protesting that he died a faithful servant to God and to the king, as a Christian should do."

(b) Le Grand.—Sanders.

(c) Campbell.

(d) Touching Mr. More and the Bishop of Rochester, with such others as were executed here, these treasons, conspiracies, and practices, severally practised as well within the realm and 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, or deny it.—Cromwell's letter, 23rd August, 1535.

(e) That 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.

(f) Thou art the cause of this man's death. —British Biography.

(g) The treasons traiterously committed against us and our laws, by the late Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, Knyt.—King's letter.

finger trembles," writes Erasmus, "as if under each stone reposed a scorpion."(a)

More was one of the literary ornaments of his age; he was one of the first to engage in the movement of intellectual regeneration, which was then commencing to exercise so great an influence on independent minds; his ingenuous satire, his piquant irony, contributed more than he was aware, at first, to the triumph of the Reformation. But as soon as he perceived that the human mind, for whose emancipation he was labouring, would use her liberty for the destruction of the Faith, he halted, alarmed at what he had done; like Erasmus, who ended in pitying the monk whose robe he wished to destroy, when he perceived that Luther destroyed both the vestment and the monk. More, from his retreat at Chelsea, had perceived the brewing of the storm which was about to burst on the Church of England; witness of the approach of its heralds, he desired that an evidence of his unalterable faith should be handed down to posterity. He composed himself the epitaph that was to be placed on his tomb.(b) There he tells us that he died as he had lived, faithful to his religion. One expression alone might make some hesitate as to his charity; he boasts of having been an opponent of heretics. *Molestus* is the term he uses, and which was afterwards used by his adversaries as a remarkable manifestation of his systematic intolerance, of which he made a show even on the sepulchral stone.(c) But the expression is as good Latin as it is Christian in its sentiments, and more than once did he use it as a justification in the eyes of his daughter for the sorrow he caused her. Erasmus fearlessly calls on the world to witness that none perished in England during the ministry of Sir Thomas More for the crime of heresy.(d) More had made his profession of Faith; though he hated the sect, he had no hatred for the sectarian. As a statesman, he wished to extirpate sectarianism by its roots; as a Christian, he was anxious for the pardon of the victim of heresy.(e) We must be careful not to judge More's severity towards religious innovation by the ideas of this age. In the sixteenth century tolerance, so far from being regarded as a Christian principle, would have been treated as culpable indifference. The law had no more pity for heresy than for murder; both were in its eyes, a crime which blood alone could expiate. If More never had recourse to the sheriff to inflict capital punishment even on an obstinate heretic, it was by a glorious exception that he personified that future day when conscience would become an inviolable sanctuary.(f)

(a) MSS. Mus. Brit., Titus, B. I, p. 536.

(b) See Appendix (M.)

(c) "Hæreticis molestus." More disclaimed this title as too ambitious: "Quod in epitaphio profiteor hæreticis me fuisse molestum, hoc ambitiosè feci."—Morus Erasmo, ex rure nostro Chelsico. 1532.

(d) This, however, is a sufficient proof of his remarkable clemency, that during his chancellorship no one suffered capital punishment for heresy in England, whereas many were punished in France and Germany for that offence.—Erasmi. ep. Fabro.

(e) As touching hereticks, I hate that vice of theirs and not their persons, and very fain would I that the one were destroyed, and the other saved.—Thomas More's English words, quoted by Lewis.—See Rudhart.

(f) M. Nisard, under the word *More*, in the "Dictionnaire de la Conversation," has cleared the chancellor from the accusation of intolerance, brought against him by Burnet and other party writers. Besides the authorities above quoted, we may refer our readers to the two following works: Ferd. de Herrera, Vida y muerte de Toma Moro, Sevilla, 1598; and Domenico Regi, Della vita di Tomaso Moro, Milano, 1675.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES.—1536.

Character of the Religious Revolution in England.—Means employed to maintain it—intimidation, interest, and falsehood.—First Reformation of the Religious Houses under Wolsey.—The suppressing of the smaller Monasteries decided on.—Accusations brought against the Monks.—Cromwell appointed Vice-General and Vice-gerent.—The Visitors.—Their Enquiry.—Dissolution of the Monasteries.—Various incidents.

The character of the Revolution which had commenced in England, has been briefly described by M. Guizot. The tyranny of Rome, as has been and is still often said, was not its cause. "It is not true," (says M. Guizot,) "that the court of Rome was tyrannical in the sixteenth century; it is not true that the abuses were then more numerous; never, perhaps on the contrary, was the ecclesiastical government more tolerant."(a) He adds, "The religious revolution in England was the work of the king. The king and the episcopate divided among themselves, either in riches or in power, the spoils of the government of the Papacy.(b) The revolutions they accomplished were maintained by intimidation, interest, and falsehood, three instruments of governing, which Henry used with unparalleled skill. He required but a few months to have himself acknowledged as Supreme Head of the Church by Parliament, by convocation, by the monastic orders, by the nation at large. The supremacy of the king became as much a dogma of faith as the Real Presence. Henry had no necessity to read Machiavelli to learn how a prince should be obeyed. We have already referred to that member of Parliament, whom he threatened to decapitate unless his bill passed into law, and on the following morning the subsidies were granted. Now it is more difficult to raise money than to take an oath: the Parliament which reluctantly advanced the prince the subsidies, would have granted him more spiritual dignities than he required; had the prince wished, it would have conceded to him the keys of Paradise. At first, a few members, more conscientious than their comrades, protested against the supremacy, and were immediately put to death. The nation, threatened with the halter or the block, was silent and obeyed without even a murmur. Fear, the ordinary punishment of every nation that treats with despotism, chains the arm and the tongue; man, in this state, ceases to be the image of God. Cupidity unites itself with fear to enslave the conscience. The clergy, who saw the regard which Cranmer had obtained for his services, were eager in making advances to the monarch. All the agents employed in the matrimonial affair in Italy, had been handsomely rewarded with a bishopric, or something equivalent to a diocese. As a reward for his insolent conduct to the hoary-headed Pontiff, Gardiner had obtained the see of Worcester; Lee, who was neither a Calvinist nor a scholar, strutted about since the marriage (which he had blessed) in a beautiful episcopal palace; and Sampson amused himself in counting the precious stones which adorned the mitre with which he had been rewarded by royalty for a pamphlet in favour of the supremacy, written in a scholastic style. But what was this wealth compared to that which those in power promised themselves on the suppression of the religious houses, true gardens of Hesperides, full of golden apples, coveted by dukes, gentlemen, magistrates, bishops, and priests? Melancthon on analysing the

(a) Guizot. Hist. de la Civilization en Europe.
(b) Ibid

causes which contributed to the triumph of the Reformation in Germany, acknowledges that the princes who were the most active in the diffusion of the new gospel, were not actuated by a wish to propagate light, to glorify the new creed, to ameliorate the state of society, but by that of self-interest.(a) Luther affirms that the remonstrances, (*ostensoria*,) had operated more than one conversion.(b) Falsehoods were used as a justification for the iniquitous acts of those in power; every life taken was that of a conspirator unworthy of pity. More and Fisher, on leaving church, had returned to their retreat to finish their manifesto which they had addressed to the king's enemies. The seat of all these machinations against England was at Rome or at Madrid. Those Carthusians, who were perhaps ignorant of the name of the reigning sovereign of Spain, were in correspondence with the ministers of Charles V.(c)

Consult Strype; you will meet with one Dr. Wilson, commissioned to rouse the citizens of Yorkshire, Lancashire, and other counties; and a theologian of Oxford, (Hubbardon,) a kind of tutor, giving utterance to gross insults against the king in the pulpit, in the hall-room and in jesting.(d) There is another emissary of the name of Powell, a secret agent of Rome, who incited all whom he met to rebellion. There is a priest (Harrison) who said in the pulpit, "that Nan Bullen should only be queen in effigy.(e) And from those anecdotes invented by Cromwell, Henry stated that a conspiracy had been formed against his life and person by the monks; a conspiracy from which he had been delivered by Divine Providence. The spoliation of the religious houses had been long determined on by the king. This measure was but a natural consequence of the schism with Rome. Wolsey had, in 1526, obtained a bull from the Holy See, permitting him to secularize a certain number of the religious houses,(f) whose revenue was employed in supporting the two great literary institutions which the minister had just founded at Ipswich and Oxford.(g)

Wolsey's projects, though authorized by a letter from the sovereign, were earnestly opposed by several of the clergy.(h) The cardinal was accused of attacking the liberties of the Church; of concealing, under a specious zeal for literature, his unbridled cupidity, and it was predicted that owing to this fatal example, the government would be unable to find money should the Commons refuse the grant. Henry, deeply attached to the Holy See at this period, was affected by these complaints, and advised Wolsey not to irritate the clergy. The money which had been employed in building the two colleges had not been legitimately obtained. Religious houses had been illegally robbed to build these gymnasia, whereas, the crown in its distress would be unable to obtain that which a subject had obtained.(i) Wolsey had confided the reformation of the smaller houses to Cromwell, and he discharged that office with too ardent a zeal to be disinterested. He found in the monasteries

(a) Sie bekümmerten sich gar nicht um die Lehre, es sei ihnen bloss um die Freiheit und die Herrschaft zu thun.

(b) Viele sind noch gut evangelisch, weil es noch Katholische Monsieranzen gibt.—Jakob Marr, Die Ursachen der schnellen Verbreitung der Reformation.

(c) Brit. Mus. MSS. Vesp., C. IV., p. 267.

(d) Another, and old divine of Oxford, Hubbardon was employed in the west country, wholly at the devotion of the bishops, doing whatsoever they bade him. He would dance, hop, and use histrionic gestures in the pulpit. —Eccl. Memorials.

(e) That the Nan Bullen should not be queen, but on his (the king's) bearings.—Ellis, 2nd Series, II., 43.

(f) Rymer's Fœdera, XIV., 240, 243, 251.

(g) Wood's History of the University of Oxford.

(h) Tytler.

(i) Because I dare be bolder with you than a great many that mumble it abroad; and to the intent that the foundation by you meant and begun should take prosperous success, I think it very fit you should know these things. Surely it is reckoned that much of the gold that buildeth the same should not be the best acquired and gotten, reckoning it to come from many a religious house unlawfully, bearing the cloak of kindness towards the edifying of your college, which kindness cannot sink in any man's heart to be in them; since those same religious houses would not grant to their sovereign in his necessity so much by a great deal as they have to you for the building of your college.—Tytler.

gold, precious stones, vases and jewels, in the inventory that he had drawn up, which he forgot to include, and which he appropriated without scruple. He was, however, careful, from a sense of shame, to conceal the fruit of his robbery during his master's administration; but after Henry's marriage he became bolder, and felt no fear in displaying his conventual spoils in his rich mansion. Like the elector, John of Saxony, he felt a pleasure in ridiculing the drunkenness of the monks, while he was quaffing wine from the goblets, which he had stolen from some of the convents. His guests imitated their host, and several tales were circulated at the table of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the sins or misdoings of the religious. Let us relate some of the anecdotes that were in circulation, and the reader will probably imagine himself at the hostlery of the Black Eagle at Wittemberg, at one of Luther's evening suppers, at which he used to amuse himself at the expense of those brethren whom he had not left through a feeling of charity even a cowl. It was said at York place, that on searching a garden attached to a convent, a great number of skulls of new-born babes had been found, the fruits of a homicidal incontinence.(a) This is the same anecdote as that which the Saxon related in so laughable a manner at Wittemberg, while speaking of his voyage to Italy; only the Augustinian, more poetical than Cromwell's guest, stated the number of skulls to be six thousand.(b) It was also said at York Place, that a monk and nun had been found together, and that the dress of a lay brother had been discovered in the cell of a nun;(c) but they mentioned neither the name of the abbot nor the colour of the lay brother's habit.

They were not so discreet at Wittemberg, for the colour of the hood was specified, as well as the name of the monk by whom it had been worn. The silence at York Place displayed more skill, for every convent was liable to be accused. At York Place, violent language was used respecting the scandalous wealth amassed by houses consecrated to prayer, and in which the inmates had taken the vow of poverty; and had any one taken a glance at the table of the epicure, groaning under the weight of goblets stolen from the religious houses, he would certainly not have been able to call in question the veracity of the declaimers, but might have accused them of slander. At Wittemberg, at least, Luther's companions, doctors in civil and in canon law, bachelors, philosophers, preachers, and ecclesiastics, condemned to quaff Eimbeck beer in stone flagons, might laugh at illiterate monks who were using valuable goblets! The reader, could he but have a glance at the pamphlets printed in England and Saxony against monkery at the commencement of the spoliation of monasteries in both these countries, would be amazed at their similarity.(d) The same insults, the same figures of rhetoric, the same arguments, and the same follies are brought forward, only the Saxon pamphlet is more amusing than the English. In Germany, he would find men whose witticisms would make him laugh till he wept; while in England, Sampson, for instance, when he wished to be witty, knew not how to commence. Give Teniers and a common sign painter the same tavern scene to depict upon canvas; the former, by pourtraying real life, will excite your admiration, while the latter will fail to amuse you even by his caricatures. At York Place, certain orders were accused of counterfeiting money, a crime that could easily have been discovered owing to the connexion between religious houses and the people. At certain seasons of the year, every religious house was visited by some thousands of pilgrims, *i.e.*, at the principal festivals of our Lady, and at every monastery a table and a bed were placed at the traveller's disposal.

At Wittemberg, the monks were represented, when the heads of Luther and his comrades were excited by the beer of Eimback, as living representations of ignorance and covetousness; but they never, even in their moments of excitement, thought of accusing them of coining. Cromwell only required three words, *supremum*

(a) Voss.
(b) Tisch-Reden.—Audin's Luther.
(c) Voss.

(d) Compare Tisch-Reden and Burnet.

caput Ecclesiæ, added to the titles of royalty, in order to confiscate all monachal property. Supreme Head of the Church, Henry was master of all clerical wealth; pontiff and king, his power extended over every physical manifestation which may be produced by an external sign. But as in this visible kingdom that was delivered up to him, nothing has greater hold on the senses than the material of which an edifice, a vase, a piece of money, a vestment, or picture, is composed, it followed that every thing presenting a visible phenomenon belonged to the prince. But to this power there were necessarily attached duties and rules of conduct which had not been regulated by Parliament; the satrap had ministers, the hierophant had as yet none. It was essential that this new spiritual kingdom, which had just devolved on the prince, should be constituted. Cromwell, already Chancellor of the Exchequer and first secretary of the king, was nominated his vicar-general. Cromwell represented the king: he was his vicegerent, his commissioner extraordinary, his legate apostolic, empowered with the administration of justice in the kingdom of souls, and with the reformation and amendment of all errors, heresies, and abuses which might have glided into the church of England.(a)

Great attention must be paid to the wording of Cromwell's powers. The son of a fuller of London, the robber attached to the Duke de Bourbon, the keeper of the books of the Venetian merchant, could to-morrow, were he so inclined, by virtue of the king's good pleasure, expel God from the sacrament of the altar, and pronounce the Real Presence to be a heresy, for he had all power over dogma; to-morrow he might decide that the sacerdotal celibacy was an error, for he had all power over discipline. To-morrow he might rob the churches of their ornaments under pretext of abuse, for he had all power over the temporal administration of the Church.(b)

To prove that he had not bestowed an empty title on his favourite, Henry decreed that he should have precedence over lords spiritual and temporal, over the Duke of Norfolk as well as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Cromwell had a numerous guard; he sat in the most distinguished place in Parliament, and his secretaries, commissioned to replace him, were honoured with the same privileges as their master. Wolsey washed himself in a bason held by a nobleman, but the latter was not compelled to yield his rank to the cardinal's representative. A few of the prelates at first murmured on seeing an ancient robber placed at their head, whose least fault was that of not having been brought up at a seminary (c) An extraordinary susceptibility on the part of men who had consented to resign the keys of the sanctuary to the royal lover of Anne Boleyn! These murmurs were not of long duration; sufficiently long, however, to try the submission of the clergy, whose moral degradation was not yet consummated. On swearing in their pastorals, like Goodrich,(d) hatred to the Papacy, the bishop still regarded himself, and boldly declared it, heir of Christ's authority. Henry desired the priest to be his servant; and it was necessary that the priest himself should acknowledge that he was a priest not through Divine mercy, but by the grace of the king. Leigh and Rich were his instruments in obtaining this proof of servitude from the priesthood. The following was their line of argument:—Ecclesiastical jurisdiction is from God or from the king. If it be from God, let the priests produce

(a) Regis commissio constituens Thomam Crumwell vicarium generalem in rebus ecclesiasticis.—MSS. Cott., F. II.—Wilkins.

(b) That, according to Scripture, the chief and supreme authority, next to that of God, was conferred on his excellent majesty by heaven, over all inhabitants of his kingdom, of whatever sex, age, order, or condition, and that it was his duty to cleanse the Anglican Church from the briars of vice, and to plant therein the seeds of virtue.—Wilkins' Concilia, III., 784.

(c) Collier.

(d) "Also, I swear that I will for ever renounce the Pope, together with his constitutions and decrees, which have been condemned, or shall hereafter be condemned by the Parliament of our lord the king. So help me God, and these His Holy Gospels."—MSS. in the Chapter-House of Westminster.—State Papers, I., 438.

their letters signed by the hand of the lord. If they have lost their titles, or if they have never existed, the king is ready in his paternal goodness to replace them, if they have been lost, or to create them, if they have never existed.(a) The idea was hailed by Cromwell as a heavenly inspiration.

On the 18th September, 1535, England had no priesthood: on that day, the holy oil congealed on the heads of those who had been once anointed. Cranmer acnowledged the miracle, and informed the clergy by a circular that the king had suspended all the ordinaries.(b) At the end of a month, that high dignitary who had humbly submitted to the royal measure, turned his eyes towards the throne of all grace, and humbly besought Henry to grant the letters of priesthood. The petition was received, and to each of the bishops was forwarded a parchment, sealed with the royal arms, commissioning him to make the oil, to pour it on the heads of the neophites, to judge all canonical causes, to grant dispensations, and to fulfil the duties of his office;(c) for the priesthood was no longer a charge of souls. Moreover, the prelate was reminded that it was not a right that had been restored him, but a favour graciously granted him by the king; because a bishop was not necessary for the administration of a diocese; that the king's vicar general, the sole source of all power, could not be present at the event, and that it was necessary to remedy the inconveniences which delays or interruption in the exercise of his authority might cause. The Church was henceforward a spiritual organ of government; the bishop merely the head of a division, the priest but a clerk of the office. Henry, with so cowardly a clergy, could do what he pleased, certain of being obeyed.

About this time, Cromwell proposed to the king the dissolution of the religious houses. The king gave his approbation to a measure which would enable him to oppose the emperor, whose fleet at that time covered the Mediterranean and the ocean.(d) Strype, without mentioning Charles V., attributes the project of the suppression of the religious houses to their enormous wealth and the attachment of the monks to the Holy See.(e) Cranmer, according to Burnet, had some powerful reasons for urging the suppression of the religious houses, as their existence was completely incompatible with his plans of reformation; for, adds the historian, the archbishop was aware that some shameful superstitions, such as belief in purgatory and the sacrifice of the Mass, were still dominant in religious houses, which could only be extirpated by their suppression.(f) This acknowledgment is precious.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, according to Burnet, had ceased, in 1535, to believe in dogmas, which Henry imposed on his subjects, under pain of death, and was even secretly working to extirpate a creed which the law of the state compelled him to teach in the pulpit. He is ever the same, protesting against his protest. Two powerful motives urged Cromwell to the dissolution of religious houses,—his penchant for the new gospel, and his great avarice. He had heard a great deal of the wealth amassed in some religious houses for ages by the piety of the Faithful. There were reliquaries with precious stones, silver-gilt chalices, shrines ornamented with rubies and emeralds, figures of angels in silver, diamonds similar to those found by Cortez in Mexico, gold which spangled on the copes, dalmatics and other sacerdotal vestments used on the solemn festivals of the Church. The king, at Cromwell's instigation, ordered a general visitation of the religious houses on the plea of religion. Not a syllable was breathed about their immense wealth; but long pages were written on the state of the souls inhabiting them. It was apprehended that idleness, incontinence, and irregularities of every kind were pregnant there. The language of Holy Writ was used to express their supposed

(a) Lingard.
(b) Collier.—Strype.
(c) Collier.—Burnet.

(d) Burnet.
(e) Their attachment to the See of Rome, together with his own desire to be enriched by the dissolution, were the causes of this project. —Strype.
(f) Burnet.

state. They wished to see whether the thistle was not threatening to stifle the good grass; whether the vine had not been attacked by some insect; whether the rose of Jericho was not languishing for want of the heavenly dew; whether the sun of justice was still shining. It was impossible for the instructions which the legates of the Holy See received in the early ages of the Church to have a better or holier spirit than those addressed to the royal commissioners.(a) They were probably the composition of Cromwell; at least we find in them some of the archbishop's ideas, or rather those of the German school, of which he was a representative, on substituting the adoration in spirit for external acts in which religious houses were at the time accused of making Christianity to consist. The composers of some of these accusations were evidently acquainted with the Saxon liturgy, and animated by the spirit of the Reformation. It was therefore a conversion which the king desired; and we shall not be surprised at the crafty skilfulness with which it was preached, for conversion to the principles of the Reformation would necessarily lead to the renunciation of the ascetic life, and, as a natural consequence, to the dissolution of the religious houses. Hume acknowledges that the mission of the visitors was the abolition of these institutions, and the transfer of their property into the king's hands.(b)

The kingdom was divided into districts, and to each district were attached two commissioners instructed to receive every communication respecting the religious of both sexes, whose revenues were coveted. These visitors were (as has been generally acknowledged) men of doubtful characters and creatures of Cromwell. We give one example:—Dr. Layton, on soliciting the function of commissioner, wrote to the vicegerent, saying that if it would please him to appoint Dr. Lee as his coadjutor, they would promise not to leave a single religious, (whether he were a monk, lay brother, father, nun, young or old,) without having seriously examined into his conduct, morals, and attainments. They boasted of being acquainted with the slightest details of every religious house in the diocese of Lincoln.(c) None of the poor victims expected a visit from these herds of prey. The religious imagined that they were sheltered by the *Magna Charta* in their rights as citizens. Incapable of opposing the king's orders, they were obliged to see their asylum violated without being able to appeal to the laws of the country. They would not have been listened to, and their resistance would have been useless or inefficacious, as the visitors were empowered to have recourse to arms, if necessary.(d) They left London armed with public instructions and secret orders.(e) The public instructions were to visit in the name of the gospel those religious houses, as the king, the Supreme Head of the Church wished to be acquainted with the slightest details connected with them, in order that he might extirpate any error which through culpable negligence might have glided into them. How could the superior venture to refuse opening the doors of the cells in the house under his direction to these apostles of Christ, who came to him with a prayer on their lips, a sanctified look, and their words perfumed with evangelical odour. The doors were accordingly thrown open; but in following the visitors, it was easy to perceive that they seized all that had the appearance of gold or silver, that they had not come to arouse a spirit of piety sunk in the deep lethargic sleep of vanity and idleness, but to prevent the religious taking a delight in superfluous wealth. Their secret orders indicated the

(a) Articuli regiæ inquisicionis in monasticam vitam agentes exponendi, et precipue in exemptos a jurisdictione diocesanâ, jàm tantûm regie majestati et ejus jurisdictioni subditos et subjectos ac hujus incliti sui regni statutis et legibus nullisque aliis penitûs obnoxios et astrictos.—MSS., Cleop., E. IV., 13.

(b) Hume.

(c) MSS. Cleop., F. IV., 11.

(d) Cobbett.

(e) Their instructions were ample, directing them to investigate, in the strictest manner, the government, education, and behaviour of both sexes, to find out their offences, and with this object, to compel them to exhibit their mortmains, evidences, and conveyances of land, to discover their jewels and relics, to take inventories of their plate and money.—Tytler.

religious object of this pastoral visit. The commissioners were instructed to urge those in possession to make a present of the property of which they were but the administrators to the king. His majesty promised to acknowledge this service rendered to the state by granting them a pension in their old age. If the offer was not complied with, then the commissioners were ordered to quit the religious house, and to obtain depositions in the district which would justify the suppression of the house. In the first tavern, sufficient evidence condemnatory of the religious house, affirmed on oath, could be obtained for a few glasses of beer and two or three angels, if necessary.(a) The visitors were not successful. It was with great trouble during the winter of 1535, that they obtained the voluntary resignation of the following houses:—Langdon, Folkstone, Bilsington, and St. Mary, at Dover, in Kent; Merton, in Yorkshire; Hornby, in Lancashire, and Tiltey, in Essex.(b) They consequently spoke in strong terms against those who consented to allow themselves to be robbed, but would not bestow on the prince property of which they themselves were but the stewards.

If any credit can be given to the commissioners, the majority of the religious houses of both sexes were true robbers' dens, shameful brothels, abominable places, where the sun witnessed scenes too revolting and horrible to be related. If these men had not lied, the prison, the gallows, and even the stake, and not secularization, ought to have been the just meed apportioned to these monks. But the accused had no opportunity of defending themselves. They were not summoned to appear before any tribunal. They were not confronted with their accusers; moreover, such a precaution would have been of no service. Woe to the monk who would have had sufficient effrontery to accuse the commissioners of perjury or false evidence. He would have been sent to Tyburn on the charge of high treason. From this inquiry resulted the proof that the larger houses had preserved themselves from the leprosy which infected the smaller cloisters. The commissioners violated both the laws of hospitality and the rules of logic; this was the first time that a privilege was granted to wealth against idleness and immorality. But the motive actuating this strange bill of indemnity in favour of the wealthy communities of England, is explained by the presence in Parliament of the priors and abbots of the larger houses, who were able to convict the commissioners of falsehood.(c)

On the visitors' report, the king presented, 14th March, 1536, a bill to Parliament for the suppression of the smaller religious houses, and which was eagerly received by both houses. Hume has asserted that the project of the crown met with no opposition. The historian, and for the honour of England be it recorded, is deceived. Spelman positively asserts that the bill was long debated in the House of Commons, and it was even supposed that it would not pass, when the king ordered the members to meet his majesty in the gallery of his palace, where they were obliged to wait for him for several hours. The king, on leaving his apartments, walked two or three times up and down the corridors, then turning abruptly round, he said: "I am told that my bill will not pass; but I tell you that it shall pass, or there will be a few heads off to-morrow in my kingdom."(d) Spelman makes no observation on this.(e) Neither does he tell us that the reason why the Commons wished to reject the bill was, that it did not benefit them in the slightest degree. They felt certain that the wealth would pass into the hands of the king, Cromwell, and his agents, and the lords, spiritual and temporal, of the kingdom. The bill passed. The reader should attentively study the preamble: "The irregular, sensual, and abominable life led in some priories, abbeys, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns; the irregularity of the heads of these communities who expend, dissipate and ruin the property of their

(a) Herbert.
(b) Strype.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Hume.
(e) Spelman.—History of Sacrilege.

monasteries, farms, grazing lands and tenements, to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the great scandal of religion, the shame of the king and his kingdom, have inspired the thought of remedying such crying abuses. In vain have attempts been made for the last two centuries to work a prudent reformation, in so shameful a kind of life. The wound has increased, and we have witness, oh awful thing! that a great number of religious of both sexes have apostatized rather than renounce their irregularities. In vain shall we hope to work a reformation in the conventual life, if these communities be not suppressed; if the religious who compose them be not transferred to some of the larger and more honourable monasteries in the kingdom; if they be not compelled to live according to the precepts of the gospel. Consequently his majesty the king, Supreme Head on earth, after God, of the Church of England, desirous of extirpating scandal and sin from his kingdom, and considering that several of the larger monasteries, in which the precepts of the gospel are (thank God!) carried out, are in want of subjects, has considered it his duty to point out to the lay and ecclesiastica peers, his well-beloved and faithful subjects, the members of the House of Commons, the advantages to be obtained by the suppression of the smaller monasteries, whereon the afore-mentioned Peers and Commons, after great deliberation, declare that the properties of these institutions, the revenues of which have been used for sinful purposes, should be appropriated to some better purpose, and that the religious of both sexes, whose irregularities have become so notorious, should change their life and conduct." Then followed the law which bestowed on the king all the monastic establishments which did not exceed £200 per annum with the property dependent thereon, and the right of bestowing these funds and possession by letters patent on those of his subjects whom he should be pleased to nominate, but obliging them to dwell in the houses and to cultivate the same number of acres of land as the religious had cultivated during the last twenty years. This act suppressed 380 communities, added £230,000 to the annual revenue of the crown, and gave £100,000 to the king in money, plate, and jewels.(a) The king was allowed, by the act, if he so pleased, to create new monasteries, or to preserve those which had been suppressed. Now this concession, which the crown does not seem to have solicited, and which the Parliament only introduced into the bill through a movement of pity for the secularized monks, was the royal clemency transformed into an article of merchandize and put up for auction; nay, it was a reward offered to the avidity of Cromwell, who wanted to furnish the houses he had just built at Bolls, in the city, at Stepney, at Canonbury, at Mortlake, and at Hackney.(b) The smaller religious houses were compelled to treat with the king who was not very hard, and occasionally with the vicegerent, who was insatiable in his demands. On a monastery being placed on the fatal list, the superior would send the finest diamond he possessed to Cromwell; the vicar-general's agent would retire and suspend the execution of the orders with which he had been charged; he would, however, again make his appearance at the very moment when the brethren were thanking Heaven for their deliverance, and would not leave until he had filled his pockets with objects of value, and would even again return for some cope or sacerdotal ornament.(c) But Cromwell had some powerful rivals at the court of Greenwich; they were those to whom Henry had promised to sell or give (synonimous terms) some of the suppressed houses. The discussions between these rivals were of a long duration. About a hundred of the religious houses were not immediately dissolved in consequence of their giving up a portion of their property.

Sickingen, who while hunting the monks in the Black Forest, boasted of his clemency, because instead killing he only mutilated them, is a good representative of Henry, who condescended to leave the

(a) Lingard.
(b) Ellis, 2nd series, III.
(c) MSS. Cleop., E. IV., p. 135, 146, 206 216, 220, 257, 264, 269.

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(a) Speed's Hi
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(b) MSS. Chap
(c) Todd.
(d) Lingard.—

religious the walls of their houses after they had been completely gutted.(a) The following was their provision for these suppressed houses; the superiors received a pension during life; all those who had taken their vows before they had arrived at the age of twenty-four were secularized, and allowed to return to the world, taking with them only their religious habit; no inquiry was made as to whether society would give them bread and clothes. Of the more aged, some were transferred into the larger houses, the virtue of which Parliament had lauded in such terms, those who refused this plan, were compelled to throw themselves on the mercy of Cromwell and Cranmer.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was at first inclined to pity them; although he had approved of the suppression of the religious houses,(b) still there was a moment when he refused to enrich himself by their spoils.(c) But we shall soon see that the primate yielded to the temptation. The lot of the religious was truly deplorable; they received only one dress from the king, and were compelled, at the very commencement of their distress, to beg on the public roads. God did not abandon them, and the ancient English hospitality gave them a kind reception.(d) It has been already remarked in this Life of Henry VIII., that tears were generally combined with ridicule; at the very moment that the heart is touched with feelings of indignation or pity, something ridiculous occurs which arrests our tears and anger; thus it was in the history of the religious houses. Scarcely had the dissolution of the monasteries been determined on, and the work regularly commenced, than there appeared a number of the gentry who requested a portion of the spoils. First, the Lord Chancellor: Audley complained in truly piteous accents to Cromwell, that he had been forgotten by the king who had promised to raise him to the Upper House, but had omitted doing so, and left him with a revenue of £800. He had some land which he would willingly give in exchange for the suppressed monastery of St. John, at Colchester.(e) Then came Mr. Parr, who offered the vicar-general £300 per annum if he would give him Peterborough Abbey.(f) Thomas Arundel is yet more generous; he offered 1000 marks for Clift Abbey."(g)

John of London thus relates his expedition against the religious houses: "At Reading, I destroyed the façade of the church, the windows being filled with the brethren, and left the walls and roofs entire for the service of the king. I sealed the ornaments and the seats of the dormitory, and the furniture, which would have been stolen, as well as many other things. At Aylesbury, I found the religious exceedingly poor, and encumbered with debts. Their ornaments were worthless, as also were the provisions of their house there, and I only sold some panes of glass and a few windows. I left the house entire, and I only destroyed the façade of the church which had been recently covered with lead and a good new roof. At Bedford, I sold the ornaments of the church and the sacred vessels. I saved all the lead and some iron-work, which I entrusted to the care of Mr. Gostwike. At Stamford, I left the gray friars all their utensils for brewing: their kitchen utensils were so poor that I could not sell them for more than 8s. No glass among the gray, white, or black friars. I left them their churches. At ———, I sold all the brewing utensils, which had seen much service. At Coventry, I partly razed to the ground the house of the gray brothers, though the monks grieved for what I had done; but I did no harm to the white friars. The monastery at Warwick is in the town. It is an old building in ruins, with no lead but that composing the pipes. There I destroyed the windows of the church, and the furniture of the dor-

(a) Speed's Histoire of Great Britaine.—Catalogue of the religious houses within the realm of England and Wales, with their orders, founders, benefactors and values, most of them being suppressed by King Henry VIII.
(b) MSS. Chap. House, Westminster.
(c) Todd.
(d) Lingard.—Burnet.—Rymer, XIV., 574.
(e) MSS., Cal., F. IV., 193.
(f) MSS., Cal., F. IV., 205.
(g) MSS., Cal., F. IV., 257.

mitory, as I have done every where, save at Bedford and Aylesbury."(a)

It seems that all that could be taken away was sold by auction, for the profit of the treasury or its agents: wood, iron-work, lead, *fauteuils*, the same as in Switzerland at the time of the dissolution of the houses there. The purchasers were numerous, and some have been found to describe the scene for the edification of posterity: "And every one bought things cheap, save the poor monks and nuns, who had no money, as was proved at the suppression of a monastery, of which I have heard mention made, the Abbey of the Rock, a house of Cistercians. It was well built, in stone, vaulted, and entirely covered with lead, as were the abbeys and churches in England. One of my uncles was present at its destruction. He was on intimate terms with the religious who had dwelt there, and when they were expelled, one of them, who was his friend, told him what each of the Fathers had had in his cell, and in none of them was there anything of value, except the bed, which however, was very simple. This monk requested my uncle to buy something; but he replied to him that he saw nothing in that cell which he could turn into use." 'But,' said the monk, 'give me 2d. for my door; it was not made for 5s.' "My uncle refused, saying, that it would be of no use to him; for he was then a young man, and had no need either of houses or doors. Those who afterwards purchased the corn and straw found all the doors open, the locks and bolts being torn off. They entered and carried away all that they wanted. Others took away the window frames from the granaries, and hid them in the straw; and thus did many others with other things, for several took all the iron that remained, which they would not buy when the gentry and soldiery had taken possession of the church. Those who hid the lead in the straw, took away also the seats from the choir where the monks used to sit during the offices, (they were similar to the cathedrals). These seats were burned together with the lead, although there was abundance of wood within a short distance, as the abbey was built in the midst of a forest. In these solitudes they had concealed the pewter vessels stolen from the monks, so that there were none so zealous in robbing the religious as those very persons, who, two days before, had assisted at Mass in their church. In proof of what I have just asserted, I shall here relate what I heard from my father; thirty years after the suppression of the religious houses. I asked him, though he had purchased the frame-work of the church and the building, if he had a favourable opinion of the religious and the religion which they professed." 'Yes,' he replied, 'for I had no reason to think ill of them.' "Well," rejoined I, "but how was it that you aided in robbing and destroying men of whom you thought no ill." 'What could I do? Had I not every right to profit with my neighbours by the spoils of the abbey. I saw that every thing was being carried away, and I did as every one else did.' "(b)

(a) Ellis' Letters, III.

(b) Ellis' Letters, III.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DEATH OF KATHARINE.—1536.

Buckden.—Katharine requests permission to change her residence.—Sent to Fotheringay Castle.—Her interview with Henry's agents.—Katharine's distress.—Kimbolton.—A new place of residence assigned to the Queen.—Fresh trials.—Death of Father Forrest.—Katharine taken dangerously ill. Requests to see Mary and is refused.—The Countess of Willoughby visits the Queen on her death-bed.—Her last moments.—Her will.—Her funeral.

We left Katharine at Buckden, the foggy atmosphere of which was gradually undermining her constitution. The health of this daughter of Spain would have required the benefit of her native mountain air and the warm sun of Castile; but at Greenwich, with a view to accelerate her end, it was resolved to try the effect of the pestiferous atmosphere of Lincolnshire, and as an additional source of torture, her prison

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(a) State Paper
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(c) Miss Strickl

was made the scene of frequent intrusion. Her privacy was again intruded on by the appearance of two Bishops, Lee and Tonstall.(a) We have no reason to be surprised at any action committed by Lee; but Tonstall, who a few years before had so gloriously defended the rights of the Church, ought to have evinced more compassion for a woman. What business had these royal messengers in an asylum sacred to grief? They will themselves communicate it to us. "We have informed her that she must no longer call herself the king's wife, since the bands which united her to Your Grace have been legally dissolved; (the dispatch was addressed to the king;) that the prince has bestowed his hand on Anne Boleyn, and that Heaven, God be praised, has blessed the wedding. And Katharine became infuriated, and told us that she was the wife and not the subject of the king, and that she would bear the title she had received at the altar until her death."(b)

Every hour of the day brought some alarming intelligence to Buckden. The Nun of Kent, who had prayed morning and evening for the prisoner, had been hanged; the Carthusian prior who had recommended her at the holy and awful sacrifice of the altar, had also been put to death at Tyburn; Fisher, who had defended her in the Privy Council, had been decapitated; More, whom she delighted in calling her friend, had been beheaded at Tower Hill; and what harrowed her heart yet more was, that the majority of the nobility had apostatised. How would Mary act, beset as she was by apostate priests? Would she yield, and betray her God and her mother?

Katharine felt that she was dying at Buckden. She again addressed her royal gaoler,(c) and the king, wearied by her incessant complaints, ordered Cromwell to send her to Fotheringay Castle, the most unhealthy place in all England. When the royal order was brought to her, Katharine burst into tears, and declared that she would only be taken there with a halter round her neck. Henry was determined to be obeyed; accordingly the Duke of Suffolk was sent to see that his orders were put into execution. He thus writes from Buckden to the Duke of Norfolk, a member of the Privy Council:—"I have met here with the most obstinate woman that ever existed. We shall be obliged to use force to remove her to Somersame. What are we to do? We wait the king's good pleasure.... We have had immense trouble in making Katharine's attendants take the new oath."(d)

How did Katharine act when thus tormented by the royal commissioners? She wrote to the Pope, begging him to suspend the sentence of excommunication which he was prepared to hurl against Henry; and Paul III., moved by such true magnaminity, accorded fresh delay to the guilty sovereign.(e) At the order of the commissioners, all her servants were assembled to hear a message from the king; it was required that they should acknowledge, under pain of being expelled from Buckden, the royalty of the woman who then shared the king's couch; but Katharine, ill as she was, managed to get as far as the council chamber to oppose the oath. In vain did her almoner, on his knees, beseech her to yield to necessity; she threatened with her anger those who should take the oath, and such is the majesty of misfortune, that Katharine was obeyed.(f) The commissioners wished to be made acquainted with the names of the parties that encouraged her in this spirit of rebellion. Some one mentioned her chaplains, Abel and Barker, who were both summoned before the commissioners. They pleaded guilty, acknowledging that, in their opinion, the exile alone had the right to the homages and title of Queen.

Sir Edmund Bedingfield was appointed governor (or rather a spy) over Katharine's house. This Bedingfield related to the Privy Council all that he heard or saw—complaints and murmurs, prayers and tears. A letter from this gaoler has been preserved, wherein he writes that Katharine had requested, as a favour, to have near her her confessor, her physician, her apothecary, two servants, and as many female attendants as his majesty would

(a) State Papers.
(b) State Papers.
(c) Miss Strickland, IV., 183.
(d) Miss Strickland, IV., 193.
(e) Card. Polus Epis.
(f) Bibl. Harl. 283, p. 102.

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allow, provided they took the oath of allegiance only to the king and their mistress.(a) "My physician," says Katharine in another place, "and my apothecary are my countrymen; the king knows them as well as I do; they have always been in my service; they have attended me in all my illnesses, and they shall continue to do so as long as my poor body belongs to this earth. But if they swear allegiance to another besides myself, I shall be no longer able to trust to a single soul. The king, from a feeling of charity, or, perhaps, in remembrance of that love which formerly united us, and which ever lives in my heart, will grant my petition." The physician and the apothecary were permitted to remain with Katharine, but her confessor, Abel, was dismissed.(b) This separation was felt deeply by the queen, because, as we are told by Sussex, this priest understood and spoke the Spanish language. Father Forrest, her former confessor, was in prison at Newgate, for having denounced Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn from the pulpit. They were completely nonplussed at Greenwich, for it was necessary to have a director that would not be obnoxious to the king. "Allequa, the Bishop of Llandaff, is the man that will suit your majesty," said the royal commissioner; "he is a timid and prudent priest, and will easily prevail on Katharine to leave Buckden; but if she resists and will not obey him, what is to be done, if, as we believe, she will go to bed and refuse to dress herself to follow us?"(c) It was, indeed, a glorious thing for a female to have triumphed over the cleverest despot that ever wore a crown. Henry proposed Kimbolton Castle, with which Katharine was not acquainted, though its situation was peculiarly noxious to consumptive people.(d) She was taken there in 1535. Of £5000, which she ought to have received annually, as the widow of Arthur, Prince of Wales, she scarcely had one-fourth. It happened often, (Sir Edmund Bedingfield is our authority), that the daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic was without an angel.

The queen's poverty was no secret; and a peasant having one day dug out of the earth a treasure near Grantham, consisting of a vessel filled with money and precious stones, brought it to Katharine, in order that she might have something to live on; but it was seized by Bedingfield and another spy, (Vaux,) in the king's name.(e) Katharine was informed, at Kimbolton, of the imprisonment of Father Forrest, at Newgate. He had been thrown into this den of robbers and murderers for the sake of Katharine. He would not swear to the Act of Succession, as his queen was his penitent, and he would acknowledge no other. Affected to tears by this act of fidelity, so cruelly punished, Katharine sought to console her spiritual father by writing him the following letter, wherein she at once shows her feelings as a woman and her heart as a Christian:—

"Reverend Father, you have assisted so many with your advice when in difficulty, that you cannot be ignorant of what is now required of you in the struggle you are about to enter into for the sake of Jesus Christ. If you suffer for a short time with constancy, you know that you will have gained immortal glory, and certainly you would be devoid of reason in renouncing so great a reward to avoid a little pain. How happy are you in knowing these truths, and suffering prison and death for the sake of God; but how unhappy am I, your spiritual daughter, in finding myself in a season of trial, about to be deprived of the advice of so dear a Father in Jesus Christ! Oh that I could, as I have hitherto done, discover to you the secret of my heart. I declare to you that I desire to follow you to death, or to anticipate yours by my own. There is no pain that I would not accept, provided I could do so without offending God, to whose holy will I submit my own; for what shall I do after the loss of those of whom the world is not worthy? But perhaps I am not right in speaking thus; and as it seems that God has other designs, proceed courageously, and obtain grace by your sufferings from Jesus Christ that I may

(a) And that they would take no oath, but only to the king and to her, but to none other woman.—Privy Council, edited by Sir Harris Nicholas.

(b) Miss Strickland, IV., 136.

(c) What to do if she persisteth in her obstinacy, and that she will we surely think, for in her wilfulness she may fall sick and keep her bed, refusing to put on her clothes.—Privy Council, ib.

(d) Encycl. Brit., Art. Katharine.

(e) Holinshed's Chronicles.

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soon follow you, and yet that I may share in your holy trials and glorious combats. It is the last benediction that I ask of you in this world; but when you shall have won the crown of immortality, I expect from you a greater profusion of grace. I should, indeed, be insulting your courage, and the habit of St. Francis which you have worn since your childhood, were I to exhort you to look forward for an incomparable reward, and for the attaining of which, neither trials nor trouble should be considered. However, since the greatest happiness of man consists in suffering for God, I shall not cease to offer my tears, my prayers, and my penances, that you may obtain a happy death and the eternity of glory. Adieu, Reverend Father; think of me in heaven and on earth. Amen."

The saintly religious was enabled, by bribing one of his guards, to send the following reply to Katharine:—"Madam, and my most beloved daughter in our Lord. One of your officers has given me your majesty's letter. It has not only consoled me in my sorrow and continual expectation of death, but it has strengthened my constancy; for although I am fully persuaded that nothing in this world can be compared to the glory which God has prepared for us, if we fight generously, yet I feel that your words, so full of charity, have renewed in my heart a contempt for suffering, and a love for heavenly things. They have invigorated my soul, which was alarmed at her own weakness and unworthiness. May Jesus Christ, my beloved daughter, reward your kindness with an eternity of glory and happiness! I beseech you to assist me with your prayers in the struggle I am about to enter. If you do, as I know you will, whatever may be the severity of my suffering, do not distrust my constancy. It would be strange, and indeed wrong, for an old man to be frightened as easily as a child; for a man of sixty-four to fear death, and for an old disciple of St. Francis, who has taught me to despise the earth, to be deficient in the love of heaven. For you, my dear daughter in Jesus Christ, living or dead, you shall ever be present in my mind, and I shall pray the God of mercy to pour out his graces and consolations on you in proportion to your sufferings; yet I entreat you to redouble your prayers when I shall be in the midst of my trials. I send you my rosary; I have no longer any need for it, since I have but three days more to live, at least, so I am told.(a)"

They were not far out of their reckoning at Greenwich. Kimbolton was destined to be the last resting-place for Katharine. Kimbolton, with its damp clime, was soon to overcome the queen's obstinacy.(b) It was Eustachio Chapuis,(c) doctor of canon and civil law, and Spanish ambassador at Greenwich, who was the first to discover and make known the queen's state of health. Cromwell thought of disgracing the royal spy, as Sir Edmund had not said a word to his employer of Katharine's illness. The spy did not even take the trouble to justify himself:—"If he had known nothing, it was owing to his having discharged his duties at Kimbolton too faithfully; for at the castle every thing was kept a secret from him."(d) But he immediately questioned the Spanish physician. The doctor shook his head, and replied: "that a breath of wind might take her off at any moment." He wished Katharine to call in another physician, but she replied, "What good will it be; I place myself under the protection of God."(e) When she felt, by the icy coldness of her feet, that her last hour was at hand, Katharine looked around for her daughter Mary, and not seeing her, called her by name, but the child replied not to her mother's voice. Then the mother, almost in her last agony, besought Henry to allow her to embrace Mary for the last time, to bless her ere she died; but the prayer of the mother and child were not heard.(f) Thus cruelly disappointed, she dictated the following letter to her husband:—"My lord, and my well-beloved

(a) Sanders.

(b) A situation considered to have been particularly noxious to her health.—Encyc. Brit.

(c) Shakespeare, in Henry VIII., calls him Capucius.

(d) That his fidelity in executing the orders of the king recommended him no favourite with the lady dowager.—State Papers.

(e) I will in no wise have any other physician, but wholly commit myself to the pleasure of God.

(f) Poli Apol.

spouse, the hour of my death is at hand, and I can now give you no other evidence of my love than that of warning you that the salvation of your soul should be of greater value in your eyes than the perishable things of this world, or the care of this mortal body, for which you have caused me so much pain in this world. I pardon you, and pray God to pardon you. I recommend to your care Mary our daughter; be kind to her..... God is my witness at this moment, that nothing would give me greater happiness than to see you."(a)

This letter, of which a copy was sent to the ambassador of Charles V.,(b) reached the king on the 30th December. His eyes, it is said, were filled with tears as he read it; but we have no greater confidence in the tears of Henry than in the messenger whom he dispatched to console the dying Katharine. The news of Katharine's dangerous state was soon bruited about London, and reached the ears of a noble lady who had accompanied the Infanta when a young maiden, she left Spain and her father and mother, to marry Arthur, Prince of Wales. The Countess of Willoughby without letting any one know of her plans, immediately started for Kimbolton. The weather was exceedingly cold, and the roads bare. What matter to that angel! She arrived in the evening of the 1st of January, at the Castle, worn out by hunger, cold, and fatigue, and her body much bruised by a fall which she had met with; but what matter! She asked to see the "Dowager Duchess," for she was obliged to belie her conscience, in order to obtain an interview with the dying woman whom she would soon call her queen and her mistress.

Bedingfield was unwilling to allow her to enter Katharine's room without an order from the king. She had an order, she said, while warming herself near the fire. She would show it to-morrow, when she should have seen Katharine, as time was of consequence. She had been told, while on her way, that she would only find a cold and inanimate corpse on her arrival at Kimbolton. Her prayers were so earnest that Bedingfield was overcome. God be praised! See her near her friend's bed, she presses her hand, leans over the dying woman's mouth, who seems animated by the accents of her mother tongue, whose music gently puts the soul ready to take her flight hence.(c) The countess had no letter,(d) and the spy repented when it was too late of having allowed himself to be duped; but how could he get her away from Katharine's bed?

Eustachio Chapuis, the Spanish ambassador, arrived on the 2nd January at Kimbolton, and proceeding at once to the dying queen's room, spent a quarter of an hour with her. She was perfectly sensible at the time, and conversed in Spanish much to the annoyance of Bedingfield, who did not understand a word of that language.(e) He trusted that Mr. Vaux, his coadjutor, would be more fortunate as he spoke it; but at five p.m. the queen desired to have a private interview with the ambassador. Lady Willoughby was also occasionally by her bedside, speaking and comforting her in the language of affection.(f) Four days were spent in great anxiety; the physician was not without hope; a few rays of sun might prolong Katharine's life, but the sun did not make its appearance.(g) Her chest became more troublesome, her tongue lost its power of articulation, and from time to time gave utterance to a few inarticulate sounds. The priest never left Katharine, and on the 7th, administered to her the last sacraments of the Holy Church. On the 27th January, Bedingfield, who never left her room, thus wrote to the court: "This morning about ten o'clock, my Lady Dowager received the holy oils, and at two p.m., her soul returned to God..... We have no money; send us some."(h) It was at two p.m., (says a contemporary writer,) that Katharine exchanged the

(a) Agnes Strickland, IV., 140, 141.
(b) Lingard.

(c) Miss Strickland, IV., 141.—Thomson.
(d) We neither saw her again nor beheld any of her letters.—Strype.
(e) Miss Strickland, IV., 142.
(f) Miss Strickland, ib.
(g) The amendment was, however, illusive. —Strype.
(h) This 7th day of January, about ten o'clock, the lady dowager was aneled with the holy oyntment..and before 2 of the clock at after none she departed to God..Syr, I have no money, besechyng yow of ayed, with all spede.—Cromwell's correspondence —MSS. in the Chap. House at Westminster.

troubles of this world for the calm and peaceful life of heaven; an earthly husband, by whom she had been divorced, for a Heavenly One, who will never quit her, and with whom she will rest in eternal glory.(a) A small drawer was opened wherein her will was kept; in it Katharine requested "her good master" to allow her to be buried in the Convent of the Observantines, (the Reformed Franciscans,) of which order so many of the brethren had received the palm of martyrdom; that good souls should go on a pilgrimage for her to Our Lady of Walsingham, and there pray for her in that chapel where she had prayed for the success of Henry's arms against France; and that they should on the road distribute twenty nobles in her name to the poor. She requested that her gowns, which Henry had kept, should be made into ornaments for the Church.(b) She begged her husband to give the necklace she had brought from Spain as a part of her wedding *trousseau* to her daughter Mary. None of her friends (they were indeed very few) were forgotten, she bequeathed to Mrs. Blanche, £100; to Mr. Margery, £40, and as much to Mr. Whyller; £40 to Mrs. Mary, the physician's wife; to her physician, a year's salary; to Francis Philips, that faithful servant who carried her letter into Spain for her, £40; to each of the maidens in her house, £10.(c)

What melancholy reflections take possession of our mind as we peruse this will. The daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella not allowed to keep her wedding necklace! Her gowns, which she requested of Henry, had been worn by her in the days of her prosperity, and were now to be used as ornaments for the chapel where her remains would be at rest! That man, who, as it was said, had shed a few tears on reading Katharine's last letter, now thought of robbing the dead. He wished to know if he could not appropriate, as royal property, the money which she had left to her servants.(d) The king applied to the Solicitor General, (Rich), whom More had exposed in open court. "Take care, sire," replied the lawyer; "the law prohibits your taking possession of Katharine's property. And, moreover, to take possession of the deceased's property would be to give credence to the erroneous opinion that Katharine was your wife. But there is a legal means whereby you may appropriate the property of my Lady Dowager, *i.e.*, to name the Bishop of Lincoln administrator of all property bequeathed by deceased in the diocese in which she died. The bishop will appoint sub-administrators, to whom you must apply for money to pay the debts and the funeral expenses of the princess."(e)

None of the wishes of the deceased were fulfilled by Henry. The king would not part with one of Katharine's dresses. With the exception of Mrs. Elizabeth Durell, none of the legatees received a farthing of the legacies bequeathed to them by the testatrix.(f) The body, instead of being buried in a Franciscan convent, was interred in Peterborough Abbey.(g) Her grave was made by Scarlet, who removed her remains fifty years after to make room for the body of Mary, Queen of Scots.(h) The sacrifice of the Mass was offered up at Greenwich for the repose of Katharine's soul. The court was ordered to be present in deep mourning, but Anne Boleyn, on rising that morning, dressed herself in a yellow gown, and, said to her ladies of honour: "Now, I am indeed a queen,"(i)

(a) Harpsfield.

(b) Item it may please the king, my good lord, to cause church ornaments to be made of my gowns which he holdeth.

(c) Strype.

(d) Miss Strickland.—Mrs. Thomson.

(e) And then that the king should receive the property from those who administered, in order to appropriate it to the payment of her debts and to the expenses of her funeral.—Strype.

(f) Agnes Strickland, l. c., t. IV., p. 144.

(g) Gunton's History of Peterborough.

(h) Thomson. The following is a portion of a letter from Henry to Grace, daughter of Lord Marny, and wife of Sir Edmund Bedingfield:—"You will find that we have appointed you one of the chief mourners. . . . We accordingly send you by the bearer yards of black cloth; for the two ladies of your suite, yards; for eight yeomen, yards; and you will see that this mourning be prepared in time; and as to the linen veil for yourself, we shall send you all that is requisite before the appointed day. Given at our manor of Greenwich, the 10th January, 1535.

(i) That she was indeed a queen.—Thomson.—Cardinal Pole puts the following into the mouth of Anne Boleyn:—I am not sorry that she is dead, but that she died so honourably.

in accents of real joy. Katharine's death was every where looked upon as a great calamity. A few voices were heard to murmur the word of poison,(a) and Shakespeare was destined, for want of a priest, to pronounce Katharine's funeral oration.

Hall has said that the court of France, the customs of which Anne seems to have adopted, yellow, was mourning; this is wrong. In the British Museum is a fine MS., representing in coloured figures the funeral of Anne, Queen of Britany. All the ladies present were dressed in black.

(a) The newis of th' old Quenis deth hath been here divulged more than x days passed, and taken sorrowfully not withowt grevous lamentacions, for which she was incredibly dere unto al men for her good fame, whiche is in grite glorye among al exteriour nations. Hic palam obloquuntur de morte illius, ac verentur de puellâ regiâ ne brevi man..sequatur. I assure you men speikith here tragice of this maters, whyche is not to be towchid by letters.—Edm. Harvel to Mr. Thomas Starkey from Venice.—MSS. Cott., Nerva, B. VII., p. 105.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DISGRACE OF ANNE BOLEYN.—1536.

Commission instituted to decide on the profligacy of Anne Boleyn.—The indictment.—Anne in her interior.—Dispatch from the Ambassador Gontier to the Admiral of France.—Arrest of Anne's accomplices.—Her imprisonment in the Tower.—Cranmer receives secret dispatches from Henry.—A letter from the Primate to the King.—A scene at the Tower.—A letter from Anne Boleyn to Henry.

On the 25th April, 1536, a commission, composed of Lord Chancellor Audley, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Oxford, Westmoreland, and Sussex, Lord Sands, Cromwell, Secretary of State, ten knights, seven of whom were judges, was secretly convened at Westminster,(a) by the king's order, to examine into certain accusations brought against the queen. The committee, of which Anne's father was a member,(b) acknowledged that there existed sufficient *primâ facie* evidence to accuse Henry's wife of having had criminal conversation with Brereton, Norris, Weston, officers of the bed-chamber, and Smeaton, and also of incest with her brother, the Earl of Rochford. William Brereton appeared before the council, was examined on the 28th of April, and immediately committed to the Tower.(c)

Let us here carefully collect all the evidence which may serve to throw light on this important trial; our share, however, will be only that of a simple reporter. Sanders imagines that Anne, losing all hope of bearing a son to Henry, who no longer resembled that knight who had broken so many lances on the Field of the Cloth of Gold with Francis, resolved to be a mother, even though she committed incest with her brother George; but no fruit arising from that crime, she shared her couch alternately with Norris, Brereton, and Weston, officers of the king's household; and ever deceived in her expectations, at last lavished her favours on Mark Smeaton, one of the royal musicians.(d) The indictment discovered by Mr. Turner enters into further details:(e) the first offence, according to it, was committed in 1533. On 6th October, in that year, Norris took certain liberties with the young woman,(f) who yielded to his desires on the 12th. On the 5th of December, Brereton declared his love for the queen, who listened to him, and three days after rewarded him at Hampton Court. Sir Francis Weston received like favours from the queen, after a short courtship from the 8th to the 20th of May. Mark Smeaton, a simple musician, tempted by the queen in

(a) Brit. Mus., MSS., Birch, No. 4293.
(b) Mackintosh.—Lingard.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Sanders, Hist. Schism. Angl.
(e) MSS. Birch, No. 4293.
(f) MSS. ib.

April, 1535, betrayed his master on 26th of that month. On the 2nd of November, 1536, an incestuous proposition was made by the brother, and granted on the 5th of that month."(a) These mysterious interviews, in which the object seems to have been a victim neither of love nor the passions, for after the nocturnal rendezvous the lovers do not seem to have again met, are grounds in Mr. Turner's opinion to suppose that the accusations were false, and only invented by Henry to get rid of his wife.(b) He asks how, in a court where Anne was surrounded by enemies, Henry was not informed at an earlier period of such glaring irregularities.

Crispin de Miherve asserts, that a sister of one of the lords of the Privy Council was the first to inform against Anne.(c) When rebuked for her irregularity, the lady's reply was that he waged war against a poor little dove while the ravens were at peace,(d) and being pressed for an explanation, she accused the queen of a criminal connexion with Smeaton, the musician.(e) It was the Countess of Rochford, a woman of bad reputation, who, in a fit of jealousy, denounced as incestuous the intimacy between the brother and sister, inasmuch as she had seen him one day rather familiarly over the queen's bed.(f) Anne was not happy: the king's love for her had ceased since her cheeks had ceased to be as fresh as they once were.(g) In 1535, the queen was a prey to jealousy or remorse. Had Henry then commenced to suspect her fidelity? Was he already tired and worn out with the expectation of an heir? It is certain that Anne became restless and a prey to secret fear, occasioned either by her suspicion, or the certainty of her husband's infidelity. But recently she had been delivered of a still-born son,(h) owing to her having found Jane Seymour, one of her maids of honour, sitting on Henry's knees.(i)

In a dispatch from the French ambassador to the admiral is the following passage, which may throw a little light on the cause of Anne Boleyn's inquietude and anxiety. "I saw her much annoyed, complaining of my having stayed too long, inasmuch as it had occasioned many doubts and strange thoughts in her husband's mind; whereon she said it would be essentially necessary that you should think of something to redeem her character; for she imagines that her time of prosperity is nearly at an end, and is in greater trouble than she was before her marriage; entreating me to beseech you to do something for her, inasmuch as she is not at liberty to speak more fully, owing to the fear she is in of her said lord; telling me that she is not allowed to write, nor can she stay long with me, which kind of language annoys me much. . . . . Assuring you, sir, that she is much troubled in consequence of the king's suspicions and doubts. 5th February, 1535."(j) Will not this dispatch, written thus carelessly, aid us in understanding the allegory of the dove and the raven above referred to? The king had been for more than a year ill at ease, and if the diplomatist is to be credited, he had sufficient reasons for his anxiety. There is nothing so sharp-sighted as the eye of an ambassador, for the reader has not, doubtless, forgotten that it was a statesman, under the robe of a bishop, who was the first to discover the mysterious *embonpoint* of Anne Boleyn. We should, indeed, be delighted

(a) MSS. Birch, No. 4293.
(b) 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.—Turner.
(c) M. Crapelet.—Notre sur Anne Boleyn.
(d) That he blamed the little pigeons and pardoned the offending ravens.—Turner.
(e) Turner.
(f) Miss Strickland, IV., 242.
(g) Of fresh beauties he was a great admirer.—Heylin.
(h) Miss Strickland, IV., 286.
(i) A contemporary poet gives another reason for the queen's miscarriage:—
"Adonc le Roy s'en allant à la chasse
Cheut du cheval rudement en la place,
Dont l'on cuydoit que par ceste adventure,
Il deust payer le tribut de nature.
Quand la Royne eust la nouvelle entendue,
Peu s'en faillit que ne cheust estendue
Morte d'ennuy, tant que fort esforça
Son ventre plein, et le fruict advença
Et enfanta ung beau filz avant terme."
—Crispin de Miherve.
(j) Le Labourer.

could we believe that the queen was guiltless of these crimes, but, without prejudice, have we not every reason to suspect the fidelity of one who, when very young, was so clever in the art of coquetry as to have excited, by a systematic course of opposition, the passions of an amorous prince; who was publicly kept by her lover; who consented to expel from the royal bed and throne one who had occupied them quietly for twenty years; who had banished Katharine from the court; who had separated the child from her mother; who had stamped on the mother's brow the mark of incest, and that of bastardy on the child; who, on the day of her rival's death, had appeared in a festal dress; a creature completely devoid of feelings and affections of modesty?

Henry, however, had nothing more than his title of king, and perhaps despot, to retain the affections of a woman like Anne Boleyn. That prince, so handsome in the picture first painted by Holbein, was detestable in 1535. His face was bloated; he could scarcely walk, or mount on horseback unless carried in the arms of his attendants; a long struggle with Rome had developed his choleric temper; he had become, since the execution of the Carthusians, suspicious and taciturn; and daily did that fatal leprosy which was to consume him grow worse and worse. The English Tiberius was afflicted with cancers, which he might conceal from the eyes of the world, but the sense of smelling had long since perceived them. Katherine alone, i.e. her virtue, could have, even at the age of Anne Boleyn, overcome her natural feelings, and have remained the chaste wife of a man who had been struck, both in his soul and his body, by the avenging hand of God.

A tournament was held on 1st May, 1536, at Greenwich; Lords Rochford and Norris were the two combatants. Anne and the king were present on a balcony. At the moment of a pass, Anne accidentally, or imprudently, let her handkerchief fall, which was picked up by Norris, and handed to her on his lance, after he had wiped his brow with it.(a)

(a) Hall.—Godwin.—Herbert.

The king started on seeing this, turned pale, arose up in a hurry, and left the place. The tournament was interrupted. Lord Rochford was arrested at the entrance of the camp, while the king was on his way to London, accompanied only by six attendants. Norris was of the number, and Henry, while *en route*, kept constantly by that gentleman's side. The others, who were at a respectful distance, observed that the tone of the king's voice was completely changed towards his favourite. Henry was urging him to obtain his pardon by confessing a criminal conversation with the queen. Norris, however, persisted in delaring his innocence. Norris was arrested near Westminster Abbey, and taken to the Tower. On the evening of that day, Mark Smeaton and Sir Francis Weston were also imprisoned.(b)

The fall of the handkerchief had been of exceeding great utility to Henry's plans. Anne returned, in a restless mood, to her apartment, without, however, suspecting the motives which had actuated the king in leaving thus abruptly, and still less the cause of the arrest of her brother, Lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, and Smeaton, the musician. She sat down to table on the morrow at her accustomed hour. Every thing around her seemed changed; her attendants were as if struck dumb, none among them having sufficient courage to tell her the fate that awaited her. She was alarmed on seeing that the butler did not make his appearance, according to custom, at the dinner hour, and say to her, "Madam, much good may it do you."(c) The butler, actuated by feelings of fear or pity, dared not express a good wish for her whom Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, was commissioned to arrest. She arose from table, when a man appeared, who told her respectfully that the barge was ready. She silently descended the steps of the castle, entered the boat, and the pilot, silent as his oar, ascended the Thames. When opposite the Tower, the queen saw another boat advancing, in which she recognized the Duke of Norfolk, Audley, and Cromwell. The skiffs stopped simultaneously,

(b) Lingard.
(c) Lingard.

and the noblemen, entering that in which was the queen, declared that they then and there arrested her, in the name of the king, on the charge of infidelity to his bed. Anne, much alarmed, threw herself on her knees, and exclaimed, "If I am guilty, may God never receive me into his holy Paradise."(a) The pilot took up his oars, approached the banks, and stopped before the Traitor's Gate, an old Saxon arch, whose walls, verdant by age and humidity, were similar to those of a vast well.(b) Kingston awaited the queen on the last steps of the stairs, where the lords gave her into his custody. On ascending the stone steps on which Fisher and More had but recently preceded her, she asked the lieutenant if she was to be taken to a cell. "No, madam," replied Kingston, "but to the apartment that Your Grace occupied on the day of your coronation." "It is too good for me," said the queen. And again throwing herself on her knees, she exclaimed, "Jesus have mercy on me." A flood of tears followed this pious ejaculation; then to these tears succeeded bursts of laughter yet more heart-rending than her sobs.(c)

On entering the apartment which was to serve her as a prison, she looked with great alarm on those walls which had witnessed her triumph, and thus addressed Kingston: "I wish to know why I am here; tell me." She yet believed herself to be queen, but seeing her mistake, burst into tears, and wringing her hands, exclaimed, "Ah! my poor mother, you will assuredly die of sorrow."(d) Then turning to Kingston, her sole support in this hour of trial: "I am pure, Mr. Kingston, pure from all sin with those three men with whom they have accused me of having sinned; yes, pure from all sin as with you.(e) I am told that these three men have accused me. Oh! they say that which is not true. May I die if they tell the truth." Then she fell into a state of great nervousness,(f) and was heard to exclaim, "Norris, do you accuse me? You are also in the Tower with me, and you will perish with me; as you also, Mark."(g)

Then approaching the lieutenant, who, compelled to visit his prisoners, had learned to compassionate their sufferings. "Mr. Kingston," said she, "I swear to you that I am innocent; but tell me, will the king put me to death without an examination? It will not be so?" "The poorest woman in the kingdom has a claim to the justice of his majesty," replied Kingston. Anne bent her head and commenced laughing, as if she had become delirious; then suddenly returning to herself, as if struck by a ray of supernatural light, she imagined that she had left some compassionate soul in the world who would take pity on the queen. "And my bishops," said she, "if they were here, they would go and supplicate the king for me."(h) The only bishop who would have thrown himself at Henry's feet to implore his justice and mercy for her, was Fisher; but Anne, by her perfidious counsels, had assisted in sending him to the block: she might from her apartment see the martyr's cell! Let us now see what one of her bishops was doing.

Cranmer had, on the 2nd May, received an order from the king not to leave Lambeth.(i) Henry's letter was dry and menacing; it informed the primate of the queen's crime, and probably it was Henry's intention to try the zeal of one who had never been backward in obeying his master's wishes. On the morrow, there arrived a second royal message, ordering Cranmer to go to the Star Chamber with the other Privy Councillors, who would lay before him the proofs of the adulteries committed by Anne Boleyn.(j) Cranmer replied to the monarch. After having

(a) Lingard.
(b) Mad. Prus, Les Femmes de Henry VIII.
(c) These facts and, in general, all those relating to Anne's confinement in the Tower, are taken from an original letter of Kingston to Cromwell, existing in the British Museum, (MSS. Otho, C. X.), and published by Singer, in his edition of Cavendish, and by Ellis, in his original letters.
(d) "O my mother, thou wilt die for sorrow."—Kingston's letter.—Ellis, II., 55. She was speaking of her step-mother.
(e) Lingard.
(f) Strype.—Mackintosh's History of England.
(g) Lingard.
(h) I would I had my bishops, for they would all go to the king for me.—Ellis.
(i) Turner.
(j) Todd's Life of Archbishop Cranmer.

reminded Henry of the example of Job, who bent under the hand of God, and, as the price of his submission to the decrees of Heaven, received greater favours than he had ever before obtained: *Additit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.* He begged him to bear in mind that this great calamity, though it might afflict, yet ought not to depress nor dishonour him; but he adds, that his personal good opinion led him to think that she was guiltless of the crimes imputed to her."(a) Fine words which would efface many faults! The unhappy Anne had then found a grateful servant; England, a bishop sufficiently courageous to proclaim the innocence of a woman even before her accuser, although it should be Henry. Let us wait awhile. "However," pursues the prelate, "it is impossible for me when I, who know Your Highness, consider to what extremities you have gone, to believe that the queen is innocent."(b) Thus, then, Anne is guilty, not because the evidence is so strong as to convince the most prejudiced person in the world, but because Henry asserts it. Judge and party concerned, Henry is infallible! Cranmer endeavours to prove to the world that he is not an ungrateful servant.(c) He asserts that there is not a creature living after His Grace, to whom he is under so great obligations as to the queen; so he hopes that the king will permit the primate to wish that Anne may prove her purity in the eyes of God and man.(d) But immediately, as if apprehensive that this act of compassion would be a crime in the eyes of the king, he adds: "That if the queen could not prove her innocence, that man would indeed be a disloyal subject, an enemy to the king as well as the state, who would not call down on the criminal the implacable vengeance of the laws;"(e) in other words, the block or the stake: a wish, says a modern historian, worthy of a Cromwell or a Rhadamanthus.(f) This is not all: Cranmer, as if apprehensive of not being considered either sufficiently cowardly or sufficiently traitorous, protested that he was ready blindly to perform all the king's orders; he took this oath in the following manner, which shows that he was thoroughly decided not to violate it:

"This letter was written when the Lord Chancellor, Lord Oxford, Lord Sussex, and the Lord Chamberlain had sent for me to the Star Chamber, and there imparted to me the communication which Your Highness had condescended to address to me, and for which I thank you most respectfully. I do not for a moment doubt that a faithful report of our proceedings has been made to Your Majesty, and I am indeed grieved that the queen should be convicted of the crimes of which she is accused, and I am and shall ever be your faithful subject."(g) Hence, it is evident, that these commissioners, after having established the culpability of the queen on evidence, accepted by Cranmer without examination, and on the word alone of the prince, had before laid down the judicial form to be followed by the archbishop in the pronouncing of the sentence.

An historian, however, has been found sufficiently courageous to assert, that the primate in this letter justifies Anne with an extraordinary delicateness, and as much as prudence would permit or charity require.(h) Let us return to the Tower:—Lady Rochford, Mrs. Cosyns, Mrs. Stonor, known for their hatred of the prisoner, were ordered to watch her night and day. They slept near her bed, heard what she murmured in her feverish dreams, and

(a) For I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her, which maketh me think that she should not be culpable.—Todd.

(b) And again I think that your Highness would not have gone so far, except she had been surely culpable.—Todd.

(c) Now I think that your Grace best knoweth, that next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto her of all creatures living.—Todd.

(d) That I may, with your Grace's favour, wish and pray for her that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent.—Todd.

(e) 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.—Todd.

(f) A Cromwell or a Rhadamanthus might have said this; but did it become the heart of him whom she had so much obliged, to volunteer such an instigation?—Turner.

(g) Todd.

(h) Burnet.

endeavoured, when she was awake, to entrap her by insidious questions; an infamous office solicited by noble ladies. The least word of equivocation which might escape her, even at the acme of a fit of nervousness, was immediately reported to the council.(a) "Madame," said Mrs. Cosyns to the queen, "how comes it that Norris has told your almoner that he could swear that you were an honest woman?" "Well, he can really swear to that," replied Anne. "When I asked him why he delayed so long in marrying, he replied 'that he wished to wait;—and why?' Is it that you are looking for dead men's shoes, and if some misfortune occurred to the king to obtain me? May I die if I ever entertained such a thought. Do you know that I could undo you if I wished?—and we said no more."(b)

The conversation now turned on Weston, whose name alone had an extraordinary and visible effect on Anne.(c) Weston was wont to take great liberties with the queen. One day, she herself related it to her gaolers, he had told her that Norris went to the court not to offer his homages to Madge, but to see the queen. "And you, Mr. Weston," inquired Anne, "do you not love Mrs. Skelton with greater affection than your wife? That is not right of you." 'There is another whom I love yet more than either my wife or my mistress.' "And who is that?" 'Yourself Madame,'(d) Mrs. Stonor one day expressed her astonishment at Smeaton, the musician, being treated with greater severity than the other prisoners, he having been put into irons. "Probably it is because he is not a gentleman," replied Anne. "However, he was never in my room but once, when I was on my way to Winchester, and I sent for him to play the Virginals. I saw him again on the Saturday before the tournament at Greenwich. He was leaning on a window, and deeply absorbed in thought." "What is the matter, Smeaton," I asked of him. 'Why do you inquire,' said he, abruptly. "You are angry; but you ought not to imagine, or expect that I should speak to you as I would to a peer. No; one of your looks is sufficient for me."(e)

When it was reported in London, in 1531, that Anne Boleyn had been created a marchioness, Wyatt, desiring to bid adieu to the friend of his childhood, wrote his "Forget not yet," a poetic melody which Shakespeare would not have been ashamed of.(f) They had not met since, but the poet, whose love was chaste, had not forgotten the young maid of Blickling. Wyatt, whose heart was no longer free, had his wish, his hopes, his consolations, to convey to the captive. Mary, the writer's sister, had been introduced into the Tower—we know not how, perhaps through the instrumentality of Kingston—and Mary well knew, by her affectionate

(a) Singer.—Burnet.

(b) 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 I told him I could undo him if I would. And therewith we fell out.—Singer.

(c) She herself disclosed this in her apprehension of Weston's giving evidence against her.—Kingston's Letter, Singer.

(d) 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.—Kingston's Letter.

(e) Burnet.—Cavendish in his Metrical Versions makes Smeaton speak thus:—

My father, a carpenter, and laboured with his hand,
With the sweat of his face he purchased his living;
For small was his rent, and much less was his land;
My mother in cottage used daily spinning;
Lo! in what misery was my beginning!

(f) A few writers have accused Wyatt of having been guilty of intriguing with Anne Boleyn. Sanders has even stated that the poet offered his evidence to Henry. Wyatt was accordingly expelled the court. But Wyatt's disgrace is purely imaginary. Wyatt, after this confession, as well as after Anne's marriage, continued to reside at London, and often went to court at Greenwich. If any guilty connexion had really existed between Anne and Wyatt before, or at the time of the marriage, it is certain that the writer would have shared the captivity and punishment of Norris and Smeaton. Wyatt was married when he addressed to the Marchioness of Pembroke those well-known lines, "Forget not yet." After an attentive examination of all that has been written by Nott, Hapsfield, Hearne, Cavendish, and Miss Strickland, we believe in the purity of Wyatt's affection for Anne Boleyn.

manner, how to assuage her sufferings. It is probable that she found the means of having the following letter, addressed by the queen to Henry, conveyed to Cromwell:—

"Sire," wrote the prisoner,(a) "Your majesty's anger and my imprisonment are such singular events that I am at a loss how to address you, or from what charge to justify myself. I am still more embarrassed, as I have received a message from you, requesting me to confess my guilt, that I may thereby obtain my pardon, and this message has been brought to me by one whom you know to be my open enemy. On finding her commissioned with this message, I cannot but have a presentiment of your feelings towards me, and if it be true, as you say, that a sincere confession would save me, willingly and joyfully should I obey your orders. But your majesty must not imagine that your unhappy wife will be led to confess a fault which she has never even thought of. I appeal to that very truth which is spoken of as to be appealed to, that a sovereign never had a wife more attached or more affectionate than Anne Boleyn was to you. I shall willingly confine myself to that name; I shall willingly and without the slightest regret retain my present position, unless God and your majesty decide otherwise. I never so far forgot myself on the throne to which you raised me, as to expect the disgrace from which I now suffer. I justify myself so far as to say, that my elevation being only founded on caprice, another object might easily seduce your imagination and your heart. You took me from an obscure station in life, to bestow on me the title of Queen and the yet more precious title of your wife. Both were certainly far above my merit and my expectations; but since you deemed me worthy of so great an honour, let not fancy or the evil councils of your enemies deprive me of your love; let not the blot, the odious blot, of being suspected of having a perfidious heart to your majesty, tarnish the glory of your affectionate wife and the young princess your daughter. Sire, I willingly consent to being tried, but let it be before a lawful court, and let not my sworn enemies be either my judges or accusers. Yes, sire, let me be examined openly and judicially, for I have no reason to fear my replies. You shall then see my innocence cleared up, your anxiety and conscience set at ease, calumny and malice silenced, or my crime discovered. In whatever way God or yourself may please to decide my lot, your majesty will not be exposed to any reproach. When my crime is thus judicially proved, you will have the right, before God and man, not only to punish a perjured woman, but also to follow up your new affection(b) for her who is the cause of my being where I am. I have long been acquainted with your *penchant* for her, and your majesty is not ignorant of my anxiety on that point. If you have already decided with regard to myself; if not only my death is necessary, but an infamous calumny, to insure you the possession of her on whom you now attach your happiness, I hope God may pardon you so great a sin, as well as my enemies who have been instrumental thereto. May He never require from you one day, at the day of judgment, a rigorous account of your cruelty towards me. We shall soon appear at His tribunal, where, whatever the world may think of my conduct, my innocence will be fully established. May I alone suffer here below the weight of your wrath! May it not extend to those unhappy and innocent men who, I am told, are in prison on the charge of being my accomplices. This is the last and only prayer that I shall ever address to you. If ever I found grace in your eyes, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn was agreeable to your ears, grant me the favour which I now ask of you, and which I shall only demand with tears to Heaven for you, that God may take you under his protection, and direct all your actions.

"Your loyal and ever faithful wife,

"ANNE BOLEYN.

"*From my sorrowful prison of the Tower,*

"*This 6th May*, 1536."

(a) Hume.

(b) Jane Seymour, maid of honour to Anne Boleyn.

Was this letter from Anne Boleyn? This is a controverted question in England, and it is not for us to decide. It is in our opinion the production of a rhetorician, and neither that of a wife nor of a mother: Katharine of Arragon would have written differently.(a)

(a) This letter was found among Cromwell's papers. Lingard says that it does not resemble the Queen's letters either in style, writing, orthography, or signature. Sir Jas. Mackintosh asserts that its authenticity cannot be denied. —Hume admits it as true.—Burnet does not endeavour to suspect its authenticity.—Mr. Ellis says, "That Anne was too closely guarded to allow any one concerting such a letter with her;" and Turner: "I do not think that there is any thing in it superior to her other letters and authentic speeches." It has been printed by Herbert, and is in the British Museum, MSS. Otho, C. X., 154.

CHAPTER XXXV.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF ANNE BOLEYN.—1536.

The Grand Jury of Westminster.—Condemnation of Anne's accomplices.—Commission to try the Queen.—The Earl of Wiltshire appointed Judge.—Anne's conduct during the Trial.—The Verdict.—Execution of the Convicts.—The Divorce between Anne and Henry pronounced by Cranmer.—Anne at the Tower.—Her Execution.—The King and Jane Seymour.

We know that before her marriage with Henry, Anne loved the young Percy. It was thought for a moment that they had discovered a mutual promise of marriage between the lovers. It is stated that this idea was started by some of the queen's partizans as the only means of saving her life; for, if they succeeded in proving an anterior contract, Anne, expelled from court, could have resumed, with the king's permission, her title as Marchioness of Pembroke.(a) We wish it were in our power to record the name of the proposer of this glorious resolution, for in vain do we seek for a man of feeling in the king's Privy Council. This engagement, written or verbal, of which they wished to have the proof, would have doubtless been a good hit for the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is said that he would have pleaded that the contract made in the marriage of Anne Boleyn with Henry was null and void; but the primate would not have been able in any way to save the unhappy woman, who, as a faithless mistress or adulterous wife, was pre-condemned.

Percy, at that time Earl of Northumberland, was examined respecting the nature of his engagements with Anne, and he swore in the presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York,(b) that he had not bound himself by any promise, written or verbal, with the queen.(c) He repeated the oath, both in a letter which he addressed to the Secretary of State and before the Holy Altar at the moment of communicating, in the presence of the other members of the Privy Council.(d)

On the 10th of May, the indictment, drawn up on the 25th of April previous,(e) was laid before the grand jury of the counties of Middlesex and Kent, assembled at Westminster, under the pretext that the crimes with which the accused were charged had been perpetrated in both counties.(f) The grand jury, formed of seven judges and sixteen jurymen,(g)

(a) Turner.

(b) Hume.
(c) M. Otho, C. XVI.
(d) Turner.
(e) Turner.
(f) Lingard.
(g) Turner has given their names taken from MSS. Birch, 293. Judges: John Baldwin, Rd. Lysle, John Porte, John Spelman, Walter Luke, Anthony Fitzherbert, William Shelly. Jury, Giles Heron, Roger Moore, Richard Anselm, Thomas Billyngton, Gregory Lovell, John Wezley, William Blackwall, *Esquires*. William Goddard, John Wilford, William Berd, Henry Hubbethorn, William Hunyng, Robert Walys, John England, Henry Lodesman, John Avery, *Gentlemen*.

declared, after examining the indictment, that the queen and her accomplices were guilty. George Spelman, one of the judges, affirmed that the proof of the prisoner's guilt had been established by the deposition of Mrs. Wingfield while on her death-bed.(a) We are not acquainted with the deposition of this former attendant of Anne Boleyn, for only a portion of one of its pages is now extant. So in this action against a queen, all the elements of conviction have been carefully kept from the eye of posterity, which has only the blood that was shed, to assist it in pronouncing the verdict.

On the 12th of May, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeaton, were taken from the Tower to Westminster Hall; the three gentlemen defended themselves with ability, and protested their innocence. Norris was offered his life if he would confess, but he rejected the proposal, and swore before God that he would rather suffer a thousand deaths than cast a blot on the virtue of his queen.(b) "Hang him then, hang him," exclaimed the king, on being informed of his courageous reply.(c) Mark Smeaton confessed the crime. Was it the free and voluntary confession of a penitent culprit convinced of his guilt?(d) How is it possible to know this, since the papers connected with the trial have been destroyed?(e) Had they even been in existence, they would only have informed us what the pen of an obedient scribe had written at the dictation of servile men.

Smeaton was condemned to be hanged, his accomplices to be beheaded. A commission, similar to that which had condemned the Duke of Buckingham,(f) was instituted to try the queen. The Duke of Norfolk, the queen's uncle, as grand seneschal, presided; he had as his assistants, twenty-six peers of the kingdom; the Lord Chancellor was at his right, the Duke of Suffolk at his left hand, and the Earl of Surrey opposite the President as Earl Marshal.(g) The queen appeared at the bar on the 15th May, 1536, accompanied by Lady Rochford and Lady Kingston. She was to be tried at the Tower, in a hall expressly prepared for the occasion; she had no friend, no advocate to support or defend her. She advanced without fear, but on looking at her judges, started: she had seen her own father, the Earl of Wiltshire, on the bench.(h) Anne sat down on a *fauteuil* which had been prepared for her: was this an act of homage to the queen, or a sign of compassion towards a woman?(i) The indictment was then read to her. It charged Anne with having prostituted herself alternately with Norris, Brereton, Weston, Smeaton, and her brother; that she had admitted the musician thrice to her bed; that she had made a boast of her licentiousness; that she had said that the king had never possessed her heart; that she had persuaded each of her lovers that she loved them most dearly, thus covering with disgrace the king's issue;(j) and that she had, in conjunction with her favourites, conspired against the king's life. Anne's acts of adultery made her a criminal against the state, by virtue of a bill which declared any one guilty of high treason, who by writing or deed should attack the privileges of the king, queen, or their children. Thus, the statute enacted in favour of the king's wife and daughter, would now be instrumental in putting the wife to death and dishonouring the daughter.(k) Anne defended herself calmly and nobly. Eye-witnesses said that nothing could be compared to the manner

(a) Burnet.
(b) Hume.
(c) Hang him up then, hang him up!—Bishop Godwin's Annals.
(d) It is pretended that Sir William Fitz-William, seeing the accused hesitate said to him, "Subscribe, Mark, and you will see what will become of it;" Smeaton, believing that his life had been promised him, signed.
(e) The records of all these trials have been destroyed.—Turner.
(f) Rapin de Thoyras.
(g) Nott's Life of Surrey.—Mackintosh.—Burnet.
(h) Turner says, "There were twenty-six other peers; and among them her respected father."
(i) Lingard.
(j) And was accused with having said to each of them that the king never had her heart, and that she loved him better than any person whatsoever, which was to the slander of issue begotten between the king and her.—Burnet.
(k) Hume.

in which she looked at the court.(a) She is said to have refuted the accusations of the indictment with such persuasive eloquence, that the spectators felt confident of her acquittal.(b) But what could be expected from a court, of which the president, the Duke of Norfolk, shook his head and repeated, "Tud, tud, tud!" as a sign of incredulity, to every word of justification uttered by the queen? (c) Anne was found guilty, and condemned to be beheaded or burnt alive, according to the king's good pleasure. It is not known whether the judges were unanimous, but it is generally believed that they were. The historian, Turner, is of opinion that the verdict was returned from a majority of votes, and that the Earl of Wiltshire, whose vote was not recorded, would naturally compassionate his daughter; but the father who, by virtue of a royal mandate, consented to sit in judgment on his daughter, accused of adultery, would not hesitate to condemn her. Was he seen, when the sentence was being pronounced by the president, to cast an eye of compassion on his child? Did he conceal his face? Did he leave his seat? Did he exclaim in the court: "Anne is innocent?" No; he remained transfixed on the iniquitous bench; he listened to Norfolk, and no tear fell from his pitiless eye, for had he wept, we should have heard of his tears. Percy, the Earl of Northumberland, was summoned by the king to take his seat on the bench as one of Anne's judges, but scarcely had he reached the bench when he was taken ill, left the court, and died a few months after.(d)

On hearing the verdict, Anne raised her hands to heaven, and exclaimed: "O my Creator, thou knowest whether I have deserved my lot!" Then turning towards her judges she said: "My lords, I do not blame your sentence, you know why you have condemned me; I wish you no evil; may God pardon you! But I declare to you that I am innocent of all the crimes of which you accuse me. God, who alone can read the heart, knows whether I have ever betrayed the king my husband. This, my lords, I shall repeat on the scaffold; and do not imagine that I speak thus that I may escape death, for my imprisonment has taught me how to meet it. With regard to my poor brother and the other unfortunate persons, my so called accomplices, I would gladly suffer a thousand deaths to save them; but since such is the will of the king, I will accompany them to heaven, where we shall unite our prayers for his majesty's salvation."(e) When she had ceased speaking, the president ordered her to divest herself of the insignia of royalty which she had worn during the trial. Anne submitted to the orders of her uncle without murmuring, and took off, in the presence of the court, her crown, her necklace, and her royal mantle. The duke added that she must also resign, with that of Queen, her titles of Princess and Marchioness, with which the king had deigned to honour her. Anne bowed in token of respect,(f) and after having saluted her judges, retired, preceded by the constable, Lady Rochford, and Lady Kingston, not to the apartment in which she had hitherto been confined, but to the prison which she was to inhabit until the king

(a) Godwin's Annals.

(b) Wyatt relates: "That the out-door rumours had been that she had cleared herself with a most wise and noble speech."—Memoirs, MSS. Harl.

(c) "Tud, tud, tud!" and shaking his head three or four times.—Kingston's Letter to Cromwell.—Cavendish, by Singer.—Ellis, II., 60.

(d) Miss Strickland.

(e) Crispin, Sieur de Milherve, who was present at the trial, gives this speech, which Meteren, in his "Histoire des Pays-Bas," has republished in a prose translation, for the original is in French verse. If Meteren is to be credited, this Crispin was the author of the poem attributed by Le Grand to Marat, (Hist. du Divorce), but upon what foundation we know not, as Clement Marat was at Geneva at the time of Anne Boleyn's death. In the Catal. de la Vallière this metrical narrative is thus inserted: "Epitre contenant le procès criminel fait à l'encontre de la roine Boullant d'Angleterre, par Charles, anmônier de Mgr. le Dauphin." (Lyon, 1545.) La Croix du Maine mentions one Lancelot de Carles, Bishop of Riez, author of various pieces of poetry in Latin and French, and among others, of "The Death of Anne Boleyn," which he appears to have addressed to the Dauphin, while he was his almoner. But Meteren has doubtless given the real author of the poem.

(f) Meteren.

should appoint the day for her execution, and decide whether she was to suffer on the block or at the stake.(a)

As soon as she had been removed, her brother, Viscount Rochford, was led to the bar of the tribunal. The Earl of Wiltshire had not left his seat. What are we told of the pagan Brutus? Here we have a Christian Brutus, who, in the interval of a few hours, condemns his daughter to be burnt alive, and his son to be beheaded! Two days afterwards, Viscount Rochford(b) ascended the scaffold with his unfortunate companions; he evinced no less fortitude before the executioner than he had done before his judges. Before their execution, they all requested to receive the last consolations of religion, confessed their sins, and received the Holy Communion. On arriving at the foot of the scaffold, Rochford embraced Weston, Norris, and Brereton with tenderness, begged the prayers of the spectators, and fearlessly gave himself up to the executioner. Weston deplored the foolish expression he had so often made use of—that he would devote his youth to sin, his old age to repentance.(c) Brereton, says an eye-witness, pronounced these enigmatical words: "I have deserved to die, if it were a thousand deaths: but the cause wherefore I die, judge ye not. If ye judge, judge the best."(d) Norris was obstinately silent. "My masters," said Smeaton, before ascending the ladder, for he was hanged as a commoner, "pray for me; I have deserved my fate."

The reader will doubtless have remarked that at the last moment, when these persons were about to pass from time to eternity, not one of them protested against the punishment he was about to suffer; not one proclaimed the innocence of the queen. Had they died martyrs, are we to suppose that their tongues would have been silent? "We know," says Lingard, "that when a man was accused, the king's honour required that he should be condemned; in like manner, without doubt, it would have been considered offensive to the king, that a culprit, at the foot of the scaffold, should have denied the justice of the sentence passed upon him."(e) But if the person condemned was not guilty, the king was no more than an executioner; and in that case, for the sake of eternal justice, he ought to have asserted his innocence, especially, when like Norris, he was able to show himself courageous, and death was impending over a victim like the queen. What can we think of a brother who suffers death, and leaves the brow of his sister stained with the accusation of incest, if that sister be innocent of the crime?

On the following day, the queen, on being informed of the last words of the musician on the scaffold, exclaimed: "Ah! I have great fears for his soul; God will punish him for his lying.(f) My brother and the others are before the face of the Great King; to-morrow, please God, we shall meet in heaven." Henry's revenge was not satisfied; it was not a queen, but a concubine that he wished to bring to the scaffold. We left Cranmer at Lambeth, awaiting the king's orders, which were soon forthcoming. The prelate was requested to dissolve the bonds that he had blest four years before. Now, the reader may not have forgotten that the archbishop pronounced that nuptial benediction after having invoked the light of the Holy Ghost, and with the gospel under his eyes. How would he now be able to transform the prince's lawful wife into his mistress? It would appear that he held all the sins of the world in his hands. He had declared Katharine incestuous, and now

(a) Burnet.

(b) Rochford, Governor of Dover and of the Cinque Ports, was a poet. Although Wood asserts that on the eve of his death Rochford composed those beautiful verses, "Farewell my lute," this was not the case, for he had written them long before his captivity. We quote the first stanza:—

"Farewell my lute, this is the last
Labour that thou and I shall waste,
For ended is that we began;
Now is the song both sung and past;
My lute be still, for I have done."

(c) Lingard.

(d) Memoirs of John Constantyne, Archæologia, v. XXIII., 63, 66.

(e) Lingard.

(f) Las! j'ai peur que son âme
En soit en peine et que punition
Souffre de sa fauice confession.—Relation en vers.

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(a) Lingard.
(b) Ib.
(c) Burnet.
(d) And after t
archbishop was ob
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nate.—Todd.

he is going to make Anne a concubine. In the name of the living God whom he dares to call to witness, he summons the king and queen to appear before his tribunal for the salvation of their souls, in order that they may there explain the motives, if they have any, that may justify the dissolution of the marriage.(a) On the appointed day, the king and queen appeared by proxy at Lambeth; Henry being represented by Dr. Sampson, and the queen by Drs. Wotton and Barbour.(b) On behalf of the prince, it was pleaded that his marriage with Anne was null on account of his having previously cohabited with her sister Mary; and as there could be no objection to the royal affirmation, the fact was at once admitted. Previous to his marriage with Mary's sister, Henry had certainly obtained from Clement VII. a dispensation unto the first degree of affinity, and this dispensation had been acknowledged by Cranmer in his own handwriting.(c) Cranmer distinguished two affinities; one of Divine right spoken of in the Book of Leviticus, which no human power can abrogate; the other, of civil right and which does not constitute a prohibitive impediment to marriage; and of this nature was Henry's affinity to Anne, contracted by his intercourse with her sister Mary. This doctrine of the prelate prevailed so long as Henry was faithful to his wife, but when inflamed by the love of Jane Seymour, he sought to be released from the bonds of an adulterous wife, a new light flashed upon Cranmer's mind, and the two affinities were both of Divine right.

Two days after the condemnation of Anne Boleyn, the archbishop, "after having invoked the name of Jesus Christ, and for the greater glory of God," had the mortification, says the historian, of being obliged to pronounce the dissolution of the marriage contracted and consummated between Henry and Anne Boleyn.(d) We cannot account for the primate's mortification. If, as he says, he only performed a conscientious duty, why should he feel mortified? If the marriage, according to Mr. Todd, could not be impugned, why should there be any mention of coertion? Was Cranmer afraid? It was thought prudent to conceal from the public the alleged reasons for pronouncing the dissolution, and, consequently, in the minutes of the trial, the place where the motives should have been stated, is filled up by the insertion of the following phrase: *Quos pro hic insertis haberi volumus.*(e) To what can we attribute this concealment, unless to an attempt to spare the king's reputation? The acts of this iniquitous procedure were soon communicated to the clergy and to Parliament; the clergy submitted to the sentence of the metropolitan, the two Houses to the superior knowledge of the clergy, and England possessed one legitimate wife less, and one natural child more. The reader will doubtless have observed the craftiness of the king in the trial of Anne Boleyn; and especially in the proceedings at Lambeth. Had the divorce been pronounced before the queen's condemnation, Anne could not have been tried for adultery, since her marriage, in that case, would have been a forced concubinage. But even after the double sentence of the primate and the court, what becomes of the Act of Succession, based upon the sanctity of the marriage? What is to be the recompense for the blood of so many monks shed for the honour of a prostitute? If the statute of Succession was not effaced from the book of the law, Cranmer's judgment was an act of high treason; for the prelate had rendered himself amenable to that ferocious law which punished with death any act committed against the king, queen, or their heirs. Parliament, in order to escape from this dilemma, enacted that the crimes declared treason by previous statutes, should retain their criminality, if they had been committed before the 8th of June, 1536, the period of the assembling of Parliament; and that the king's subjects who should have taken part in the queen's trial, or have made depositions in the arch-

(a) Lingard.
(b) Ib.
(c) Burnet.
(d) And after two days more the afflicted archbishop was obliged judicially to declare her marriage invalid and her offspring illegitimate.—Todd.

(e) Wilkins' Concilia.—Lingard.

bishop's court, or before Parliament, should receive a full pardon for all crimes of treason committed during the trial. Such was the penalty reserved by God for those who abandoned Him by betraying the sovereign laws of logic! Mind made subordinate to matter; Parliament obliged to pass a bill of indemnity in favour of the judges of an adultress; monks sent to the scaffold for having insulted a concubine; Elizabeth declared the offspring of a woman convicted of incest with her own brother; the clergy rendered contemptible; a primate declaring that his falsehoods and his baseness proceeded from the Spirit of Truth—what folly and hypocrisy!

On the 16th of May, Cranmer went to the Tower by the king's order, to hear Anne Boleyn's confession,(a) while the executioner was embarking at Calais to come and behead her. He was the most experienced executioner in England. Henry, therefore, made use of his royal prerogative by commuting the sentence passed on his faithless wife. Anne was to have perished at the stake; his majesty's vengeance was satisfied with the block. On the eve of her execution, Anne passed a portion of the day prostrate at the foot of the cross. Remembering her severe treatment of Mary, the daughter of Katharine, she sent for Lady Kingston, and asked her if she would sit down and receive a last message from one who was to die on the morrow? Lady Kingston replied, "that she could not think of sitting in the presence of a queen." "Ah! madam," replied Anne, "I am no longer a queen, but a poor wretch condemned to the block." Lady Kingston sat down in an arm-chair, and Anne threw herself devotedly on her knees before her.(b) "Madam," said Anne, sobbing bitterly, "go to Mary, throw yourself at her feet, and with hands joined as mine are now, tell her, that I ask her pardon for the ill-treatment I have caused her to suffer."(c)

Kingston has left us a few particulars relative to the queen's last moments, which we cannot omit to reproduce here in their affecting simplicity. "This morning, 19th of May, she sent for me to see her receive the Holy Communion, and at the same time, to hear her explanation respecting the crimes of which she had been accused; and she told me that she had been informed that she was not to suffer till afternoon, at which she felt grieved, as she had hoped that death would have already delivered her from her sufferings. To this I replied, that her death would not be painful; when she rejoined, that she had heard that the executioner was exceedingly skilful, and besides, added she: 'my neck is very small,' at the same time clasping it in her hands and laughing heartily. I have seen many put to death, both men and women and have always seen them manifesting great grief, but she seems to make a pleasure of dying."(d) Lord Bacon assures us, that a few hours before her execution, Anne sent the following message to the king: "Sire, I thank you for your continual favours; from a woman of simple rank you made me a marchioness, from a marchioness a queen, from a queen a martyr." But, says an historian, the message probably never reached the king, who was engaged with Jane Seymour.(e)

At Mid-day the prison door was opened, and Anne appeared dressed in a robe of black damask, with a pointed collar; on her head she wore the velvet hat in which she is represented in all Holbein's portraits.(f) The queen appeared to be more affected on seeing the courtiers, who by the king's orders, stood on the turf around the fatal instrument, than by the sight of the scaffold. Among them, Anne recognised the Duke of Suffolk, one of her bitterest enemies; the Duke of Richmond, Henry's natural son; Cromwell, the ungrateful servant, whose son had married the sister of Jane Seymour, the future Queen of England; the Lord Mayor, who had complimented her on her marriage, and a deputation from each of the corporations of London, who had strewed the road with flowers on the day of her coronation. All strangers, as Kingston informs us, had been

(a) The archbishop was named by the king to be her confessor, and he visited her on the 16th of May.—Turner.
(b) Mad. Prus.
(c) Burnet.—Larrey, Hist. d'Angleterre.
(d) Burnet.—Ellis, II., 63, 2nd Series.
(e) Miss Strickland, IV., 271.
(f) Mad. Prus.

forced to leave the fortress; there were scarcely thirty men left in the Tower, and the majority of them without arms. A domestic of the ambassador of Charles V. could not obtain permission to be present at the execution. Anne ascended the scaffold with a firm step, accompanied by four female attendents, and the lieutenant of the Tower. Then, turning towards the spectators, whom the jealous precaution of the monarch had appointed to witness the sacrifice, she said: "Good Christian people, I have come hither to die, that the law may be satisfied; I accuse no one, not even my judges. May God preserve the king, and grant him a long reign; he is a noble prince, the most generous of men; he has always treated me with the greatest kindness and tenderness; I am quite resigned to my fate, and may God pardon me."(a) Refusing the aid of the executioner, (b) she then took off her head-dress and collar, which might impede the action of the axe, covered her hair with a linen cap, and addressing herself to her maids, said: "I thank you for your kindness, which I should like to be able to reward; you will not forget me; you will be faithful to the king, and to her who will soon be your queen and your mistress. Value your honour more than your lives, and forget not in your prayers to the Lord Jesus to intercede for my soul."(c) Mary Wyatt was on the scaffold, holding in her hand a Prayer-book which had just been given to her by the prisoner as a token of her gratitude,(d) and received Anne Boleyn's last kiss. The queen knelt down, modestly adjusted her dress about her feet, allowed her eyes to be bandaged, and placing her head on the block,(e) repeated: "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me"—the axe fell.

At that very moment, a hunter of large stature, seated under the branches of an oak in Epping Forest, and surrounded by a pack of hounds and numerous huntsmen, was hanging his head and listening to every sound that was wafted by the breeze, when the air was shaken by the report of a cannon fired at a distance. "To horse," said he, making an effort to rise, "it is all over; tie up the dogs, and let us depart."(f)

At Wolf Hall in Wiltshire, a woman was preparing her white dress, her bonnet, her veil and her bouquet, for she was to be married on the morrow. The hunter was Henry; the woman, Jane Seymour. On the 20th of May, the day after Anne Boleyn's execution, Henry led the lovely Jane Seymour to the hymeneal altar, in presence of some of the members of his Privy Council, and among others of Sir John Russell, who lauded the charms of the bride and the grace of the royal bridegroom.(g) The happy couple, after the celebration of the nuptial ceremony at Tottingham Church, set out for Marwell, stayed a few days at Winchester, and returned to London on the 29th of May.(h)

(a) From an account by Constantyne, an eye-witness.—Archæologia, Brit. XXIII.
(b) Gratianus, de Casibus virorum illustrium.
(c) Constantyne.
(d) Wyatt's Life, in Strawberry Hill, MSS.

(e) Gratianus.—The axe that was used for the beheading of Anne Boleyn is still to be seen at the Tower of London. In the British Mus. (MSS. Harl., No. 2252) are the MS. verses of her brother, Viscount Rochford.—Hawkins.—Hist. of Music.
(f) Nott's Life of Surrey.
(g) The king was the goodliest person there.
(h) Britton's Wiltshire.—Milner's Winchester.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

INSURRECTIONS.—1537.

Lady Kingston visits Mary, who wishes to be reconciled to her father.—The confession which Henry requires from his daughter. The Parliament convened.—New statutes.—Insurrection in the northern counties.—Manifesto of the rebels.—Henry replies to it.—The revolt is suppressed.—Henry violates his pledge.—Executions.—Birth of Edward.—Death of Jane Seymour.

THE body of Queen Anne Boleyn was taken up by the pious women who accompanied her to the scaffold, washed, wrapped in a white shroud, placed in a coffin of elm wood, which awaited it at the foot of the scaffold, and buried in the chapel of St. Peter ad vincula.(a) No tapers burned on the altar; no black was hung round the walls of the chapel; no priest was in the Church; no prayers were offered up for her who, three years before, had had placed on her head, by the hands of an archbishop, the crown of St. Edward. Bishop Shaxton took the liberty of insulting the remains, while they were still warm, of her whose chaplain he had been. In a letter to Cromwell, bearing date 23rd May, he had the audacity to say: "She hath exceedingly deceived me. That vice that she was found—Lord have mercy on her soul."(b)

Lady Kingston delivered the message which she had received from the queen. She went to Hundson, and threw herself on her knees before Mary with her hands joined, just as she had promised. Mary, from her solitude thus wrote immediately to Cromwell: "No one ventured to speak a word in my favour so long as that woman was living, whom may God pardon. Now that she is no more, I beg of you to intercede for me with his majesty. My writing is very bad, but it is owing to my not having been allowed to trace a single line for the last two years."(c) In her letter to the king, which she submitted to the perusal of the Vicar-general, she declared herself ready to resign herself, her rank and her existence to the king's mercy, in everything that was not displeasing to God. Cromwell did not like this truly Christian reserve, and erasing certain expressions, he returned the letter to Mary, who replied that she was in the habit, whether in speaking or writing, to refer everything to the will of God, but that she would submit without a murmur to the advice of her protector, and faithfully copy any letter that he might think proper to dictate.(d)

Henry required a blind submission: he consented to restore the princess to favour, if she would acknowledge her father as Supreme Head of the Anglican church, consider the Pope merely as the bishop of Rome, and Katharine as an incestuous wife (e) These conditions being complied with, he promised to embrace his child. On reading the first words of this formulary, Mary could neither conceal her tears nor her indignation. Alone, without friends, without advice, her only resource was in Cromwell, whom she endeavoured to interest in her favour. But to whom was she applying? To that iron-hearted creature, who had said not long before, that he would rather see his son die than deny the supremacy of

(a) Sir John Spelman's notes in Burnet.
(b) MSS. Otho, C. X., 260.

(c) Hearne, Sylloge epistolarum à variis Angliæ scriptorum principibus.—Appended to Titi Livii Foro Juliensis Vita Henrici V.
(d) Sylloge epist.
(e) State Papers, t. I., 455-59.

Henry! She expected from the secretary some words of consolation, some gentle remonstrances, perhaps a few tears of sympathy, but she received only threats and insults. Cromwell called her an obstinate, hard-hearted,(a) and wicked woman, who merited condign chastisement. Should she persist in her fatal obstinacy, he threatened to abandon her for ever, and treat her as an unnatural child, disobedient to her God and to her father. The miscreant condescends for a time to adopt a language familiar to the young princess; he holds up that church, of which Henry was the head, as the church of Christ; he even goes so far as to swear most blasphemously, that he would for ever renounce the mercy of God, if that church was not the true one.(b) Intimidated, reduced to a state of desperation, and more to be pitied than blamed, Mary consents to sign the confession which had been drawn up at Greenwich. She acknowledged Henry as her lord and king, and submitted to the laws and ordinances of the kingdom. She agreed to recognize the king as Supreme Head of the Anglican church, under Jesus Christ, and to reject the jurisdiction which the bishops of Rome had formerly usurped in the kingdom. She swore that the marriage between the king and the late queen dowager, her mother, was incestuous and illegitimate, and in opposition to laws human and divine.(c)

Katharine must have cried to God in heaven: "Have pity on my child, for she knows not what she is doing!"(d) Let it not be imagined that Henry, proud of his victory, left his daughter in peace. He insisted upon her revealing to him the names of those persons who, until then, had encouraged her in her obstinacy; but the princess, aware of his bloodthirsty propensity, indignantly replied that she was ready to suffer a thousand deaths rather than denounce any of her friends to him.(e) The king yielded to his better feelings and recalled Mary, who, in the person of Jane Seymour, found a sister and almost a mother.(f) The queen's trial, and the events which naturally must have resulted from it, determined the king to convoke a fresh Parliament. He opened the session in person, and in his speech to the Houses, he made a merit of his having been so unfortunate in his two first marriages, and stated his intention of contracting a third for the benefit of his well-beloved subjects. The speaker received this declaration with all the marks of the most sincere gratitude, and congratulated the murderer of More and Fisher, the bloated hunter who could not get on horseback, the leper suffering from a loathsome ulcer, on the physical and moral gifts with which it had pleased God to endow him; he compared him to Solomon on account of his wisdom and justice; to Sampson on account of his strength and courage; to Absalom on account of his grace and beauty.(g)

The king made a modest reply through his Chancellor, Audley, in which he rejected these encomiums, since, if it were true that he was possessed of all these external gifts and Christian virtues, the homage was due to God alone.(h) After this sentence, Audley turned towards Henry to compliment him on the new object of his choice, the Lady Jane, whose youth, beauty, and purity of flesh and blood, promised numerous heirs to her husband.(i) This Parliament seemed decided on crawling

(a) Wherefore, madame, to be plain with you, as God is my witness, like as I think you the most obstinate and obdurate woman, all things considered, that ever was.

(b) State Papers, t. I., 445-9.—Burnet.

(c) The confession is in the *Syllogæ* of Hearne, and is signed *Marye*.

(d) Katharine of Arragon requested Ludovico Vivès, who was styled the second Quintillian, to compose a treatise on education for the use of Mary. Vivès wrote it in Latin; he would not allow his pupil to read L'Amadis des Gaules, Tyran le Blanc, Lancelot du Lac, Pierre de Provence, La Fée Melusine, and other romances of chivalry. He allowed her to read the Acts of the Apostles, fragments of the Old Testament, the works of SS. Cyprian Jerome, and Augustin, Plato, Cicero, Seneca the Periphrasis of Erasmus, More's Utopia.—Madden's Privy Purse Expenses of Mary.

(e) Lingard.

(f) Hume.

(g) Ib.

(h) Ib.

(i) Her convenient years, excellent beauty, and pureness of flesh and blood.

through a slough of servitude, and one of its first acts was the ratification of the divorce of the monarch from Anne Boleyn. The queen and her accomplices were declared to be for ever branded with infamy, and Mary and Elizabeth illegitimate. The throne was secured to the children of Jane Seymour, or to those of any other wife that Henry might subsequently marry. In the case of his dying without issue, the Parliament authorised the prince to dispose of the crown according to his good pleasure, either by his will or by letters patent, sealed with the great seal. Thus, by a strange inversion of the simplest laws of logic, the Parliament destroyed the work, however iniquitous, which it had just completed, by empowering the king to nominate Elizabeth or Mary to the throne, although they had been declared illegitimate. But this outrage on common sense was a proof of servility; it was well known that, in the event of Jane proving barren, the king's intention was to bequeath the crown to the Duke of Richmond, whose death, however, occurring some time after, defeated the plans arranged in his favour.(a)

By this statute, the English penal code which, from the reign of Henry VII. had increased daily in extent, by the accession of new crimes which the law was bound to pursue unto death, it was declared an act of treason to print, publish, or say, a single word against the person of the king or his heirs; to attempt to defeat any acts or proceedings that the king might adopt in consequence of the bill: to call in question the legality of the new marriage, or of any other that the king might contract; to maintain, either by writing or by word of mouth, the validity of his two first marriages; to acknowledge Mary and Elizabeth as legitimate; to refuse, no matter under what pretext, to reply on oath to questions relative to the clauses, sentences, or single words contained in the statute; to refuse the oath of obedience to the act; to marry, without the consent of the king, any princess allied to the crown within the first degree of affinity.(b) And what was perhaps still more monstrous, the Parliament added fresh privileges to the already exhorbitant prerogatives of the crown. It granted to Henry and his successors, the power of annulling any legislative act that should have been passed before the reigning sovereign had attained his twenty-fourth year. The Parliament thus riveted its future proceedings to a lasting servility. Under these circumstances, Henry would have been able to dispense with soliciting a divorce from Katherine, for, to prove its invalidity, he would only have had to show the certificate of his birth. Thenceforth, the word or the signature of a king of England, given before he had attained his twenty-fourth year, although sanctioned by Parliament, would only be considered as a bauble, should such be the prince's fancy.

As it was essential to show that Parliament did not in vain threaten with its anger any citizen who should be found daring enough to brave it, Lord Howard, the brother of the Duke of Norfolk, was found guilty of high treason, by a bill which was read and passed three times through both houses, for having contracted a secret marriage with Margaret Douglas, Henry's niece, by his sister the Queen of Scotland and the Earl of Angus; this act being considered a sufficient proof that he aspired to the throne. Howard and the young princess were imprisoned in the Tower, but the latter was released through the influence of the Dowager Queen of Scotland, and because of her sex. Howard is said to have been poisoned in prison.(c) Henry viewed him in the light of a pretender, at least, and he wished to sleep in peace in the arms of his new wife; but while seeking, in the society of his young queen, to drive away the ghosts of his two wives, which were continually haunting him in his sleep, he was unexpectedly alarmed by an insurrection in the north. During the religious revolutions of the sixteenth century, it not unfrequently happened that the signal of relief to a people oppressed in their faith and liberties, made its first appearance in the mountains.

Let us briefly sketch the history and miserable failure of the northern peasants

(a) Heylin.—Hume.
(b) Stat. Henry VIII.—Stryps.—Lingard.

(c) Hume.

who rose in rebellion against the tyrant's oppression. Their revolt, widely different from that of the German peasants, was wholly religious. Attached to the ancient faith of Alfred, these men from the distant counties saw with dread, the introduction into the king's Privy Council of Cromwell and Rich, the secret enemies of Catholicism; the elevation of a married priest to the highest dignity in England; the nomination of Shaxton to the see of Salisbury, a man who had adopted the views of Zuinglius on the Eucharist. The execution of More and Fisher had excited painful emotions in Lincolnshire, where they were revered as martyrs. The dissatisfaction increased in the country parts after the spoliation of the religious houses, which the peasant had been taught to revere from his childhood; for they were his inn when travelling, his hospital when sick, his workhouse when he had fallen into indigence; under all his difficulties the peasant had recourse to the monks; and hence, in the remonstrance which they humbly addressed to their lord and master, they laid great stress upon the condition of the poor of his kingdom, who were left without aid, deprived of the means of subsistence, and abandoned without pity on the high road. The peasants were about to furnish Henry VIII., whose pen had so long remained idle, with an opportunity of showing that he had lost none of his juvenile vigour since his contest with Luther; but on this occasion, he does not refute the Saxon, he copies him. Luther, addressing himself to the rebels of Thuringen, said to them: "For the ass, thistles, a packsaddle, and a whip; for you, oat straw."(a) Henry is less laconic, although equally insulting: "How presumptuous are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, to find fault with your prince for the electing of his counsellors and prelates, and to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's law, to rule your prince whom you are bound by all laws to obey and serve, with both your lives, lands, and goods."(b)

On the same day, he observed to Wriothesly, one of his secretaries: "That he would rather sell all his plate than that these traitors should not be put down as an example to others." Cromwell was, in fact, ordered to go to the Treasury of the Tower, and take from it whatever plate he required and send it to the Mint.(c)

The insurrection progressed, for not only were the peasants in arms, but also the landlords, who, as the former patrons of the monasteries now dissolved, complained of having been deprived of certain reversions, reserved by the charter of their foundations, and asserted that the lands of a suppressed community ought not to be forfeited to the crown, but should return to the representatives of the original donors; by the spoliation and secularization of a monastery, they, the protectors and heirs of the institution, were deprived of their rights and privileges.(d) What reply could be made to them? We need not, therefore, be astonished to find the Archbishop of York, the Lords Nevil, Darcy, Lumley, Latimer, and a great number of the tenants and landholders making common cause with the insurgents. Had the rebellion been triumphant, they would have been considered patriots, and their names would have been venerated; but the insurrection having failed, they were confounded with the rebels, and pleaded in their justification, that they had been compelled by circumstances to enter the ranks of the malcontents. The rebellion originated in Lincolnshire, instigated by Dr. Mackrel, Prior of Backlings, disguised as an artizan, and Dr. Melton, under the name of the cobbler Captain.(e) They were soon joined by a body of 20,000 malcontents. The Cobbler, an eloquent speaker, was commissioned to draw up their manifesto. The peasants, in the first place, swore fidelity to God, to the king, and to the state. If they took up arms, it was solely to obtain redress for certain grievances which they enumerated in an humble petition to their lord and master, the glorious Henry. They complained of the enactment of certain

(a) De Witte.
(b) State Papers.

(c) State Papers, I., 482.
(d) Lingard.
(e) State Papers, I., 462.

laws by Parliament which were too rigorous; of the suppression of the smaller monasteries; of the spoliation of a great number of religious houses; of counsellors whose pernicious advice would ultimately overthrow the kingdom; of certain bishops who were striving to annihilate the ancient faith —horrible evils which the king was bound to remedy as promptly as possible.

At the first report of this rebellion, the king ordered the Duke of Suffolk to put down the revolt; while he himself, ensconced in his study, endeavoured to reply to the manifesto of the peasants. "Has it ever before been heard of," asked he, "that a vile populace should prescribe to the king the choice of his ministers? If he has suppressed the monasteries, was it not by virtue of a legislative act? What sort of men were the majority of the abbots and priors that were expelled from their monasteries? Men covered with crimes; but perhaps it would have been better to leave these debauched and hypocritical monks to devour the revenues of the communities, than allow the king to employ them in the endowment of useful establishments!"(a) Henry commanded the rebels to lay down their arms, to throw themselves on his clemency by prompt repentance, and to give up to his officers the originators of the revolt, who should meet their just punishment.(b) The peasants, who had no more confidence in Henry's clemency than in his good faith, refused to obey. Monks with crosses in their hands traversed their ranks and encouraged them to resist. "You will see," said they, "that the time will shortly come, when you will neither be able to marry nor receive the sacraments without the king's consent! His majesty will tax every slice of beef that you eat, and soon there will no longer be either monasteries or churches in England; your cause is a noble one; it is that of God and his saints."(c) Several noblemen, however, whom the peasants had forced to enter their ranks, secretly informed Suffolk that the king's proclamation had irritated the rebels, and that the best means of conciliating them would be to proclaim an amnesty. Numerous messages were exchanged between the royal troops and the rebels, who finally surrendered, on receiving the king's promise of a free pardon. Henry granted this amnesty, not through pity, but through fear;(d) and, if Gardiner can be relied on, he had even determined, at one time, on a reconciliation with Rome, with a view to stifle the revolt.(e)

This insurrection assumed its most formidable aspect in Yorkshire, where the people, accustomed to the use of arms, were courageous and patient, and in case of defeat could easily beat a retreat into the neighbouring mountains of Scotland, where they were sure of meeting with a kind reception and of finding numerous partizans; for the recollection of the fatal battle of Flodden was still fresh in the minds of the Scotch, who had sworn mortal hatred to England. The frightful misery of the peasantry in the North, and especially of the clergy, acted as a powerful incentive to the revolt. Protestant historians expatiate with delight on the ignorance of the Yorkshire priests; but what could be reasonably expected from men whose annual revenue was only a few pounds?(f) So miserably remunerated, that they could scarcely manage to subsist, is it astonishing that they were not in possession of those books that progressive science was then bringing out for the civilization of the world? When the insurrection spread from the borders of Scotland to the Humber, numbers of priests joined the rebels, urged on by misery and "fanaticism," if enthusiastic faith may be termed fanaticism. The leader of this religious crusade was a gentleman of the name of Aske, who, according to the chroniclers, was possessed of those qualities which are best calculated

(a) Burnet.
(b) Ib.
(c) Speed.—Historie of Great Britaine.—Herbert.

(d) By the informations disclosed by Gardiner in one of his sermons under the Queen Mary, during these northern rebellions, Henry was so alarmed as to have serious thoughts of reconciling and reuniting his kingdom to Rome. —Turner.
(e) Hume.
(f) Their benefices were so exile, of £4 5s. 4d. per annum, that no learned man would take them.—Letter of the Archbishop to Cromwell, July 5, 1535.

to seduce the people—courage and coolness. The rebels at first styled their movement, confused and without any specific object in view, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*. They were preceded by priests, with crosses in their hands, and on their banners were painted a chalice surmounted by a host, and Jesus Christ crucified, whose body was represented transpierced with five bleeding wounds. Each soldier had embroidered on the sleeve of his coat, "Christ with the five wounds."(a)

The formula of the oath to be taken by all those who desired to be enrolled as Pilgrims of Grace, was as follows: "I swear that I enter the Confraternity of the Pilgrimage for the purpose of serving God, of defending the king and his children, of reforming the nobility, and of delivering the king from his evil counsellors. I promise not to seek my private advancement in public calamity; to wrong no one, nor voluntarily slay any of my brethren. Under the weight of the cross of Christ, I will labour for the preservation of the faith, for the re-establishment of the Church, and the extirpation of heresy."(b) Faithful to this oath, wherever they appeared, the confederates restored the monks to their monasteries, rebuilt their chapels, replaced the images that had been pulled down, lighted up the tapers before the reliquaries, and called on the people to take up arms.(c) On their arrival at a town, hamlet, or fortress, they summoned the inhabitants to surrender. Speed has preserved their summons to the inhabitants of Hawkshead: "We command all and each of you, as you hope to appear before the Supreme Judge on the last day, to assemble at Stoke Green, near Hawkshead Church, on Saturday next, at eleven o'clock, in the best possible accoutrement, under pain of seeing your houses razed, your goods destroyed, and yourselves punished corporally according to the will of our chiefs."(d)

At the dawn of day, the combatants threw themselves on their knees and prayed to God, while the trumpets and drums were sounding to the charge, and the banners were waving in the air. In the evening, after a long march, interrupted at every moment, the troop would halt near a stream and prepare for sleep, after a priest had invoked the blessing of Heaven on the servants of the five wounds of our Lord.(e) The pilgrims advanced, chanting hymns on their way, and meeting neither obstacle nor resistance. Pomfret, where the Archbishop of York and Lord Darcy had taken refuge, threw open its gates, and the two prisoners took the oath of fidelity to the Pilgrimage of Grace.(f) York and Hull acknowledged and saluted the banner of the Crusaders; but Skipton, defended by the Earl of Cumberland, received them at the cannon's mouth. Scarborough Castle also was valiantly defended by its garrison, under Sir Ralph Evers; having been besieged for nearly twenty days, and wanting both bread and water, they refused to capitulate.

In the meanwhile, the revolt, advocated by the clergy, spread far and wide. The counties of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Durham rose *en masse*. The Earl of Shrewsbury, although without any commission, armed his vassals, and threw himself into the town of Doncaster, which the insurgents were then besieging.(g) He was soon joined by the Earl of Derby, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, and, finally, by the Duke of Norfolk, who led nearly 5000 men to the succour of the town. But what could be effected with this handful of soldiers against a body of 40,000 rebels? The duke was unwilling to risk a battle, the loss of which would have been the signal for a general rising throughout the country and, opening a negotiation with the insurgents, he awaited their reply behind a battery of artillery. A ford, rendered impracticable by the recent overflowing of the river, sheltered him against any surprise. While waiting for orders from the court to empower him to treat with the rebels, the duke summoned them to lay down their arms and implore for mercy. Aske received Norfolk's

(a) Hardwickee's Papers.
(b) Carte.—Godwin.
(c) State Papers, I., 463, 551.
(d) Speed.
(e) State Papers, I.
(f) Burnet.
(g) Lingard.

message in truly royal style, seated between the Archbishop of York and Lord Darcy; and on hearing the Parliamentary messenger begin to talk of submission, he peremptorily ordered him to quit the camp.(a)

Norfolk received the necessary authority for treating with the rebels and granting them a full pardon, ten only being excepted from the amnesty; six whose names were mentioned, and four whom the king would afterwards select. The insurgents were perfectly right in rejecting such conditions. Negotiations were renewed, and a convocation of the clergy, assembled at Pomfret, was appointed to inform the royal commissioners of the proposals made by the insurgents, at the conference to be held at Doncaster on the 6th Dec., 1536.(b) They required that the Parliament should be convened at York; that a full and entire amnesty should be proclaimed; that the statutes which had abrogated the authority of the Pope, suppressed the monasteries, declared Mary illegitimate, and bestowed on Henry the tithes and first fruits of benefices, should be repealed; that Cromwell, the Vicegerent, Audley, the Chancellor, and Rich, the Solicitor-general, should be punished as abettors of heresy; that Lee and Langton, the visitors of the monasteries, should be prosecuted for extortion, peculation, and other abominable acts.(c) They further demanded the suppression of heretical books, and the punishment of the heterodox bishops and sectarians, unless they preferred settling their disputes by a close encounter with the pilgrims, who would willingly engage to maintain the truth of their faith.(d) Although these peasants have sometimes been stigmatised as fanatics, it is impossible, without injustice, to refuse them the more honourable title of men of courage and good faith. One fine trait in their character is, that from the time of their taking up arms, to the end of their campaign, they did not even so much as cut an ear of corn from the fields of their enemies.

(a) Lingard.—Burnet.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras.
(c) Ib.
(d) Lingard.

The deputies of the insurgents, amongst whom were Lords Scroop, Lumley, and Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, and Robert Aske, had received written instructions not to make any concessions to his majesty's commissioners. The conference was brought to a conclusion by the Duke of Norfolk and Sir William Fitzwilliam, who refused to subscribe to the conditions imposed.(e) The duke's position was very embarrassing, since the question could now only be decided by an appeal to arms, and he dreaded a defeat. Under these circumstances, he determined to write to the king for authority to offer an unexceptional pardon to the insurgents, to which his majesty at last consented, and which the insurgents accepted, on condition that their complaints should be laid before the Parliament which they required to be assembled at York.(f) But Henry soon repented of this act of clemency; and no sooner was he delivered from his alarm by the voluntary dispersion of his enemies, than he forgat the solemn promises he had made.(g) Aske, who was summoned to London, had no reason at first to complain of the prince; but Lord Darcy, more suspicious, and who had only consented to obey the monarch's orders in the last extremity, was arrested and committed to the Tower on the day of his arrival in London.(h) On hearing of this act of treachery, the pilgrims again had recourse to arms. Musgrave and Tilby, two gentlemen, at the head of 8000 peasants, beseiged the city of Carlisle, but were repulsed and completely routed by the Duke of Norfolk. Musgrave had the good fortune to escape, but Tilby and sixty-six of his followers were taken and hanged on the walls of the city.(i) Sir Francis Bigot and Hallam, with another body of insurgents, made an attempt to obtain possession of Hull, but were taken prisoners and executed.(j)

Encouraged by this success, the king now began to think of revenge. Aske, on attempting to escape from London, was

(e) Herbert.—Tyndal.
(f) Rapin de Thoyras.
(g) Lingard.
(h) Rapin de Thoyras.
(i) Ib.
(j) Ib.

arrested, conducted to York, and hanged on one of the towers of the city. Lord Hussey, tried at Westminster, was beheaded at Lincoln. Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Bulmer, Sir Thomas Percy, Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest, and William Lumley were executed at Tyburn, and Margaret Bulmer burnt at Smithfield (a) Lord Darcy was released from the Tower, and was considered to be out of all danger, on account of the royal amnesty, his great age, and the services that he had rendered to the state; but Henry determined that he should die. Judges were found base enough to condemn an old man of eighty, who had been pardoned by the prince, and an executioner to behead him at Tower Hill. The king now declared himself satisfied.(b) But his joy was soon to be mingled with sorrow. Six months after his marriage with Jane Seymour, she began to feel the pains of maternity, and the physicians being called, soon discovered in the countenance of the young queen, signs of her approaching end. Nor were they deceived; for Jane Seymour, after having been delivered, on the 12th of October, 1537,(c) of a child, who received at the baptismal font the name of Edward, died a few days after. Twelve hundred masses were offered up in London for the repose of her soul.(d) Jane, before she expired, made her confession and received Extreme Unction.(e) Henry is said to have been exceedingly grieved at the death of Jane Seymour. Until then, he had been accustomed to make the tears of others flow, but had never shed any himself. The historian can but express his regret at the untimely end of this young woman, carried off in the flower of her age, like a leaf by the wind. From the windows of her apartment in the city, she could see the ancient walls of the Tower; had she been spared a few years longer, who knows that the executioner of Calais might not have had to undertake a second voyage to London.

(a) Stowe.—Tyndal.—Belcarius.
(b) Herbert.—Hume.

(c) The official letter announcing this event bears this date. MSS. Nero, C. X.

(d) Her confessor hath been with her grace this morning, and hath done that which to his office appertaineth, and even now is preparing to minister to her grace the Sacrament of Unction.—MSS. Nero, C. X.

(e) Richard Gresham's letter to Cromwell.—State Papers, I. 574.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SPOLIATION OF THE MONASTERIES.

The Pope endeavours in vain to bring Henry back to the true faith.—The spoliation of the monasteries legalized by Parliament.—The larger monasteries.—The great abbeys are confiscated.—Means employed for obtaining voluntary resignations.—Sharing of the spoils.—The portions that fell to the king and his courtiers.—Executions and murders.—War against the tombs.—The shrine of St. Thomas à Becket.—The Saint is summoned to appear before a court of justice, and condemned.—Employment of the stolen property.—Montesquieu's opinion on the spoliation of religious establishments.

In the month of October, 1536, intelligence was received at Rome of the insurrection of the Yorkshire peasantry.(a) Paul III. imagined that the rebellion, although suppressed, had nevertheless been sufficient to alarm Henry. The Holy Father hoped, that during the ensuing session of Parliament, which was to meet at York, the English monarch, repeatedly warned of the Divine vengeance since his schism, would listen to the voice of reason, and be reconciled to the Holy See, whose authority he

(a) Petrus Paulus Gualterus in Diario.—MSS.

had so eloquently defended. In expectation of so happy an event, Paul suspended the promulgation of a bull of excommunication against the murderer of More and Fisher, which, for two years, had been lying in the archives of the Chancery. The Pope imagined that the day was about to arrive, when he would be able to kiss the prodigal son, and in his affectionate intercourse with the King of Portugal, he saw already the "strayed sheep returning to the shepherd's fold."(a) Rome has never paid any attention to the rules of diplomacy; though attacked in her honour and privileges, she is ever the first to make advances to the man who has insulted her, whether he wear a crown, like Henry, or a monk's cowl, like Luther. The direction of the negociations which the Holy See was about to open with Henry was intrusted to Cardinal Pole. But Cromwell, a personal enemy of that prelate, watched for every opportunity of frustrating the projects of reconciliation, favoured by the Imperial Court. The Vicar-general would hear of no reconciliation with Rome, and boasted to Latimer that he would make Pole devour his own heart through rage and despair.(b) The suppression of the smaller religious houses was not authorized, in the first instance, by any legislative enactment, but was instigated solely by the rapacity of the sovereign. We have seen what means were employed to force the communities to abandon their property to the crown; hypocrisy at first, and subsequently, open violence. The king, therefore, lay under the stigma of a monstrous act of iniquity, for having seized upon the property in which the monks had only a life interest. In order to legalize the spoliation, Parliament, on the 13th of May, 1536, invested the king with all the property, moveable or immoveable, belonging to the monastic establishments, whether they had or had not been suppressed, abolished, or voluntarily abandoned.(c)

The advantages that were to have resulted from this legislative measure were depicted in the most glowing colours; mendicity would be thereby abolished; the monarch would have the means of creating and endowing barons, earls, and knights; agriculture would be promoted; the treasury replenished; the public taxes diminished; and the nation delivered from all apprehension of danger, domestic or external.(d) What had become of that purity of morals of which the larger monastic institutions, only twelve months before, were held up as models, and which had preserved them from secularization? The reader may not have forgotten the hypocritical picture that was laid before both houses, describing the interior condition of the smaller and larger religious houses; the former being represented as disordinate, licentious, superstitious, and even unclean; the latter, learned, pious, regular, and decidedly evangelical. It will also be recollected what motive Parliament had for manifesting so lively an interest in the larger religious establishments of England. By the side of an orator who was declaiming against the disorderly life pursued in the smaller houses, the riches of which principally consisted of reliquaries and sacerdotal ornaments, was seated the representative of an abbey, often as large as a whole village, and who was not to be robbed with impunity; he would have appealed; he would have exposed the calumny, refuted the accusation, and perhaps compromised the royal measure. But what could be effected by the poor monk who was driven from his monastery as a public nuisance. He dared not even complain, if he wished to continue to live under the same sun and breathe his native air. He might indeed give vent to his tears in secret; but had he made them public, they would have been regarded as seditious. The cup of iniquity was then filled; the monk was robbed of everything; his little cell was destroyed; his clothes carried off, and violent hands were laid on those treasures of devotion, the subjects of his contemplation; but the habitation of the prior was spared, because he was a peer of Great Britain, or a member of the convocation. A year had scarcely elapsed, ere

(a) Petrus Paulus Gualterus in Diario.—MSS.—Balcarius.
(b) Poli ep.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Lingard.—Coke.—Strype.

these lords spiritual, who had not had the courage to defend their oppressed brethren, suffered the penalty of their cowardice. God looks not at the garment. There were twenty-eight abbots and two priors, one of Coventry and the other of St. John of Jerusalem,(a) who, having ceased to be proprietors, were included in the late bill, and had no longer any right to sit in Parliament. Since the legislative act, they were of no more importance in the state than the Franciscans, whom they had allowed to be robbed, except that being better clothed, they were more severely dealt with.

The monks were hanged under the accusation of being abandoned to sensual pleasures, slaves of their appetites, frequenters of taverns and houses of ill-fame; the abbots and priors, under the designation of mountebanks in cowls and mitres, evoking the spirits of the dead and making them speak; village merry-andrews, showing spurious relics; quacks, pretending to cure the tooth-ache with a piece of the shirt of St. Thomas à Becket; miserable sorcerers, pretending to preserve the corn from smut, by the use of a few magical words.(b) These lords spiritual, who had been base enough to abandon their brethren, had now no tribunal to which they could appeal, and were therefore obliged to endure in silence the disgrace which they had merited by their servility. But public opinion, which had undertaken to defend the monks against the calumnies of their enemies, was careful to clear the large communities from the false accusations that had been invented for their destruction. Christ-Church had been denounced by the royal visitors as one of the most disreputable establishments in all England; and yet it was from this very house that Cranmer selected eight prebendaries, ten canons, nine professors, and two choristers, to supply his cathedral. Lingard very justly considers this uncontested fact as a sufficient proof of the falsehood of the imputations brought against the large communities, especially when we consider that the archbishop, on his part, was neither taxed with ignorance, immorality, nor superstition, the three principal vices with which Cromwell and his creatures charged the very monks whom Cranmer placed in his chapter.(c)

The insurrection in the northern counties now began to serve Henry's avarice and cupidity, as it offered him a favourable opportunity of striking a final blow at all the monasteries in the kingdom. The monks, it was now said, would no longer be able to deceive the country by their false accusations against the rigours of the government. They had been seen in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, inciting the peasants to revolt, preaching disobedience to the laws of the state, arming themselves with the cross, and sometimes even with the sword, to lead astray the peaceful inhabitants. It was a priest, the Cobbler Captain, who had dared to oppose the Duke of Norfolk; and the Pilgrims of Grace were headed by Franciscan monks. A commission was therefore appointed to reinvestigate the conduct of the religious during the war of the peasants; and the Earl of Sussex, a man of a naturally cruel disposition, was named its president. Again did Henry make light of his oaths, and break his word, for, when peace was restored, he had promised to forget the past, and an amnesty had been published throughout the kingdom, sheltering the insurgents against the royal vengeance. The Earl of Suffolk took possession of Furness Abbey. This was one of the richest communities in Lancashire, situated between lake Windermere and the river Dudden.(d) The brethren, the servants, and the tenantry were summoned before the duke, who, after a long inquiry, committed two of the monks to Lancaster Castle; but neither promises nor threats could enable him to find a charge against the abbot. The inquiry was conducted with more cunning at Whalley, where the royal commissioners had established their

(a) Lingard.
(b) Strype.—British Museum.. MSS. Cleop. E. 124, 127, 134, 147, 203, 209 213, 269.

(c) Lingard.—John Stevens, the History of the ancient Abbeys, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. London, 1723, in fol. I., 386.
(d) Camden.

tribunal, and had summoned the abbot of Furness to reappear before them. The first thing was to find a charge against him, or in default of proof, to obtain from him the voluntary resignation of the community. Fortunately for them, the abbot was one of those accommodating individuals who, easily deceived and intimidated, make any sacrifice to escape punishment. The Earl of Sussex thus relates how he managed to seduce this timid creature from the path of duty: "Devising with myself, if one way would not serve, how and by what means the sayd monks might be ryd from the said abbey, and consequently how the same might be at your graceous pleasur, I determined to assay him as of myself, whether he would be contented to surrender giff and grant unto (you) your heirs and assigans the sayd monastery: which thing so opened to the abbot farely, we found him of a very facile and ready mynde to follow my advice in that behalf."(a) On the 15th of April, 1537, a deed was drawn up for the abbot to sign, in which, acknowledging the "misorder and evil rule" of his brethren, he, in discharge of his conscience, gave and surrendered to Henry, all the title and interest which he possessed in the monastery of Furness, its lands and its revenues. Officers were immediately despatched to take possession in the name of the king, and in a few days the whole community ratified the deed of its superior. Another monastery had now been added to the royal domain, and none could complain, since the contract had been concluded in the name of God.

The success of the Earl of Sussex stimulated the industry of the commissioners in the southern districts. They vied with each other in obtaining voluntary cessions, for the court of Greenwich was anxious to have it believed that the monks did every thing of their own free will. For the obtaining of these cessions, every means appeared lawful. The visitors entered the monasteries in truly apostolic style, assuring the religious, with the language of Scripture on their lips, that it was for the interest of their souls that they proposed to disembarrass them of their wealth, so great an obstacle to salvation. To the confiding monks, they promised, on the part of the king, an annuity for life, the amount of which was to depend on their docility and the promptness of their obedience; the priors were to receive £20 per annum; some of them as much as £100; the monks £2, £4, and £6, with a small sum to provide for their immediate wants; the nuns £4. It is certain that the first instalments of these annuities were punctually discharged; but a year had not elapsed, ere the monks and nuns were forced to learn some trade by which they could live, seek an asylum in some cathedral, or beg their bread in secret. Hume informs us that when promises were found unavailable, recourse was had to intimidation and violence.(b) The following was the method generally adopted by the commissioners to extort concessions:—They called for the books of the house, opened them, compared the receipts and disbursements, examining into every article, censured the most trivial expense as an abominable scandal, declaimed, with feelings of apparently Christian compunction, against the employment of the smallest sum in the purchase of a plot of land, when so many living members of Christ were in want of food and clothing! The general conclusion was, that the books were badly kept, the house was in debt, disorder everywhere manifest, and the suppression of the monastery necessary for the interest of religion and public order. Sometimes they would begin by searching the library, and appeared surprised on finding some old volume, published perhaps fifty years before, on the supremacy of the Pope. Why had not the community committed so seditious a book to the flames? In one place they would meet with a work, written by a Spanish casuist, on the validity of Katharine's marriage, which the universities of the kingdom had declared incestuous, and hence the malice of the religious was apparent! In another, they would find the narrative of the execution of More and Fisher, both condemned to death as traitors to their sovereign!

(a) Lingard.

(b) Hume.

The commissioners would next have the reliquaries opened, when their questions became still more treacherous. They wished to know the origin of each relic, and when a father was unable to give a satisfactory answer to their questions, they immediately declaimed against the imposture of monks, who were keeping, for the veneration of the faithful, pretended bones of saints, the authenticity of which they were unable to prove; the community then passed as a set of ignorant boors and liars. During their progress through the country, money was not spared in obtaining denunciations against the monasteries which they coveted, and they would then produce long lists of signatures appended to petitions, enumerating the disorders of which the community was accused. The ordinary result of each visit was a formal threat of an accusation for immorality, peculation, and high treason, the punishment of which, however, the monks might avoid by giving up the guilty cloister to his majesty and his lawful heirs. Rarely did the superior wait till the chief of the band had pronounced the fatal formulary. Alarmed at their conduct, he requested them to give him a sheet of parchment, and signed both the resignation of his office and the cession of the conventual edifice to the king, too happy in escaping, together with his brethren, the gallows or the stake, which they had unconciously merited. The form of these resignations has been preserved, and is conceived in the following terms:—"We, the abbot and religious, after mature deliberation, resign and yield our house to the king, of our own will and unanimously, for reasons which in our soul and conscience we have found to be just and reasonable."(a)

Sometimes, when the abbot was found willing to yield to the most exorbitant demands of the visitors, they managed to introduce into the act of cession, a confession from the prior sanctifying the robbery. The prior of the Benedictines of St. Andrew, in Northamptonshire, for instance, declared with great contrition of heart, "that the gates of hell were about to open and swallow him up, that he had abandoned God, lived in idleness, indulged his passions, and committed excesses that he could never sufficiently deplore."(b) The confession of the religious of Betlesden is given at greater length. They acknowledged that they had been making serious reflections on the mode of life pursued by them and other monks of their order; that all their devotions had hitherto consisted in the performance of certain practices prescribed by the Bishop of Rome and their generals; that having discovered in the history of Jesus Christ and in the Acts of the Apostles, the model of an exemplary life, and considering that it would be more conducive to the salvation of their souls for them to live under the guidance of the king, their sovereign master on earth, they consequently resigned their abbey, and humbly sued for pardon.(c) Five other resignations are recorded in the same terms; two from the Franciscans and Carmelites of Stamforth, and three others from the Franciscans of Coventry, Bedford, and Aylesbury. Some of them, anticipating a confiscation, resigned their monasteries to the king, hoping that His Majesty would re-establish them. Impressed with this conviction, the monks of Chertsey, in Surrey, whose annual revenue was about £10,000, resigned their monastery to Henry, on the 14th of July, 1538; and their example was followed by those of Great Malvern, in Worcestershire. The prior of this latter community, one of the great lights of England, had been recommended to Cromwell by Latimer, who was anxious that the house should be preserved, not as an asylum for hypocritical monks, but as a retreat for literary and pious men. The superior offered for the preservation of Malvern Abbey, 1,500 crowns to the king, and 600 to Cromwell; he was, moreover, an octagenarian, a skilful administrator, and a charitable priest who fed many poor.(d) But what were 1,500 crowns to the king and 600 to his minister? The lead of the building was worth double the amount.

On taking possession of a monastery, the agents of the crown broke open the seals and divided the plunder, reserving

(a) Burnet.

(b) Burnet.
(c) Ib.
(d) Ib.

for the king the lion's share. A list of *items* in the king's own handwriting has been preserved, and may enable us to form an idea of his rapacity.—"*Item*, delivered unto his majesty one pax of gold weighing nine onces.—*Item*, delivered unto the king's majesty, the day 25th of June, twenty-eight old Nobles, and three small pieces of gold of the value of XII. sh.—*Item*, delivered unto his majesty an image of seynt Eakenwalde with his myter and crosier gilt, weig. fifty onces.—*Item*, delivered unto the king's majesty a cross of silver garnished with a great course of emeraldes, 11 balaces, and two saphires.—*Item*, delivered a mounstrance of silver, garnished with counterfeit stones.—*Item*, two pairs of cruets.—*Item*, two myters garnished with silver and gilt."(a) The *Items* thus enumerated, great and small, fill a number of pages, each signed by the royal signature. Images wrought in silver, candlesticks, chalices, cruets, monstrances, precious stones, ear-rings, books of the Church bound in gold,—all were invariably adjudged to His Majesty. One pearl alone, which came to replenish his Grace's treasury, was valued at nearly £8,000 sterling. When the wood of the crucifixes or missals happened to be enriched with gold or precious metal, it was burnt, in order to extract the metal. A bazaar, called the *Augmentation Office*, was expressly established in London, at which was received the money produced by the auction sales of the furniture, goods, books, and the lead belonging to the monasteries. The purchasers were numerous, and their zeal so great that the auctioneers had only to exhibit an article and knock it down. Many of the large fortunes in England were made at these sales, and it is almost superfluous to remark, that among the enriched purchasers, the Reformation found numerous proselytes.(b) Here again appeared that royalty whose character in the religious revolution has been so well delineated by M. Guizot: it usurped not only the moral power but the wealth of the clergy, and the hierarchy sanctioned this twofold spoliation. If the people intervened at all in the contest, it was merely for the purpose of carrying off, or purchasing at a low price, a few wretched windows or locks, which the commissioners had left behind as unworthy of their notice; but they never raised a single complaint against the monasteries.

The best share of the plunder fell to the lot of Cromwell and his creatures. The official list of the gifts made by the king to his favourites is still preserved. Cromwell received the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey, the Benedictine Priories of Huntingdon, St. Neotts, and the Cistercian Abbey of Saltrey. Audley had no reason to complain of his master's parsimony; he asked for the monastery of St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, which was immediately granted to him. Thomas Wyatt, the poet, obtained the Carmelite Convent at Aylesford, in Kent, and the Cistercian Abbey of Boxley. Sir Thomas Cheney received the convent of the Benedictine nuns at Davington, *tanquam locus profanus et dissolutus*,(c) and the abbey of St. Benedict at Feversham. Culpepper was rewarded with St. Austin's Convent, at Camberwell; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who at first refused to receive any share of the monastical spoils, consented to take possession of West Langton Abbey, and the priory of the White Monks at Blessington.(d) Let it not be imagined that the visitors forgot themselves, for they took with one hand, and received with the other. One of them, named Bedyll, was nothing but a complete rogue; and another, named London, after having enriched himself with the spoliation of the monasteries, went to Windsor, where on account of divers misdeeds, he was condemned to ride through the town with his face turned towards his horse's tail; and was subsequently placed in the pillory at Oxford, for having seduced two women, the mother and daughter.(e) Katherine

(a) An account of Church plate delivered to King Henry the VIII.—Bod. MSS. No. 3502.

(b) Cobbett.—Lingard.

(c) Hasled's Kent.

(d) Thomas Tanner, Notitia monastica, or an account of all the abbeys, priories, and houses of friars formerly in England and Wales.

(e) Of this Dr. London we have taken notice in the preface. What a wretch he was, and how fit to be employed to insult religious

Buckley, abbess of Godstown, will give us an insight into the manœuvres employed by the visitors to deceive the nuns: "Dr. London," she writes to Cromwell, "has made a descent upon me with a numerous retinue, pretending that he is commissioned by the king to suppress my house. But I told him that I would never surrender my house into his hands, whereupon he began to entreat, inveigle, and torment me and my sisters. He is lodging here at my expense, and refuses to transmit to you my answer; he is a man of no faith and a liar, inasmuch as he has written to you saying that I am a spoiler and waster, but your lordship knows well the contrary, and that I have never alienated a single pennyworth of the goods of this convent."(a) This Sister's account was perfectly correct, for all the nobility of the country wrote to the king bearing testimony to Katherine's virtuous conduct and the exemplary life of her community, and entreating his majesty to spare the convent; but Henry was inexorable.(b) If the reader is anxious to know something of the spirit that actuated these harpies, let him read the following letter, written by Bedyl to Cromwell:—"My very good lord, after my most hearty commendations. It shall please your lordship to understand that the monks of the Charter-house here at London, committed to Newgate for their treacherous behaviour continued against the king's grace, be almost dispatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by this bill enclosed. Wherefore, considering their behaviour and the whole matter, I am not sorry: but would that all such as love not the king's highness, and his worldly honour, were in like ease. There be departed, Greenwood, Davye, Salte, Peerson, Greene. There be at the point of death, Scriven, Reading. There be sick, Johnson, Horne. One is whole, Bird."(c)

Thus, the hunger that these unfortunate men were made to endure, the damp straw on which they were compelled to lie, the vermin that were kept to devour them, the pestiferous miasma by which they were surrounded, the torments of every description to which they were subjected, are ascribed, in the language of the visitors, to the judgments of God! Bedyl would have ranked among the gods the lions of the Roman Circus. These prisoners, thus struck by the hand of God, were among those who were unwilling to resign their houses into the hands of the king's officers, for which offence they had been thrown into a dungeon that never allowed its prey to escape. The statute of blood, enacted by the Parliament, was soon to be called into force, whenever a monk refused to deliver up to the prince those treasures of which he was merely the trustee. The prior of Woburn had resisted all the efforts of the visitors, and if he had shown harshness in rejecting their propositions, it was in consequence of his doubting their probity. He could not bring himself to believe in the apostolic mission of men seduced by a love of novelty; who were circulating Bibles in which the Catholic faith was falsified; who publicly ridiculed the use of images, and taxed with idolatry the prayer addressed to the Mother of God. In order, therefore, to punish him for his resistance, and perhaps for his constancy in adhering to his faith, he was accused of having secretly abetted the rebels. He saw but too well the danger of his position, and fled; but being pursued and tracked, he fell into the hands of his enemies, together with the abbot of Whalley and two of his monks, the abbot of Garvaux and one of his religious, the abbot and prior of Sauley, in Lancashire, and the prior of Burlington. They were soon after tried, condemned, and executed.(b) These noble confessors of Christ, whose names deserve to be in-

women, being himself so infamous as to be afterwards convicted of perjury, and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse's tail at Windsor, with papers about his head, as was done accordingly.—Stevens.

(a) The Dr. London had informed your lordship, that I am a spoiler and waster; your lordship shall know that the contrary is true, for I have not alienatyd one halfpenny of goods of this monasterie, moveable or unmoveable, but have rather increas'd the same.—A letter of the abbess of Godstow. Cash. Buckley, complaining of Dr. London.—MSS. Cleop. E. IX. 228.

(b) But neither his (London's) infamy, nor the picture of the nuns availed the nunnery.—Stevens.

(c) Brit. Museum, MSS. Cleop. E. IV. 217. —Lingard.

(b) Burnet.

serted in the martyrology, were stigmatized as rebels and traitors.

The abbots of Glastonbury and Reading, rich and powerful men, the former in possession of an annual revenue of £45,000, and the latter of nearly £30,000, were also executed for high treason. They were accused of having transmitted to the insurgents of Yorkshire a large amount of silver coin and bullion. The trial of the abbot of Reading is no longer extant, but of the sentence passed on the abbot of Glastonbury, there have been preserved two accounts contained in letters written to Cromwell, one by the sheriff of the county, and another by Lord Russell. The abbot was convicted of treason and theft; he had burst open, it was asserted, the door of the treasury in which the plate belonging to the abbey was kept, and had sent it to the peasant insurgents. He was hanged and quartered, and his body, mangled by the knife of the executioner, was exposed to the view of the populace in the very front of the abbey.(a) The abbot of Colchester experienced a similar fate.(b) Their monasteries were confiscated. It may be asked, how the crime of an abbot, even supposing it to have existed, could entail the ruin of his monastery, and expose the whole community to exile and spoliation? By a recent Parliamentary statute, it had been perfidiously enacted, that the property of a traitor, held by direct or indirect inheritance, should be forfeited to the king.(c) But how, it may again be asked, without doing violence to common sense, could conventual property be considered transmissible by inheritance? The statute spoke of heirs, but the abbey, once confiscated, had no longer any heirs. Of what consequence, however, was this breach of the laws of logic? Human reason might groan and protest, but no folly was too great to be perpetrated at the court of Greenwich. One would imagine that the rapacity of Henry and Cromwell would now have been satiated; the former having amassed from the religious houses more gold than Christopher Columbus discovered in America; the latter, a sufficient amount to have purchased for ready money the richest county in England; and yet neither of them was satisfied. They now determined to proclaim war against the dead; they had satellites willing to penetrate the vaults on which the sun's rays had not shown for centuries, and who, without a feeling of remorse, would have broken open the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, had the Redeemer died in any of the three kingdoms.(d) Canterbury, the cradle of Christianity in England, possessed two tombs that could not fail to excite the cupidity of these treasure-seekers; those of St. Austin and St. Thomas à Becket. Fletcher will enable us to form an estimate of the character of St. Austin:—

"About 1200 years ago, and more than nine centuries before the Reformation, St. Austin, with his noble companions, came to preach the faith in this island; they were men of rare virtue, who despised terrestial pleasures, and whose only solicitude was for the salvation of souls. By constant prayer, fasting, penance, and mortification, they spread the light of the gospel around them; crowds came to hear them preach, and they made many proselytes; but it was by the eloquence of charity, thus verifying the words of the prophet: 'How lovely are those on the mountains who come from afar to bring us good news!' Thus did God recompense their labours. Not only contemporary historians, but the Protestants themselves, admit the authenticity of the miracles performed by Austin and his monks, in their progress through our old forests. There is not one among the most cruel enemies of everything stamped with the impress of Catholicity, not even Fox the martyrologist, who does not admit these prodigies; visible signs, attesting the sanctity of these confessors of Christ, the legitimacy of their mission, and consequently, the truth of the religion they were labouring to establish. The king, says Fox, was troubled on hearing of the miracles performed by these missionaries.(e) And what a sudden change was manifested

(a) Burnet.
(b) Cobbett.
(c) Burnet.
(d) Cobbett.
(e) Fox's Acts and Monuments.

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in the national morals!(a) A few months after Austin's death, those whom he had converted were preaching the gospel on the banks of the Oder, the Rhine, and the Danube. St. Wilfred and St Boniface evangelized Germany, the disciples of St. Willibrod preached to the Danes, and St. Sigfried to the Swedes."(b) The shrine of St. Austin, the apostle of England, was placed in a church dedicated to him, and was exceedingly magnificent, being ornamented with gold and precious stones. Workmen were employed by the royal commissioners to tear off the ornaments from this fine piece of art; fire was applied to detach the gold which ages had, as it were, soldered into the wood and stone.(c)

But the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, was still more costly. This archbishop's name was still venerated in England, as he was regarded by all as the martyr of national liberty, which he defended with heroic courage. "Let us be just," says an historian whose authority none will dispute, "towards the memory of this prelate."(d) Henry II. in asserting that the clergy ought to be tried for felony before the tribunal of his courts, violated the constitution of the country. Becket fell in consequence of his refusal to recall the excommunication which he had pronounced against three prelates in the kingdom, whom he could not pardon without exposing himself to the censures of Rome. The privileges granted to the Church by Magna Charta required that he should resist his sovereign, the promoter of the constitution of Clarendon, the articles of which were the most outrageous attempt that could be made by a prince against the liberties of his subjects.(e) It will scarcely be believed that Cromwell conceived the idea of having Thomas à Becket tried for high treason, but an account of the trial is still extant, and we will therefore submit it to the reader's perusal.

On the 24th of April, 1538, the king's Attorney-General was instructed to commence proceedings against the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a clerk deposited the following summons on his tomb:—"Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and supreme Head of the Church of England, by the tenor of these present, we cite thee, Thomas, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, to appear before our sovereign council, to answer for the causes of thy death; for thy scandals committed against the kings our predecessors; for thy insolence in arrogating to thyself the title of martyr, since thou sufferedst rather as a rebel against the king, thy lord and master, than as a defender of the Catholic faith; and for thy disobedience to the laws of a sovereign prince and judge, as we are in matters ecclesiastical. And as thy crimes were committed against that royal majesty with which we likewise are vested, we now summon thee to receive thy sentence. If no one duly authorised appear in thy defence, judgment will be passed according to the laws of the land. London, 24th April, 1538." After an interval of thirty days, granted to the saint to procure counsel and prepare his defence, the case was called on for trial. Becket did not leave his tomb, but in order that it might not be said that he had been tried without a hearing, the king appointed him a counsellor. The court met at Westminster, on the 11th June, when the Attorney-General, the archbishop's solicitor for the time, not being able to refute the charges brought against his client, prudently kept silent, and a verdict was brought against St. Thomas for contumacy. "Thomas à Becket to wit:—considering that no one has come forward to defend him, and that the solicitor officially nominated to repel the charges of rebellion, contumacy, and treason against his king, of which crimes Becket has been accused; seeing that during his lifetime Becket troubled the

(a) Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.
(b) Butler.—The Book of the Roman Catholic Church.
(c) Cobbett.
(d) Turner.
(e) For information relative to St. Thomas of Canterbury, see Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, Letter VIII.—Vita S. Thomæ, Cantar. episcopi, à Willielmo Stephanide Joanne Sarisberiensi episcopo, Carnotensi et aliis auctoribus coetaneis conscripta. Lond. 1733.—Stapleton, tres Thomæ, Duaci, 1588.—Guillelmi Neubrigensis Angli canonici de rebus Anglicis. Parisiis, 1610.—Quadrilogus de vitâ Sancti Thomæ.

kingdom, that he endeavoured to infringe on the authority of the kings our predecessors, that in consequence of these attempts he was put to death, and that he did not perish for the honour of God and his Church; seeing that the sovereignty of the Church belongs to the king, and not to the Bishop of Rome, as he stated: seeing that the people regard him in the view of a martyr, and venerate all those who lose their lives in contending for the authority of the Roman Church; and in order that such crimes may not go unpunished, that the ignorant may be led to acknowledge their errors, and cease to be the victims of abuses introduced into the kingdom, we judge and decree, that the above-named Thomas, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury, shall henceforth cease to bear the title of Martyr, of Saint, and the Just; that his images shall be removed from all churches and his name erased from all Prayer-books, litanies, and kalendars, and that he is convicted of treason, perjury, and rebellion, and consequently, we order that his bones shall be taken out of his tomb and publicly burnt, in order that the living may learn from the chastisement of the dead, to respect our laws and our authority. The gold, silver, and precious stones, and other valuable objects, with which piety, mistaking him for a saint, adorned his shrine, are confiscated to the crown. We forbid, under pain of death and confiscation, any of our subjects henceforward to honour him as a saint, address to him their prayers, carry his relics, honour him directly or indirectly; in default of which, any one found guilty, shall be considered as a conspirator against our royal person, or as an abettor and accomplice of revolt."(a)

(a) Process against Thomas Becket, and order for demolishing his tomb.

That King Henry VIII. caused Becket's shrine to be demolished, and the vast treasure that belonged to him, to be brought away for his own use, *all our histories* inform us; and that his bones, as most say, were burnt, or according to others (amongst which Polydorus Virgilius) only scattered about and mixed with other bones that they might not be distinguished. Sanders adds in his book "De Schismate Anglicano," that he contumeliously ordered him to plead his cause before the royal tribunal so many centuries after his death. But Chrysost. Henriquez, in a book entitled "Phœnix reviviscens," affirms: "That Thomas Cromwell advised Henry to proceed against Thomas à Becket, for the injuries done by him during his lifetime, to King Henry II., and also to declare him to have been lawfully slain, as guilty of treason, and therefore that his memory was unworthy of veneration and honour and that the rich offerings at his tomb should be confiscated by the crown." Accordingly, the Privy Council concluded: "That St. Thomas should be cited to appear before the king's council where his cause should be decided according to law, and he might defend it or cause it to be defended, otherwise judgment would go by default." The citation, issued by the king in council, is given in the text. See also J. G. Pollini, Istor. Eccl. della Rivoluzione d'Inghiliterra, III. 42.

This citation Henry ordered to be signified to the saint in his tomb by an officer of the council, and a written declaration of its being served to be drawn up. And when the statutable period of thirty days had elapsed, the cause against the saint was begun, a counsellor being assigned to him, who was to plead his cause as the king wished, and with such arguments as the king approved. The crown lawyers defended Henry II., and endeavoured to prove that the constitutions of Clarendon were just, and that St. Thomas was contumacious and rebellious in opposing them, and that the murderers of the saint had acted as good and faithful subjects in defence of the honour and authority of their lord and king. The result was the publication of a decree against St. Thomas.

The decree is given in the text: it was ordered to be publicly read in London, at Canterbury, and other cities and towns. "This proclamation having been made, the king, on the 11th day of August, 1538, ordered it to be put into execution, and that all the gold and silver at the saint's tomb should be removed; and there was so much, Pollini informs us, that it took twenty-six large carts to remove it to the royal Treasury. And on the 19th day of the same month, being the festival of St. Bernard, the sacrilege was completed by the king's command; the venerable relics of the holy martyr being publicly burnt, and the ashes scattered to the winds, that no memory of him might remain."—Wilkins' Concilia, III., 835.

(b) Wilkins' Concilia, III., 848.

(c) In judicium vocari et tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem fecerat.—Bull of the 17th December.

Several historians have endeavoured to deny this act of folly, but the proofs are extant and irrefragable. Henry himself alludes to this process against the ashes of the dead in one of his proclamations (b) Paul III. held up these absurd and infamous proceedings to the execration of the Christian world;(c) and Burnet has taken

care to call our attention to the outrages which the king continued to commit against the memory of the sainted archbishop, long after the profanation of his tomb at Canterbury (a) The sentence was executed, and armed men came to break open the shrine of St. Thomas. The gold, silver, and precious stones, which were extracted from it, filled several coffers which were conveyed to London.(b) Among the diamonds that sparkled on the tomb, there was one of great value, called the French diamond, from its having been presented to the saint by Louis VII., in 1179. Henry had it mounted in a ring, which he afterwards wore on his finger.(c)

Within the period of a few years, Henry suppressed 645 monasteries, twenty eight of which were represented in Parliament by their respective abbots; and in different parts of the kingdom, 90 colleges, 2374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals were demolished. The revenues of these various establishments amounted to £1,710,000. Hume, to whom we are indebted for these details remarks, that the whole landed rental of England at that period was estimated at £4,000,000, the revenues of the religious houses not exceeding a twentieth part of the national revenue.(d) It was said that the spoliation of the abbeys would enable the prince to repeal all the taxes; but so far from diminishing them, he insisted, some time after, on being compensated for the expense he had incurred in the reformation of the religious houses; and in less than a year, (1540,) he extorted from the reluctant gratitude of Parliament, a subsidy of two-tenths and two-fifteenths.(e) In order to insure the co-operation of the nobility, he shared his spoils with his favourites. On some he bestowed the revenues of the suppressed Houses, while to others he sold or let, at a nominal rent, the buildings and lands. The ruins of St. Austin's Abbey were converted into a palace for his Majesty, a menagerie for his wild beasts, and three manors for his courtiers.(f) Winchester Abbey, founded by Alfred the Great, and the place of his interment, was given, together with all its dependancies, to Wriothesley, who subsequently received from the royal munificence Micheldever and Stratton.(g) So profuse was Henry in his liberality, that he presented a woman with the revenues of a whole abbey, for having made him a pudding that pleased his palate.(h) He requested Cromwell to give one of Mr. Bedyl's benefices to a priest who had taken great pains in training two hawks for him.(i)

As a pretext for these acts of spoliation, the people were told that the suppression of the monasteries would have an immediate tendency to ameliorate the condition of the poorer classes. But the people were deceived, for a great part of the monastic treasures was employed in satisfying the cupidity of the courtiers, who, according to Bale, an ardent reformer, lavished them on gambling-houses, masquerades, and women of ill-fame.(j) In a short time, the high roads were crowded with beggars, and in order to arrest the progress of the scourge of mendicity, an act was passed authorizing the sheriffs, magistrates, and parochial authorities to "levy alms," and inflicting various penalties on any persons found appealing to the commiseration of the public; the first offence was punished by the loss of the offender's ears; and a merciless death awaited him who should be a second time convicted.(k)

Literature, which the royal munificence was expected to revive, was not in the slightest degree benefitted by the secularization of the monasteries. On the contrary, after the monastic treasures had been swallowed up in the royal coffers, the literary men of the day were reduced to the necessity of appealing to the generosity of the prince, who had not a penny to

(a) Burnet.
(b) It took twenty-six large carts to remove the tomb.—Henriquez.
(c) Godwin.
(d) Hume.—Camden, Britannia.
(e) Lingard.
(f) Cobbett.
(g) Ib.
(h) Hume.
(i) That for the pains the said priest takes about the hawks, he should have one of Mr. Bedyl's benefices.—Letter of Fitz-William to Cromwell. State Papers, I., 364-5.
(j) Strype.
(k) Cobbett.

relieve their necessities.(a) There was a time when, in Europe, the news of the profanations exercised by the Moors against the Holy Sepulchre aroused the whole of Christendom, and the cry, "To arms! to arms!" was raised by all who had been regenerated at the baptismal font. In England, under Henry VIII., it was not deemed enough to break open the shrines of saints, to despoil their tombs of their ornaments, to cast their ashes to the winds, to plunder the monasteries, and reduce the religious who dwelt in their cells to beg for their bread, but bishops, priests, monks, ministers, and even women, were dragged to the scaffold, because they refused to apostatize; refinements of cruelty, such as were never dreamt of in Rome under the Cæsars, were invented for their torture,(b) and Christian Europe raised not a cry. One man alone protested, by his tears, his cries, his threats, and his denunciations against these horrible acts, and that man was the Pope, the living symbol of civilization; but he was not heard. What angel of evil, it may be asked, could have had the power to stifle every grain of feeling in the human breast, to dry up men's tears, to tie down their tongues, to paralyze their arms, and suspend every pulsation of their hearts? Martin Luther. Let us suppose that the monk of Wittemberg had never been born. Would none have been found among those who bear the image of God upon earth, to avenge the cause of humanity, outraged by that Tudor who presumed to retain his title of Defender of the Faith? Like Luther, Henry disobeyed, and we are witnesses of the evils produced by their rebellion. And if, in consequence of his unfortunate passion for Anne Boleyn, Henry had not seceded from unity, shall we be told that Europe would have witnessed those atrocities of royalty, which continued for three years to disgrace the English nation? The caprice of a despot cost this island, formerly known as the *Insula Sanctorum*, rivers of blood and tears. It is truly melancholy to relate how imprisonment, hunger, misery, the halter, and the stake became the lot of the representatives of those cenobites who brought under cultivation the untilled lands of the three kingdoms, enclosed the rivers within their channels, made the roads, threw bridges over the rivers, built churches, founded hospitals, taught the children to read, preached the gospel to adults, promoted science and literature, and, as the Scripture says, "caused a ray of light to shine among people who were walking in the shadow of death." "Henry VIII," says Montesquieu, "destroyed the hospitals in which the poorer classes found subsistence, as the gentry did in the monasteries. Since this change, the spirit of commerce and industry has been established in England."(c) A philosopher without feeling, who, for the encouragement of industry and commerce, applauds the destruction of asylums consecrated to the use of the destitute poor.(d)

(a) Letter of the University of Oxford begging to be excused from the payment of first fruits and tithes:—

"If the rulers of states, O Henry, most august of kings, from the earliest ages have not only granted various exemptions and immunities to persons devoted to philosophical pursuits, but have also been anxious that they should be supplied with all things necessary for the prosecution of their studies, how much greater happiness should we expect who have been born and are living as Christians under a most Christian king, as scholars under a most studious king, as theologians under a king well-versed in all the mysteries of Divine wisdom; to say nothing of your majesty's great clemency, benignity, gentleness of manners, and more than human refinement, in which points your majesty surpasses not only all heathens, but all Christians, by a very wide interval."—MSS. Cott. Faust., C. VII.—Wilkins' Concilia, III., 811-12.

(b) Apol. Reg. Poli ad Carol. V.

(c) De l'esprit des Lois, XVIII.

(d) Balmes's Protestantism compared with Catholicism.—Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church.—La Réforme contre la Réforme.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE HERETICS.

Ridicule serves in England, as well as in Germany, to extend the Reformation.—Fish publishes his Supplication of the Poor.—Sir Thomas More's reply to Fish.—Tyndall's Bible.—Heretics punished in England—Bilney, Harding, Frith, Hewet.—Cranmer's conduct.—Dispute between Lambert, the schoolmaster, and Henry.—Lambert condemned to be burnt alive.—An accusation brought against Catholicism and refuted.—Civil legislation.—Opinion of the Reformers on the crime of heresy.—Had Henry not seceded, blood would not have flowed in England.

The Reformation did not wait for the suppression of the monasteries before it endeavoured to obtain a footing in England. Henry's obstinate contest with the Holy See had served the designs of propagandism; and the Reformers, foreseeing that sooner or later schism would result in heresy, employed against Catholicism the same weapons which had been so effective in the German Reformation. One phenomenon which we noticed when speaking of the religious revolution which occurred almost simultaneously in Saxony and in Switzerland is, the almost exclusive use of ridicule, by which Luther, Calvin, Fareland, and Zuinglius effected the triumph of their creed. Argument, one would imagine, should be the sole auxiliary of Rationalism, but it was not so with these men. The theses which Luther affixed on the walls of All Saints' Church, at Wittemberg, are nothing more than an ironical attack upon some of the doctrines of the Church of Rome. Theology for the first time called ridicule to its aid, and endeavoured to laugh to scorn those whom it should have laboured to convince. One man, Tetzel, presented himself as the champion of the ancient Teutonic faith, and was certain of victory, because he was seconded in his contest with error, by Aristotle. Then, a thing unheard of since the existence of controversy, a disciple of the holy science is represented to the eyes of all Germany, as a hewer of stones, an eater of red-hot iron, a barber, who amused himself in composing his propositions with the fumes of a roasted goose in his nostrils.(a) A loud burst of laughter was heard among the Saxon scholars. Logic had had its day. Perish Aristotle! long live Luther! was heard from all parts of the assembly. In Switzerland, at Lausanne, in that memorable discussion on authority, all the Catholic disciples came prepared with arguments which they considered convincing, and which their opponents, Farel and Viret, imbued with the spirit of Luther, did not even attempt to answer. On seeing the peasants of Ouchy, Morges, and Nyon, who had come to witness the theological tournament, the two representatives of the new creed had recourse to ridicule; and one of them, speaking of fasting, expressed his pity for the sleek and pining labourer, who was obliged to eat his bread with salt and water, after having given his cheese to the commissioners, his ham to St. Anthony, his fish to the Holy Ghost, and his wine to the parasites of his Holiness. Thenceforth, fasting in the new church ceased to be a precept of obligation, as if ridicule were proof.(b)

Ridicule in Germany was therefore one of the most effective instruments of proselytism. It was universally used; in the pulpit, in conversation, in polemical dis-

(a) Lœscher.
(b) Audin's Hist. of Calvin.

cussions, in the sacred hymns; wood, stone, and paper, were made subservient to the work of insurrection. In England, the power of this symbolism was well understood, and was first employed to attack and overthrow one of the dogmas of Catholicism—Purgatory. Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn, a member of a society of *bons vivants*, who were in the habit of meeting in a tavern for the purpose of ridiculing the monks and their practices, published a pamphlet against purgatory, which was eagerly perused by the ignorant. This work was entituled "The Supplicacion of Beggars," and appeared both in Latin and English.(a) The author, who was neither deficient in wit nor in satirical genius, introduced into his *supplicacion* a number of poor persons, who complained that all the pence fell into the hands of the monks, who were fat, well-fed, and hypocritical. "See, then, what they take from those whom Jesus Christ has called the members of his body! There are five orders of beggars; now, if each individual member of this association were to receive but one penny from every family in the kingdom, a sum would be realised sufficiently large to maintain all the beggars in England. But is it not known how these huge drones come and rob the Christian hive of the pure honey? Give, say they, something for the souls in purgatory. But what necessity is there for giving money for the souls in purgatory, when the Pope has the power of abridging the term of their sufferings? He only delivers, it is true, those who make large presents to the Church, and leaves the rest to suffer." The reader will easily perceive in this extract, the same ironical form of argument as that employed at Wittemberg by Dr. Luther, and deservedly exposed by Eck.

Fish's pamphlet was well received at court, where the Reformers had several active agents at work.(b) Anne Boleyn, who secretly favoured the Reformation, showed it to the king,(c) and the royal lover forbade any action to be brought against an author who had contributed to the amusement of his mistress.(d) This event occurred, it must be borne in mind, a long time previous to the spoliation of the monasteries. More perceived the danger that such a work was calculated to produce, and resolved to refute it. His reply was entituled: "The Supplicacion of the Souls in Purgatory."(e) More's work was very inferior to that of his rival; he did not seek to excite ridicule, but commiseration. With this in view, he brought forward a number of souls suffering in the expiatory flames: the soul of a father, a husband, a wife, a child, who addressed their supplications to their friends on earth, crying: "Have pity on us, and protect those monks who are about to be oppressed; come to their assistance, withhold not your alms; to the prayers of these religious we owe our consolation; those prayers, received by a God of mercy, will be heard and our sufferings alleviated."

It is a pity that More, who did not always render justice to the monks, did not draw more largely on his historical knowledge. He might have shown, that every farthing received by the monks, passed faithfully into the treasury of the community, and was destined to supply bread to the poor, medicine to the sick, a bed to the traveller, assistance to the gentleman reduced to want; to the founding of hospitals, to the drainage of swamps, the purchasing of corn, and the cultivation of waste lands. The number of poor people in England at that period must have been comparatively small, since, a penny from each family, according to Fish, would have sufficed to relieve the wants of all those who were in indigence. Pauperism, previous to the suppression of the religious houses, was not a crime that merited either the halter or the prison. More next attacks his opponent on theological grounds, by proving from Scripture the existence of purgatory; and Burnet acknowledges, that in this part of his work, More evinced as much learning as eloquence.(f) But the pamphlet which

(a) Supplicatio pauperum scripta à Simone Fish de Grayes Inn.—Gerdes.
(b) Fox.
(c) Burnet.
(d) Burnet.
(e) The supplicacion of Souls, made, anno 1529, against the supplicacion of Beggars.
(f) Burnet.

might have won the applause of Christ's College, was not understood by the people; whilst that of Fish obtained the sympathy of the multitude, because it appealed to the passions.

Luther's doctrine, in the meanwhile, did not remain captive in Germany. From Saxony it had passed to the banks of the Rhine, and from Heidelberg, Manheim, and Aix-la-Chapelle, it had spread over the whole of Lower Germany. Innumerable tracts were published at Antwerp, almost all in the form of dialogues, exceedingly alluring, in which the authors attacked relics, pilgrimages, the doctrine of works, the use of images, the supremacy of the Pope; and these pamphlets, devoid of theological science, but bitter and cutting, confided to the waves on some light bark, landed in England, to fulfil their mission of exciting ignorant minds against the Roman hierarchy.(a) Tyndal, Joye, and Constantyne, became the hawkers of the new gospel. William Tyndal, a native of Oxford, had been nominated a canon of one of the colleges founded by Wolsey.(b) "The Captivity of the Church at Babylon" was one of the first heretical books that he read, and before he had perused the whole of the work, he became a convert to the Saxon creed. Like Luther, his master, he believed that for the propagation of the new doctrine it was necessary to give the people the Bible, and that too in the vernacular tongue. He commenced at Antwerp the translation of the New Testament, of which a few hundred copies reached England in 1526. The clergy examined the version, and found it replete with errors and absurdities of the grossest kind, some of which were pointed out by the bishops.(c) William Tyndal himself acknowledged that the work had been executed with too great haste, revised it, almost entirely remodelled it, and published a second edition of his translation in 1527.(d) According to his ideas, this version was the pure reflex of the Divine Word; but he translated, as Thomas More has shown in the second book of his refutation of Tyndal's reply to the "Supplicacion of Souls," under the miserable influence of sectarian views.(e) Tyndal's translation might perhaps have obtained at Zurich, but at Wittemberg it would have been burnt. Henry forbade his subjects, by proclamation, to import, sell, or keep, in their possession any such versions, and ordered the chancellor and the courts to prosecute any one that should disobey his commands, and to punish with the utmost rigour of the law the abettors of the new opinions.(f)

The schism with Rome was now proclaimed, and Henry declared, by an act of Parliament, Supreme Head of the Church. Bonfires blazed on the occasion in all the public squares of London, and the executioner committed to the flames a pile of pamphlets which the king regarded as heterodox: Tyndal's Bible, the Supplicacion of the Poor, the writings of Osiander, and everything that had been published by Luther, were all condemned by this scrutator, more severe than the inquisitors of Venice. The bishops, who had sworn to acknowledge the king's supremacy, vied with each other in seconding his caprices; and hence, books that Rome had merely censured, were unreservedly committed to the flames. Had Henry determined on burning the Bible, he would have found apostates ready to obey him. The condemnation of books was followed by the persecution of the "free thinkers." Labouring men were carried off to prison; some for having taught their children to repeat the Lord's Prayer in English; others for not having observed the fasts prescribed by the Church of England; for refusing to go to confession, or for neglecting to approach the Holy Table. Any one found breaking the Sabbath shared the same fate, and woe to him in whose possession should be found any of the prohibited books, for the stake awaited him. Hilton, the vicar of Maidstone, was burnt for having brought over from Antwerp some of the Lutheran

(a) Burnet.
(b) Tytler.
(c) Burnet.
(d) Audin's notes on Stapleton's Life of More.

(e) The confutation of Tyndal's answer to his dialogue made in 1532 in IX books.—Stapleton and Lewis.—Collier.
(f) Wilkins' Concilia.

tracts (a) Bilney, convicted of having spoken against pilgrimages, the cowl of St. Francis, the intercession of saints, and the use of images, was condemned to die by the hand of the executioner. On arriving at the foot of the scaffold, he offered up a prayer, recited the cxliii. Psalm, and said to Dr. Warner, who accompanied him: "Adieu, watch over the flock that has been intrusted to you, and be careful that our Lord may find you at your post when He comes to demand an account of your stewardship." It is not exactly known for what crime of heresy he suffered death. Fox observes, with sorrow, that Bilney believed in the Real Presence.(b)

Thomas Harding, of Buckinghamshire, had concealed himself in the forests, where he was discovered with a Prayer-book in his hand. His house was searched, and in it were found a few leaves of Tyndal's New Testament. Harding was taken before Longland, the king's confessor, who, for his disgraceful services in the divorce question, had been appointed Bishop of Lincoln. Harding's great age, for he was a very old man, had no effect in propitiating his judges, and he was consequently sent to Checham to be burnt. Henry's clergy had granted indulgences of forty days to all who should furnish wood for the burning of heretics, and these indulgences turned out favourable to poor Harding, for a log of wood, thrown by some one in the crowd, broke his head, and thereby released him from the awful tortures of the flames.(c) The elevation of a married priest to the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, Katharine's divorce, and the abolition of the Pope's authority, had inflamed the zeal of the Reformers, who now imagined that they would be allowed to disseminate their new doctrine with impunity; but they soon discovered, to their dismay, that the self-created Pope of England was a relentless monster. Rome, if her voice had been listened to at Greenwich, would have interceded on behalf of the innovators; and Fisher, who wept while passing the sentence of excommunication on a Lutheran, would have sought an interview with the king, and have prevented their execution.(d) Removed from the Tower, where he had long been languishing, Frith appeared before an ecclesiastical tribunal, presided over by Cranmer, and composed of the Bishops of London and Winchester, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Wiltshire. The court asked the prisoner what was his opinion on the Eucharist and on Purgatory. Frith replied, that as transubstantiation was not taught in Holy Writ, he could not admit the necessity of believing that dogma under pain of damnation, and he adduced, in support of his opinion, several garbled passages from St. Augustine and St. Chrysostome. As to purgatory, he rejected every kind of expiation beyond the grave.(e)

The primate, who entertained the same ideas as Frith on the Eucharist and on Purgatory, wished him to retract, but he remained inflexible. "Judge me," said he to his judges, who threatened him with death; "but judge me conscientiously." Stokesley, Bishop of London, on giving him up to the secular power, thus expressed himself: "We most earnestly desire, through the sufferings of Jesus Christ, that the punishment which is about to be inflicted on you should be neither too severe nor too lenient, that it may contribute to the salvation of your soul by the destruction of your body; and that it may be a salutary lesson unto heretics, the cause of their conversion, and may serve to unite in one bond of unity the members of the Catholic Church."(f) What an act of mockery, as Burnet observes, both to God and man, to condemn a poor creature to the stake, and to protest, through the sufferings of Jesus Christ, that they did not wish the punishment to be too severe! Stokesley, at least, believed in dogmas, the rejection of which was punishable by the civil law. But what are we to think

(a) Burnet.
(b) Ib.
(c) Ib.

(d) Being on one occasion obliged to excommunicate a Lutheran, he is said to have melted into tears in pronouncing sentence.—Fuller's Worthies.

(e) Cranmer's Letter to Hawkins. Archæologia XXVII., 81.

(f) Burnet.

of Cranmer, who delivers over to the secular power of London, as guilty of blasphemy,(a) a theologian with whose opinions he fully coincided, and who, somewhat later, during his controversy with Gardiner on the Eucharist, acknowledged himself that he had derived his most subtle arguments against transubstantiation from the writings of the very man whom he had condemned as a heretic?(b)

Hewit, a tailor by trade, and a secret disciple of Frith, was betrayed by the spies of the Bishop of London, and, like his master, refused to acknowledge the Real Presence. They were both burnt; and such was the official fury of those who styled themselves priests according to Henry's good pleasure, that Dr. Cook, a London clergyman, and one of those apostates who had sworn to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the king, urged the populace to treat the two heretics like dogs, by refusing to pray for them in any way.(c) At the very time that Cranmer, in his zeal to please his royal master, delivered up to the secular arm Frith, Hewit,(d) and the Anabaptists who refused to retract, he wrote to Vadianus, requesting him to observe a prudent silence on the Real Presence, because a public controversy on that subject might militate against the triumph of the gospel.(e) In his private interviews with his master, in his episcopal chair at his palace of Canterbury, at court, and in public, Cranmer simulated the faith of a neophyte to all the doctrines of the Catholic Church. He believed in the Real Presence, and to attest his faith therein, he condemns Frith to be burnt; he believed in purgatory, and lest any one should doubt his belief, he delivered up Hewit, the tailor, to the executioner; he believed in all the dogmas of the Church, except the supremacy of the Pope, and showed his orthodoxy by condemning to the stake and the prison all those who had the audacity to reject any of the articles of tradition. We shall soon see him, a few minutes after arising from his bed on which he had slept with Osiander's neice, whom he had brought over from Nuremberg, attaching his signature to a formulary making the celibacy of the clergy a law of the land.

But of all the Reformers condemned to the stake, none excited a more lively interest than the London schoolmaster, known under the twofold name of Lambert and Nicholson. He had received holy orders, and was esteemed in his neighbourhood as a great theologian; he delighted in controversy, and would dispute with any one that would listen to him, but was, however, more loquacious than learned, and had more vanity than wisdom. Under Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lambert had been imprisoned for heresy,(f) but he was released on the death of that prelate, began to preach again, and was particularly violent against the Real Presence. One day, he had the impudence to thrust into the hands of Dr. Taylor, who was considered favourable to the new doctrines, certain lucubrations against the Catholic dogma. Taylor lost no time in submitting them to Dr. Barnes, who had adopted on the Eucharist the views of Œcolampadius, and Barnes immediately transmitted them to Cranmer, who, himself a married priest, could not have any very lively faith in the secular teaching of the Church. Cranmer, apprehensive that he would be denounced if he did not protest against the schoolmaster's views, summoned him forthwith before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and reprimanded him very severely. On leaving the court, Lambert exclaimed that he appealed to the king.(g) This appeal was highly flattering to the theological vanity of the prince, who ac-

(a) Whose opinion was so notably erroneous, that we could not dispatch him, but were fain to leave him to the determination of his ordinary, who is the Bishop of London.—Cranmer's Letter, 16th of June, 1533.—Archæologia.

(b) Cranmer acknowledged, when he wrote against transubstantiation in reply to Gardiner, that he had received great light from them, and drew most of his arguments out of them.—Todd.

(c) D. Cook, a London rector, desired the people not to pray for the sufferers any more than for dogs.—Hall.

(d) Cranmer, whose first feelings were from the ancient stock, participated in Frith's condemnation.—Turner.

(e) Strype, App. Anno 1537.

(f) Hume.—Lingard.

(g) Godwin.

cepted the schoolmaster's challenge, and invited all his court to be present at the theological tournament, the arrangements of which he himself superintended. At the appointed hour he made his appearance, dressed in white satin, as on the day of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. A magnificent throne was erected in Westminster Hall; on his right were seated the bishops, magistrates, and lawyers; on his left the lords temporal, the ministers of the crown, and the officers of the royal household.(a) The populace, who had been invited to the royal controversy, occupied a scaffolding, whence they could see the minutest scenes of the drama. We may easily imagine the interest that poor labouring men would take in this contest; they were now about to see it decided whether they were to adhere to or renounce the ancient faith of Dunstan, Austin, Anselm, and all the apostles of the Anglo-Saxon Church, to adopt the opinion of the village schoolmaster. But they must have felt fully confident of the result on beholding the countenance of the royal combatant, and the ferocious look that he cast upon the unfortunate prisoner, his antagonist.(b)

The proceedings were opened by the Bishop of Chichester, who took occasion, from the appeal of Lambert to the king, as head of the Church of England, to correct before the audience certain reports that were in circulation against his majesty's orthodoxy. It was false that the king entertained the slightest *penchant* for the German innovations. Henry had happily shaken off the odious and tyrannical yoke of the Pope, expelled from the religious hives the monkish drones who were devouring the honey of the Lord, and destroyed those haunts of incontinence and fanaticism; but he had never seceded from the faith of his predecessors, nor from the Church, his holy mother, neither would he tolerate any innovations in her doctrine. He had come to this assembly for the sole purpose of convincing Lambert, and of converting him to the truth, as his majesty was opposed to violent measures; and as a proof of his clemency, he had assembled together the most learned personages in the kingdom for the purpose of bringing back the strayed sheep to the fold, and of convincing him by the irresistible force of their arguments. But should Lambert resist and persevere in his error, the king would let it be seen what an obstinate heretic had to expect from his just severity; and the magistrates of his kingdom should learn how they were to deal with sectarians rebelling against the authority of the Church. Henry then arose, and looking sternly at the prisoner, said: "What is thy name?" The prisoner, throwing himself on his knees, replied: "My real name is Nicholson, but I am also called Lambert." "Ah!" replied the king, "thou hast two names then; but dost thou know that with thy two names I would not trust thee though thou wert my brother.(c) Answer me a question respecting the Eucharist: Dost thou or dost thou not believe that Christ is corporally present in the sacrament?" "I reply with St. Augustine, that Christ is present therein, as it were, corporally." "We have nothing to do with St. Augustine nor any other Father; I ask thee whether thou believest or deniest the presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar."(d) "I deny it," replied Lambert, boldly: "the body of Christ cannot be both in heaven and on earth at the same time. But these words: 'This is my body, condemn thee.'" The king then resumed his seat, and made a sign to Cranmer to reply to the prisoner's argument.

"Brother Lambert," said the archbishop, "I find nothing in Holy Writ to induce me to believe that Christ cannot be present in two places at the same time. On the contrary, Christ was in heaven when he was seen by St. Paul on his way to Damascus, (Acts ix., 4.) If he can be present in two places at the same time, why not in three or four?"(e) "Pardon me," replied the

(a) Tytler.

(b) The king's look, his cruel countenance, and his bent to severity did not a little augment the terror of Lambert.—Fox.

(c) What, said the king, have you two names? I would not trust you having two names, although you were my brother.—Fox.

(d) Todd.

(e) Todd.—Fox.—Strype.

schoolmaster, "it is not said in Holy Writ that Christ showed himself to Paul on the way to Damascus. What do you read in the Acts of the Apostles? 'At mid-day, O king, I saw in the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining about me and those that were in company with me. And when we were all fallen down to the ground, I heard a voice speaking to me in the Hebrew tongue: Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the goad. And I said: Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord answered: I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. But rise up, and stand upon thy feet; for to this end have I appeared unto thee. . . .'" "Well," interrupted Cranmer, "'I have appeared unto thee.' Paul must therefore have seen Christ on earth." "Will your Grace allow me to continue the quotation? 'To this end have I appeared to thee that I may make thee a minister and a witness of those things which thou hast seen, and of those things for which I will appear to thee. Delivering thee from the people, and from the nations, unto which I now send thee.' Will your Grace point out to me the corporal vision mentioned here? Christ cannot be in two places."(a) Cranmer stopped, uncertain how to reply; and looked at the king with an air of embarrassment, while the bishops remained silent on their seats. In vain did he seek for a reply that might confound the sacramentarian; so far was he from being able to meet Lambert's argument, that he actually reproduced it at a later period in his "Treatise on the Real Presence."(b)

Gardiner, perceiving the primate's embarrassment, rose without waiting for his turn to speak, and began to refute Lambert's opinion by arguments borrowed chiefly from Luther's discussion with Zuinglius.(c) Next came Sampson, who, to obtain a triumph over the schoolmaster, had recourse to ridicule and insult;(d) and lastly, Stokesley, who endeavoured to prove the Real Presence by metaphysical arguments. He argued that, in nature, one substance is often changed into another, although the accidents still remain the same. When water is boiled till entirely evaporated, the aqueous substance is changed into an aëriform substance, and yet the accident, that is, the humidity, still continues to exist. To draw a conclusion, to use the language of the schools, from the permanency of accident to the change of substance, was a demonstration which had never before been used in a question of supernatural order. This argument confounded Lambert, who said not a word in reply. Whether it was that the angry countenance of the king intimidated him, or that he despaired of being able to reply to the arguments of so great a number of assailants who were waiting to attack him, or that the majesty of his audience disturbed him, the wretched man remained motionless on his seat, without venturing to raise his eyes or open his lips. The king then asked him: "What sayest thou now, after the instructions of these learned men? Art thou satisfied? Wilt thou live or die?" Lambert, who looked like a statue of stone, then rose from his chair, and looking at the prince with mournful anxiety, said: "I throw myself on your majesty's mercy." "Thou shouldst throw thyself on the mercy of God." "I recommend my soul to God," replied the prisoner, "and my body to the king." "The king is no patron of heretics; choose: abjuration or death."(e) "Death," said Lambert, bending his knee. Then Cromwell, at a sign from his majesty, pronounced sentence upon Lambert, tried and convicted of high treason against God, for

(a) Todd.—Fox.—Strype.

(b) Assertio veræ et Catholicæ doctrinæ de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Jesu Christi.—Lichæ, 1601.

"Faith bids us believe what we do not see; but not to disbelieve what we see every day, what we hear, what we hold in our hands."—p. 63.

"The Papists maintain that Christ is received with the mouth, and enters with the bread and wine; we assert that He is received only by the mind and spirit, and that He enters by faith."—p. 114.

"One body cannot be in several places at the same time"—p. 128.

It will be observed that these are the arguments adduced by Zuinglius and Œcolampadius at the Marburg Conference. They were admirably refuted by Luther.

(c) Fox.—Strype.

(d) MSS.—Cott.—Strype.

(e) Burnet.

the reparation of which he was condemned to be burnt alive.(a)

The last moments of the sacramentarian were heartrending. After having consumed the legs and thighs of the wretched creature, the flames were extinguished for want of fuel, and the soldiers on guard, lifting up the trunk on the point of their halberds, let it fall on a bed of burning charcoal.(b) Lambert was still living, and was distinctly heard to murmur: "None but Christ, none but Christ." He exhibited great courage at the stake, and Henry, who had flattered himself with the hope of reclaiming a heretic, was consoled in his disappointment by the encomiums passed by his courtiers on his erudition and eloquence.(c) Cromwell, a few days after this royal encounter, thus wrote to Wyatt, the English ambassador in Germany: "The king's majesty presided at the disputation, process, and judgment of a miserable heretic sacramentary, who was burnt the 20th of November. It was wonderful to see how princely, with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty his highness exercised there the very office of Supreme Head of the Church of England; how benignly his grace essayed to convert the miserable man; how strong and manifest reasons his highness alleged against him. I wish the princes and potentates of Christendom to have had a meet place to have seen it."(d) Now it is an undoubted fact, that after he had addressed a few questions to Lambert, Henry resumed his seat, and left his bishops to argue with the sacramentarian.

It is not for us to refuse our pity for poor labourers and schoolmasters, dragged to the stake for denying some of the dogmas that Henry had condescended to retain in his creed, especially when, as in this case, they are rather the victims of the sanguinary caprice of the prince than of civil law. It cannot for a moment be doubted, that if the king had not voluntarily seceded from Rome, the blood of so many sectarians would not have been shed in the squares of London. The Holy See would have interceded for the culprits, and would have intervened between the victim and the executioner. Clement VII. was a relation of Leo. X., who protected Reuchlin against the monks of Cologne, supported Erasmus against his powerful adversaries, and maintained Pomponatius in the chair which he filled at Bologna. Paul III., a man of affection and feeling, would have opposed Henry's anger. During Wolsey's administration, none of those perturbators who attempted to destroy religious unity, so necessary to political unity, perished by the axe; and yet the government had every excuse for acting with severity towards those spirits of disorder who were labouring, not only to overthrow the religion of the state, but to subvert social order. In 1530, previous to the apostacy of the clergy, there were sectarians who held that it was impossible for man to fulfil the Divine precepts; that man had had no master here on earth; that every man was a priest—seditious maxims which the clergy very justly condemned, but without permitting a single hair to fall from the heads of those who inculcated them.(e)

In the sixteenth century, the "sin of heresy" was a crime against the state. More deduced the necessity of putting down heretics much more from the civil than the religious law.(f) England, like all the countries of the North, was under the influence of that pagan legislation, preserved by Constantine after his conversion to Christianity, and which punished with death any attempt against the national

(a) As an obstinate opponent of the truth. —Godwin.
(b) Fox.
(c) Lingard.
(d) Collier.

(e) No man is under the secular power. All Christ's glory is ours. Bodily labour is commanded to all persons.—*The sum of Scripture.* Tenemur satisfacere proximo sed non Deo; every man is a priest.—*Obedience of a Christian man.* It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God. I am bound to love the Turke with the very bottom of my heart.—*Wicked mammon.*—Ex. cod. MSS, in registro principali arch Cant. nuncupato Warham.—Spelmani Concilia.

(f) Rudhart, the historian, quotes on this subject the following passage from the IVth Dialogue of Sir Thomas More: "The fere of these owtrages and myschyefeys to folow uppon such sectys and heresyes, wyth the profe that men have had in some contrees therof, have ben constreyned to punish heresyes by terrible deth, where as els more easy ways had ben taken wyth them."

creed.(a) Intolerance, as Lingard observes, was at that period the right and guarantee of Christian society.(b) The Reformers, far from seeking to rescue society from the effect of this principle, adopted it to its fullest extent. Beza, one of the most moderate theologians of the Reformation, refuted with more science than charity, a poor poet named Castalio, who, flying from Geneva, stained by Calvin with the blood of Gruet and Servetus, maintained that the secular power had not received from God the right of punishing heretics.(c) In England, heresy had its origin in schism, and schism sought to put down heresy by blood and fire. Catholicism, according to Burnet, spilt that blood; Catholicism enkindled those flames; as if the pontiff-king who presided over all these immolations, had not long before repudiated the ancient faith of St. Thomas à Becket! We have already noticed the miserable prejudices by which Burnet is led astray in writing history. In the present age we are more impartial; and a Protestant writer does not hesitate to avow, that these proceedings against the heretics were the natural consequences arising from the power with which Parliament had invested Henry to the detriment of the clergy.(d) But neither persecution nor death could diminish the zeal of those who styled themselves "Free Thinkers." The future was sure to be favourable to innovators, under a king hostile to Rome, and a queen who encouraged the circulation of Tyndal's bibles; an archbishop married to the niece of a Reformer, and bishops who had perjured themselves. A degraded and brutalized Parliament, a people silenced and paralyzed, judges who had signed the warrant for the death of Fisher, counsellors who built themselves country mansions from the spoils of the monasteries, were already converts to the Reformation. Henry saw the abyss open before him, and already began to seek, through the Bishop of Hereford, Archdeacon Heath, and Dr. Barnes, his ambassadors, the aid and alliance of reformed Germany against the Papacy. The confederates, having become insolent in their prosperity, required, as the price of their armed intervention, that the King of England, the Defender of the Faith, the fiery adversary of Luther, should adopt their creed, and advance them, partly as a present, partly as a loan, the sum of 100,000 crowns.(e) At the same time that Henry was making this appeal to the heretical princes, he was preparing a creed for his own satisfaction, the drawing up of which was confided to a number of theologians imbued with the new ideas, and which was laid before the Convocation by Cromwell (f)

If this new formulary of doctrine did retain the belief in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds as essential unto salvation; if it neither abolished auricular confession, the Real Presence, the use of images, nor the invocation of saints, it nevertheless reduced the number of sacraments to three, viz., Baptism, Penance, and the Holy Eucharist (g) By order of the Vicar-general, on the 12th of July, 1536, the articles of doctrine were read to the people, without comment, in all the churches of the kingdom, and a royal mandate was issued, that until next Michaelmas, no clergyman should speak in public, unless he were a bishop, or spoke in the presence of a bishop, or were licensed to teach in the cathedral at the peril of the bishop.(h) For more than two months, not a voice was

(a) Leges 51-56 Cod. Theod. de Hæreticis; leges 5, 11, 12, 14, 16 Cod. Just. de Hæreticis.

(b) Lingard.

(c) Audin's Hist. of Calvin, and Calvin Refut. errorum Mich. Serveti.—In the Reformer's letter to the Duke of Somerset occurs the following passage: "They deserved to be punished with the sword of vengeance which God has put into your hands."

(d) Such were some of the proceedings which had produced the act recently passed in the Parliament, by which the authority of the clergy in these matters was annulled.—MSS. Thomson.

(e) Lingard.—Collier.—Strype.

(f) Articles devised by the King's Highness's Majesty to establish Christian quietness and unity among us, and to avoid contentious opinions; which articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the whole clergy of this realm.—MSS. Cott.—The paper is corrected by the king's own hand.

(g) Todd.—Collier has the following remark on these articles: "That several of the most shocking doctrines of the Romish communion were softened and explained to a mere inoffensive sense, and several superstitious usages discharged.—Eccl. Hist.

(h) Lingard.

heard from the pulpit. The publication of this formulary, says Todd, caused great sorrow to the "Romanists," and revived the hopes of the Reformers. But if the people were deprived of hearing the Divine Word, they could listen to long diatribes against the primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff, which the priests were obliged to repeat every fortnight for the edification and salvation of the souls of their parishioners.

The Anglican Church wished to have her confession of faith as the Reformed Church had obtained hers at Augsburg. Long conferences took place between Cranmer and Henry, the result of which was the publication, in 1537, of "The godly and pious Institution of the Christian Man," afterwards called "The Bishop's Book."(a) The formulary was signed by the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and a great number of doctors of civil and canon law, and pronounced by them to accord "in all things with the very true meaning of Scripture." It refused salvation to all persons, whether born or living, out of the pale of the Catholic Church, denied in the most outrageous terms the supremacy of the Pope, and inculcated passive obedience to the king. It taught that no cause whatever could authorise the subject to draw the sword against his prince; that sovereigns are accountable to God alone; and that the only remedy against oppression is to pray that God would change the heart of the despot, and induce him to make a right use of his unlimited power.(b) It further asserted that the Church of Rome had no right to arrogate to herself the title of Catholic; that she was no more entitled to it than any of the Christian Churches of England, France, or Spain.

At the same time that Cranmer and the bishops were inculcating the right of the sword as a part of dogma, Bucer, in an eloquent apotheosis on despotism, was teaching that authority proceeded from God alone; that the sovereign alone, as the living representative of Him who is seated on the high heavens, had the power of deciding whether he ought to proceed by justice or caprice, by blood or by other chastisements; that obedience was due to the government, even though it should be opposed to the decrees of Heaven, because in that case, power was only the instrument of Divine justice.(c) Cranmer, perceiving the success that the German Reformers had gained by the publication of Bibles in the vernacular tongue, determined that England also should possess a Bible, in which every one, whether he were or were not competent to understand the Holy text, might seek out a title to his faith. Grafton and Whitechurch, therefore, obtained the privilege of printing a folio edition of the Bible in English. It was published under the fictitious name of Thomas Matthews, and was merely a reproduction of Tyndal's version. It was strictly enjoined that a copy of this Bible should be placed in every church, at the expense of the rector and his parishioners, that every individual might be able to read it, provided it were not during the sermon or the service. This permission was afterwards extended to private houses, (3rd November, 1539), with this restriction only, that the king warned the readers, that whenever they met with any difficult passage, they should consult the authority of learned men, reminding them, at the same time, that the liberty which he granted them was not owing to any personal right which they possessed, but a favour granted "through his extreme goodness and royal liberality."(d)

(a) Todd.
(b) Lingard.
(c) Carl Hagen.
(d) Wilkins' Concilia.

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CARDINAL POLE. Born 1500.—Died 1558

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CARDINAL POLE.

Renewed attempts on the part of Rome with regard to Henry.—Noble conduct of Paul III.—The Pope's proposals for a reconciliation rejected.—The embassy of Pole to England to effect a reconciliation with the Holy See.—Pole's childhood.—He studies in Italy, and returns to England.—Attempts made to gain him over in favour of the divorce.—Scene at Whitehall.—Pole in Italy.—His letter to the King.—Recalled to England.—Snares laid for him.—A reward offered for his head.—His relations and partizans imprisoned.—Execution of his aged mother.

Rome had long entertained the hope of a reconciliation between Henry and the Holy See; and we have seen what prudence was evinced by Clement VII. in his contests with England. His behaviour in the question of the divorce, besides being a model of diplomatic skill, was inspired by an eminently Christian charity. From a question, the solution of which would not now embarrass a theological student, the Pope formed one of those great metaphysical problems which at that time had the privilege of exciting the attention of the spiritual world, and of engaging the whole force of the human mind. For nearly six years, on both sides of the Alps, wherever a theologian was to be found, an attempt was made to reconcile two texts which were apparently contradictory; the one in Leviticus, which prohibited the marriage of a brother with his sister-in-law; the other in Deuteronomy, which formally commanded it. The question of indulgences even had never excited so lively a controversy as these two texts of the Old Testament. In France, the discussion was carried on with such fervour in some of the schools, that the disputants often had recourse to blows, after the manner of the heroes of Homer. In Italy, if they did not fight, interminable theses were written on the question under dispute. Spain, which had remained neutral in Luther's quarrel with Rome, contributed her contingent of choleric texts in the matrimonial discussion. But Spain had powerful reasons for defending the text of Deuteronomy, which left her a queen (one of her own daughters) spotless and pure. By one word, Rome could have terminated this discussion, in which charity and common sense were more than once insulted; but she appears to have studied to keep alive a controversy which, like every other human affair, would have died of old age. At the time when the schools, for want of ink or perhaps arguments, had become silent, Rome raised up a mysterious personage, who came forward with new arms to do battle in a contest that was in its last agonies. While every one was in expectation, and England, France, Italy and Germany (for Luther and Melancthon, Osiander and Œcolampadius were interested in the solution of the problem), were awaiting the Pope's sentence, curiosity was suddenly excited by the revival of the quarrel. Rome was not yet ready, and was unwilling to pronounce before the following question had been settled: Whether Henry would require to give power of attorney to the person who should represent him: and for six months, the printing-presses of Bedellus were employed by Henry's counsel, who blackened several hundred reams of paper, in attempting to prove that the King of England could not be deprived of a right enjoyed by the humblest of his subjects. Rome knew this well. Why then these appeals, these suspensions, these apparitions of the dead and the living, these delays and prorogations, with which the Papacy has been so often reproached? Rome wished to afford Henry time to repent; she had seen more than one prince

who, like Henry, entangled in the snares of a woman, had ended in breaking his shameful chains, and listening to the voice of reason. To the very last moment, she hoped that the prince would not, for the sake of Anne Boleyn, his mistress during the last five years, quarrel with that holy Church whose rights he had so nobly defended. This was the secret of the policy pursued by Clement VII.; his delay was but a pretext for deferring the promulgation of a sentence, the awful consequences of which he foresaw better than any one else. Was he not the representative of Him who is patient because He is eternal?

Having inherited the longanimity of his predecessor, Paul III. hoped, like Clement VII., that Henry VIII. would ultimately repent. He fancied that some unlooked-for circumstance would enlighten the monarch's mind; the death of Anne Boleyn was a providential event, that was destined perhaps, as the Pope for a time believed, to lead Henry back to the truth.(a) There is in the life of Paul III. an episode which we cannot omit to lay before our readers. The news of Anne Boleyn's death was suddenly announced at Rome by George Casalio, who related to the Sovereign Pontiff the circumstances connected with the execution of the adulterous queen. Let us not lose any details of this intimate confidence of the Pontiff with the ambassador, who has faithfully recorded them: (b)

"I have long besought God," says the Pope, "to open his majesty's eyes. It is impossible that Heaven should have abandoned a prince who is endowed with so many virtues, and who has rendered so many services to the Christian republic. Heaven will surely enlighten him.(c) Now is the time for Henry to finish the noble work which he has commenced in defence of Christianity. If he return to the bosom of the Church, who is there among the princes of Christendom that will be able to resist him? With Rome as his ally, the peace of the world will be secured. I will unite with Henry, and we will join our efforts to pacify the world, for I am no friend of faction (d) nor do I seek to increase my fortune, or extend the Pontifical domains.(e) Why then should he be so unjustly distrustful of me? Am I not his friend? Does he no longer remember the pledges of affectionate attachment which I evinced towards him in the affair of the divorce; and, at a later period, in our private and public interviews with Clement VII. and with the Emperor at Bologna? Let him not doubt the affections of my heart! I never intended to disoblige his majesty in any way, though for a length of time I have had no reason to compliment myself on the acts of the king towards the Holy See. If I bestowed the cardinal's hat on Fisher, it was as a mark of my affection for the king, and not as a challenge or threat. I was anxious to procure for my college of cardinals men distinguished for their learning; and as it is the custom for every nation to be therein represented by a cardinal, I decided upon electing an English bishop, whose book against Luther had obtained so high a reputation. I acknowledge that I was deceived; and when solicited from all parts to avenge the death of Fisher, I may perhaps have adopted measures that were displeasing to his majesty, but I was not actuated by any spirit of revenge."

Casalio respectfully inquired of the Pope whether His Holiness wished him to inform the king of these official communications, and Paul replied that he did not wish anything to be concealed from Henry, and that he should be given to understand that he had every thing to expect from the Holy See.(f) Casalio adds, in his official dispatch: "If your majesty would consent to meet these overtures of His Holiness, by the smallest act of condescendence, either by

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.
(b) Id.—MSS. Vit., B. XIV, 215-218.
(c) Because he thought the mind of your majesty was adorned with such virtues and such merits towards the Christian republic, that Heaven would not desert it, but would exalt it by the grace of his illumination.—MSS. Vit. B. XIV., 215-218.

(d) He was not disposed for factions; he desired only peace.—MSS. Vit. B. XIV., 215-218.
(e) Nor to labour covetously to increase his fortunes, or to extend the boundaries of the Pontificate.—Id. Ib.
(f) Omnia de ipso.

a dispatch or some other communication, which would induce the belief that you wish to renew your intercourse with Rome, Paul would send an accredited nuncio to your highness, but not till some time shall have elapsed, because he considers that after the insults that you have offered to the Holy See, he cannot attempt to effect a reconciliation, unless you, on your part, make some advances. He would send, on these conditions, either Latinus Juvenalis or Andreas Casalio, either of whom would come to London without any official character, and simply as my *chargé d'affaires*."(a) But all these expectations on the part of Paul III. were soon to fall to the ground. If Henry had been led into schism through his immoderate love of Anne Boleyn, other passions equally ungovernable, his rapacity, his avarice, his sensuality, and his pride, combined to plunge him still deeper into the abyss. To the proposals of Rome he replied by the spoliation of the religious houses, the banishment of the monks, the violation of the tombs of St. Thomas à Becket, Austin, and Alfred; by the breaking of images, the dispersion of relics, and the imprisonment or death of the Catholics. At the very time when Casalio was making these tender advances to Henry on the part of the Pope, Father Forest, Katharine's confessor, accused of having denied the gospel by refusing to take the oath of supremacy,(b) was suspended by the middle of his body, and burnt over a pile of wood obtained from the destruction of the rood of Darwell Gatharen, before which thousands of peasants had weekly offered up their prayers.(c)

Far from accepting the conciliatory terms of the Holy See, Henry again essayed to seduce the foreign princes into the schism. He ventured to renew his former proposals of a rupture with Rome to Francis I.(d) In 1535, Paul, justly irritated against a prince who had assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church, resolved to employ those spiritual arms which Henry had formerly used in his contest with Luther, and consequently prepared a bull of excommunication.(e) Before its promulgation, however, three long years were to elapse, during which he determined to leave nothing untried to induce the prince to retrace his steps; but all his efforts were in vain. Previous to the truce of Nice, the Court of Rome consulted Francis I. and Charles V. respecting the policy they would pursue if the bull should ever be promulgated, and they both replied that they would protest against the schism, break off all intercourse with the monarch who had voluntarily seceded from the Church, and prohibit any commercial transactions between their subjects and the English merchants.(f) But these two princes forgot their promises. The emperor, after the death of his aunt, Katharine, sought the alliance of the monarch who had repudiated her,(g) and sent an ambassador to England to negotiate marriages between Don Louis of Portugal and the Princess Mary, whose hand had been so often solicited and granted; between Prince Edward, who was just born, and an Infanta of Spain not yet born; between the Princess Elizabeth of England and one of the sons of the Archduke Ferdinand.(h) Could these family projects be accomplished, Charles would no longer have any rival in the old world, and the Italian nationality would be completely destroyed. Francis I., who had at length discovered that he could not single-handed conquer Italy, sought to embroil Henry in a war with Charles V. Henry eluded the proposition, and offered himself as a mediator between the hostile princes, and Sir

(a) 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 nuncio, and do all things which he could.—MSS. Vit. B. XIV., 215-218.

(b) The following verses were made upon Forest:—

Forest the fair,
That infamous liar,
That willfully will be dead
In his contumacy.
The gospel doth deny
The king to be supreme head.

—Sanders. Hall. Wood, Athenæ, Oxonienses.

(c) Burnet.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Sanders.

(f) Lingard.—Sanders.

(g) Cromwell's Letter.—Harl., MSS. No. 282, p. 203.

(h) Ib., p. 208.

Thomas Wyatt was sent into Spain to prepare the way for a reconciliation.(a) Francis, during the ambassador's voyage, solicited Mary's hand for the Duke of Orleans.(b)

Wyatt's embassy proved a complete failure, and Paul III. undertook the same task in hopes of being more successful. He appointed Nice as the rendezvous of the two monarchs; and accordingly, in the month of June, 1538, that city was graced by the presence of three crowned heads. The King of France took up his quarters at one extremity of the town, and Charles V. upon the heights, which command a view of the sea, without either of them attempting to effect a meeting; and the Pope occupied the governor's palace. If Paul failed to effect a reconciliation between the two rivals, he was so far successful, at least that he obtained their mutual consent to a truce for ten years.(c) It was said at London that a conspiracy had been formed against Henry at Nice; and a report was soon circulated, that England was threatened with an invasion. The king, in order to give importance to this rumour, visited the coasts, repaired the old forts which were falling into ruins, and commenced preparing a fleet.(d) Rapin de Thoyras has no faith in Henry's fears, neither does he consider that England was in danger. In his opinion, the apprehension of this chimerical invasion was a fable, artfully invented, to induce Parliament to vote subsidies for the purpose of frustrating the plans of the Papacy, the soul of this pretended League.(e)

Among the personages who formed the Pope's suite, at Nice, was Cardinal Pole, towards whom the emperor and the French king vied with each other in their demonstrations of courtesy, and whom Henry regarded as the implacable enemy of the Tudors, and as the instigator of all the machinations that were contrived against the security of England. Cardinal Pole ranks among the most eminent literary characters of the sixteenth century; and if it is true that, as a writer, negotiator, and conspirator even, he undertook to dethrone Henry, it will not be considered unworthy of the subject of our history if we devote a few pages to his memory.

Richard de la Pole, Knight of the Garter, married Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, whom Edward IV., his brother, caused to be put to death as guilty of high treason.(f) From this marriage was born Reginald de la Pole, or Polus, who received his education in the Carthusian monastery of Shene, in the vicinity of London, which he left on entering the University of Oxford,(g) where he had as his tutors Linacre and Latimer. Henry was one of his patrons; and Reginald has not omitted to record his gratitude to this royal patron of literature,(h) who was, moreover, his second cousin. In 1520, Pole determined on finishing his studies in Italy, that land which all those who took any part in the literary progress of the day wished to visit before their death. The student, being of royal blood, lived in the style of a prince, and hence, his resources were soon exhausted. He applied, therefore, to the Prime Minister, Wolsey, who immediately appealed to the king in his behalf, and obtained for the traveller student an annual pension of 1000 scudi.(i) It must be acknowledged that this was a princely allowance for a student. With an annuity of 1000 scudi,(k) Pole was enabled to furnish a splendid house, buy books, keep a good retinue of servants, and live as a nobleman. Leo X., who was considered extravagant, was never so lavish of his gold as Pole. With a salary of a few

(a) Harl. MSS., p. 1.
(b) See the King's letter of the 4th May, 1539.—Harl. MSS., 54.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) The king's letter of the 10th March, 1538.—Harl. MSS., 59.
(e) Rapin de Thoyras.

(f) Turner's Hist. of England.
(g) Beccatelli.—Beccatelli was a contemporary of Cardinal Pole, whose life he wrote. It was translated into Latin by Dudithius.
(h) De Ecclesiæ unitate.—Id.
(i) Pole travelled in company with Winter, who was said to be a natural son of Wolsey. There is a curious letter from Winter still extant, dated Padua, 7th April, 1520, on the difficulties of the two students while in Italy. —MSS. Nero, B. VI., 122.
(k) Pole's letter to Henry, dated Padua, 5 Calend. May, is in the Brit. Mus. Nero, B. VI., 118.

hundred scudi, the professors of the Roman gymnasium considererd themselves handsomely remunerated.

Pole had, in a short time, a palace at Padua, which became the favourite rendezvous of the literati of that city. Bembo came to give the foreigner lessons in Italian; Leoniceno to explain to him Plato and Aristotle; Christopher Longueuil to teach him oratory;(a) and Lupset, his countryman, to read with him Virgil and Horace.(b) His friends became anxious to see him. Pole, therefore, left his Paduan Elysium, and, after having visited Rome and Florence, returned to England, where Henry and Katharine bestowed on him marks of the greatest attachment; but instead of taking up his residence in the vicinity of Greenwich, as the king wished him to do, the scholar retired to the silent retreat of the Carthusians at Shène, where he had passed his youthful days, in order that he might have more leisure to pursue his studies.(c) The hermit was soon visited in his cell by Cromwell, who came to inform the student of the remorse that his majesty felt since, in reading the Bible, he had perceived that he was living in incest with Katharine. He also represented that Pole had it in his power to tranquilize his sovereign's conscience by proving that the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta of Spain was an abomination in the sight of God. Unfortunately, Pole had been more occupied with Bembo, Longueuil, Leoniceno, Lupset, and the *savans* of Padua in the study of Homer than in that of the Bible, and pleaded this in excuse for his inability to assist his majesty. Cromwell, who could not account for the student's diffidence, asked him if he had read a work recently published in Italy,(d) and which was well worthy of the attention of every aspirant to court patronage. Pole at once candidly acknowleged that he had never heard of the work; but he received it the same evening, sat up all night in perusing it, and returned it on the following day to Cromwell, saying, that he regarded it as the work of one of the "sons of Satan;" it was Machiavelli's "De Principe."

The student, wishing to avoid the discussions that he foresaw would arise on the divorce question, requested permission to visit Paris, which was graciously granted by Henry. There, as in England, he was besieged by solicitations, for the king wished to engage him to canvass for votes in favour of the divorce; but he refused his co-operation. On his return to England he was soon subjected to renewed temptations. The Duke of Norfolk offered him, if he would write in favour of the divorce, the sees of York and Winchester. Pole replied, that he valued the repose of his conscience more than these or any other dignities. His brothers, and even his mother, united their entreaties to those of the councillor, but nothing could shake the determination of the humanist.(d) After a long struggle, however, Pole imagined that he had discovered the means of evincing his gratitude to Henry, and of reconciling his conscience, but what these means were he never revealed. All that is known on this subject is, that the Duke of Norfolk communicated the conversation which he had just held with the student to his majesty, who was awaiting his arrival with great impatience in the large gallery of Whitehall. While on his way to the palace, Pole prepared himself for his interview with the prince; but when the doors of the palace flew open, and he perceived the king, with his countenance radiant with joy, a complete change took place in his ideas; at first his tongue, as if paralysed, refused utterance, his memory failed him, and the rhetorical phrases which he had so studiously prepared, passed, like a dream, from his recollection. At length he recovered his power of speech, but every word that fell from his lips was condemnatory of the king's project. In explanation of this intellectual phenomenon, Pole had recourse to a supernatural agent. God, in his opinion, both tied and untied his tongue. We may easily conceive

(a) Pole wrote a Life of Longueuil, which is to be found in his letters.

(b) Erasmus mentions Lupset in his letter to Pole, dated October 4th, 1525. — See Appendix. (O)

(c) Beccatelli.

(d) Turner.

(d) Beccatelli. Dudithius. Lingard. Turner.

Henry's amazement; sometimes, during the interview, he would cast an angry glance at the orator, at others he would mutter some monosyllabic threats, or place his hand on his sword.(a) Pole left the palace alive; neither was his escape miraculous, as Burnet would have us believe. The historian rejects Pole's narrative, on the following grounds: Henry, according to him, would never have allowed a man who had insulted him to escape from his cabinet, and much less from his kingdom; but Burnet forgets that magnanimity is sometimes the result of calculation. Henry, by punishing Pole for his temerity, would have incurred the displeasure of the Holy See, of whose aid he still stood in need. He would also have offended Charles V. and Francis I., who might have invited Reginald to become their guest; the universities, which were justly proud of him; Erasmus, who wrote him affectionate letters; and all the foreign and national literati, who were acquainted with his ability. On leaving London, Pole wrote to the king a letter of apology, and Henry thus addressed his brother, Lord Montague, who had come to court to apologize for Réginald's conduct: "I cannot, my lord, be offended with your brother," read this letter. "I am very much attached to your brother, in spite of his obstinacy, and if he did but agree with me on the question of the divorce, I assure you there is not a man in my kingdom whom I should more esteem."(b) Henry kept the letter, which he never showed to any one but Cranmer, and in this he was perfectly right, for, in that prelate's opinion, it was written with such force of logic and eloquence, that it would have captivated the public mind, had the Privy Council ventured to publish it.(c)

On Pole's return to Italy, the land of his predilection, he spoke every where in the highest terms of Henry's kindness to him, and was believed by all when he related the scene of the sword, and showed the golden angels which he received regularly every month from his generous cousin. Who knows how many signatures the little piece of theatrical mimicry at Whitehall obtained for Henry? Pole's friends, and occasionally fellow-travellers, were Trefona, Gabriele, Marco Antonio of Genoa, Lampridio of Cremona, Lazaro of Bassano, Geno, Bishop of Fano, Sadolete, Bembo,(d) and Vida,(e) all of whom were sure to place implicit faith in the virtues which the student attributed to his royal Mæcenas. Pole's illusion lasted a considerable time; but when he saw the king bestowing the title of Chancellor of the Exchequer on Cromwell, "one of the sons of Satan;" the Archbishopric on Cranmer, a married priest; the Privy Seals on Audley, already condemned in the estimation of the public; a bishopric on Lee, the creature of the Earl of Wiltshire, the father of Anne Boleyn, and soon after assuming the title of Supreme Head of the Church, he then acknowledged that he had been a puppet in the hands of the prince, and prophesied the approaching fall of the Church of England.

In 1534, an act of Parliament was passed making the spiritual supremacy of the sovereign a dogma of faith, and a law of the land.(f) The schism with Rome was now complete, and Gardiner and Sampson, theologians in the service of the crown, composed two treatises in defence of the supremacy of their master,(g) who immediately forwarded them to Réginald, who happened to be at Venice. They were two wretched productions, the perusal of which excited a smile of pity on the countenance of the student, who for some time, had been studying theology in the works of Thomas Aquinus and Sadoleti. Pole closed the books, and continued his morning stroll along the banks of the Lido, reciting some of the strophes of Aristo. Henry

(a) Beccatelli. The circumstance is related in a letter from Pole to Edward VI., and published by Schelhorn.

(b) Polus, pro Ecclesiæ unitatis defensione. Apol., ad Angl. Parlam. Epistol.—Ep. ad Edw. reg.

(c) Strype's Cranmer.

(d) Bembo, in a letter dated July, 1526, speaks of a voyage that he took in company with Pole. And on another occasion, speaking of Reginald, he says: "a remarkably good, learned, and wise man."

(e) Sadoleti, in 1532, sent him his treatise "De liberis instituendis."

(f) Statutes of the Realm.

(g) Strype's Eccles. Mem.

had the cruelty to disturb him in this poetic retreat. Starkey was officially commissioned to ascertain Pole's opinion of this new royalty that Henry arrogated to himself.(a) Pole completely forgot Starkey's letter, till the latter, becoming impatient, transmitted to him an order in Henry's name, to write openly and without fear or reserve on the question of the supremacy. For several months, Pole refused to write, but was at length obliged to obey the royal mandate. It was necessary for him at that period to proceed with the greatest caution, for More, Fisher, and the Carthusians had shortly before expired on the scaffold, for having refused to acknowledge to the supremacy of the Pope of Greenwich.

It was, therefore, in face of the gibbet and the stake, with which England was at that time covered, that Pole wrote to the king in language, the impassioned tone of which has often been censured. Pole, however, never attempted to apologize for the violence of his language; his letter, composed under the influence of the glowing heat of a Venetian sun, is expressed in rapturous terms; but he boldly challenges his enemies to quote a single passage in which he falsifies facts, and none have yet been found to call in question the veracity of the writer. This letter, entirely confidential, was not intended to come before the public, and was not published till after Henry's death.(b) While reading it, Henry did not betray the least sign of emotion or anger; but he found certain passages so obscure that he would have wished his cousin to come and explain them to him in *propriâ persona*. Pole, however, refused the invitation, being apprehensive that the sword which the prince had refrained from drawing against him at Whitehall, might this time be brought into action, and that Parliament might be called upon to explain the ambiguous passages in his letter.

The Pope and the Emperor were anxious to reward the writer, who had sacrificed his fortune and his future prospects for the success of their cause. Pole, accordingly, received the cardinal's hat, and was intrusted with a perilous mission. The Court of Rome was under the impression that the rebellion of the northern counties had alarmed the king, and that the time was now come for attempting to recall the schismatical prince to the true faith. Pole arrived in Flanders, charged with full powers for this negotiation; but Cromwell watched him narrowly, and had no difficulty in persuading his royal master that Pole was an emissary of mischief, commissioned to re-establish in England the odious yoke of the Papacy, and that having accomplished that object, he would expel the Tudors and usurp the crown of England, as a descendant of the House of York. Cromwell had promised Latimer that he would make Pole fall into despair, and "eat his own heart" through vexation;(c) and he was determined that his prophecy should, if possible, be fulfilled. Pole was declared a traitor, and a reward of 50,000 crowns offered for his head. He had no sooner entered France than Briant set out for Paris, with orders to conduct him to England, as soon as Francis should have delivered him up. Francis, though indignantly rejecting the proposals of the English ambassador, requested Pole to pursue his journey without seeking an audience from him.(d) Pole set out for Cambray, through a part of the country where he was continually meeting with English officers, who were serving in the French army, and his attendants were so much alarmed that they refused to carry his legate's cross, whereupon he took it himself, and tied it to his horse's saddle.(e) At Cambray, the Queen Regent of the Netherlands, warned by Henry's agents, refused him permission to enter the territory of the empire. Charles V. was summoned to give up the rebel to his grace's commissioners, in consideration of receiving an auxiliary troop of 4000 men, which England was to place at the disposition of the emperor during his campaign against France.(f)

(a) His pleasure was—that you should declare your sentence, truly and plainly, without color, or cloke of dissimulation, which his Grace peculiarly abhors.—MSS. Cleop. E. VI., 354. —Strype.

(b) Under the title of "Pro Ecclesiasticæ defensione."

(c) Lingard.
(d) Sanders.
(e) Id.
(f) Dudithius, Vita et Epist. Poli

Informed of the snares that were laid for the cardinal, Paul III. was compelled to recall him to Italy. Henry, irritated to think that Pole should have found means to elude the assassins paid to slay him,(a) determined to take vengeance on "the rebel's" relatives, friends, brothers, and even on his aged mother. Two of the royal agents, Becket, the usher, and Whrote, the king's carver, were dispatched into Cornwall to collect the chief points of accusation against those whom the king had marked out as his victims. Their mission was soon terminated; for either by bribes, or threats, they collected, in the course of a few weeks, proofs of the existence of a vast conspiracy against the state, of which Pole was the instigator, and his relations his accomplices. Before the discovery of the plot, the prince, simulating apprehension of danger with his wonted ability, ordered batteries to be erected on Dover Downs, as if the enemy's feet had already been perceived from the lighthouse, and summoned his people to arms as if he were threatened by an imminent invasion.(b)

On the 3rd of November, 1538, Henry Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, and his wife were both arrested, as were also Sir Edward Nevil, the brother of Lord Abergavenny, Sir Geoffrey Pole and Lord Montague, brothers of the cardinal, together with their mother, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury; all great and noble names, revered throughout the kingdom, and especially in the northern counties, where the recollection of the House of York was still fresh, and whose standard they might have again erected, had their loyalty not been proof against every temptation of ambition. These persons were all pre-condemned before being brought to their trial. Pole, it was said, aimed at dethroning Henry, and ascending the throne of England, together with the Princess Mary, whom he purposed marrying. In a letter to his mother, he had said: "that if he knew her to be of the same opinion with the king, he would tread her under foot."(c) Lord Montague had said to his friends: "I trust to see a change in this world; and intimated his intention to give the knaves a buffet who ruled about the king."(d) The Marquis of Exeter had made use of the following expression: "The cardinal's conduct is admirable. I am no admirer of the present government."(e) The parties accused were, moreover, proved to be relations and partizans of the cardinal. It was likewise stated that their plans of conspiracy had long been known to the king, through the revelations of their servants, but that, like another Cæsar, he had been anxious to vanquish these new Cinnas, by lavishing his favours on them.(f) On ascertaining, however, that they had not only conspired against the life of their sovereign, but also against that of the royal infant, the only jewel of the crown after the king, Henry had been constrained to give them up to the rigour of the law and the justice of the country.(g)

It is almost superfluous to observe, that the fatal sentence of *guilty* was pronounced against the accused parties; Geoffrey Pole alone, as the reward of his cowardly admissions, and probably false revelations, obtained a commutation of his sentence into exile, in which he was permitted to wear out a dishonoured existence. On the 9th of January, 1539, Nevil was executed together with two priests and a sailor; and after them, Lord Montague, and Courtney, the Marquis of Exeter. A few days after, Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse, and a Knight of the Garter, convicted of having been one of the marquis's advisers, together with Kindall and Quintrell, perished for having asserted that Exeter

(a) Lingard.

(b) The king thought the crisis so dangerous, that he rode to Dover and had bulwarks made on the sea coast, and sent commissions through the realm to muster the people ready to repel any sudden invasion.—Hall.

(c) Morrison's invectives against treason.

(d) Ib.

(e) Ib.

(f) Thinking assuredly with his clemency to conquer their cancredness, as Cæsar, at the last, won and overcame Cynna.—Sir Thomas Wriothesly's letter to the English Ambassador in Spain.—Ellis, 2nd Series, II., 109.

(g) 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.—Ellis, 2nd Series p. 109 (or Id., ib. 109.)

was the heir presumptive to the crown, and would be king should Henry presume to marry Anne Boleyn. It may be asked for what crime these noblemen suffered; and Herbert acknowledges that he does not know; but Pole very justly ascribes their death to the hatred of the tyrant for everything noble and virtuous.(a) The Marchioness of Exeter and the Countess of Salisbury were still in prison. The only reason why their execution had been delayed was, that the jury, when the blood of a female was to be spilt, more afraid of public opinion than of the judgments of God, hesitated to pronounce their doom. At the execution of a female, it was allowable to shed tears even in the days of Henry VIII.; but at that of a man, it would have been considered a crime. The Earl of Southampton and the Bishop of Ely were commissioned to examine the aged countess. They endeavoured,(b) during several successive days, first by gentle words, then by threats, and lastly by intimidation, to surprise her, or rather to extort from her some equivocal expression, which Cromwell was anxious to obtain, that he might communicate it to the king, and which, before a court of justice, might afford sufficient grounds for an indictment; but the prisoner's heroic firmness completely frustrated the plans of the commissioners. Their letter to Cromwell would lead one to suppose that they were afraid of losing the king's favour, so careful were they to exalt their great zeal, their devotedness, and their perseverance in tormenting the poor old countess; if their efforts had not been attended with success, they were not to be blamed; the night even had not interrupted their labours; they worked hard for the bread that they received from their royal master. They had treated the countess, and we may rely upon their words, as they had never before treated any other prisoner. But, said they, with an expression of ill-concealed malice, never before have we met with such a woman; she will acknowledge nothing, confess nothing, but denies every thing! She is not a woman, but a man.(c) "Your lordship must understand that it is impossible to succeed with her, so great is her obstinacy."(d)

What was to be done with a woman whose firmness nothing could shake, who had not uttered a single word that could justify the commissioners in bringing her before a jury? They obtained no acknowledgment, no proof; neither could they make out any crime. Let us not, however, lose patience, said Cromwell, one of the commissioners; we will hold her over the bason until she has disgorged all that is on her stomach (e) The stomach, to use the coarse language of the inquisitor, disgorged nothing. Cromwell, therefore, went to consult the judges; he wished to ascertain whether a person suspected of treason could be convicted without trial, admission of guilt, or any judicial form whatever. The judges replied that no inferior court would be found willing to take upon itself the responsibility of so illegal a proceeding; but that a bill of Attainder, passed in due form by Parliament, from which there could be no appeal, would be valid and legal.(f) Parliament met on the following day, and passed a bill of Attainder against the Countess of Salisbury, her grandson, the son of Lord Montague, and the widow of the Marquis of Exeter, none of whom were ever summoned before a tribunal. The countess was convicted and condemned for treason, in consequence of a silk gown, which had been found in her wardrobe by the Lord Admiral, and which was marked in front with the arms of England, and behind with the five wounds of Christ.(g)

(a) Odium tyranni in virtutem et nobilitatem. Apol. Poli.

(b) We travelled with the Lady Salisbury till almost night.—Letter to Cromwell, 14th November, MSS. Cal. D. II.

(c) We suppose that there hath not been seen or heard of a woman so earnest, so manlike in countenance.—Apol. Poli.

(d) 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.—Ellis's Letters, II., 114-115

(e) I shall assay to the uttermost of my power, and never cease till the bottom of her stomach may be clearly opened and disclosed. —MSS. Titus, B. I., 265.

(f) All historians.

(g) Tytler

Cromwell had hit upon this expedient to obtain from Parliament the verdict which his master desired. An abominable sentence, which will be a lasting blot on the memory of the prince who dictated it, on the minister who sought it, and on the judges who passed it. "May oblivion," exclaims the historian, "efface even its remembrance, or silence eternally conceal its infamy."(a)

After an imprisonment of six weeks in the Tower, the Marchioness of Exeter obtained her pardon; and it was hoped that the king would compassionate the Countess of Salisbury, a woman of seventy years of age, and the last of the Plantagenets; that illustrious race, who had so long wielded the sceptre of England. She served, moreover, as a hostage and security for the cardinal's future conduct.(b); but after two years of suffering and perhaps of hope, she was ordered to prepare for death. The countess preserved on the scaffold the same heroic courage which she had displayed before the two inquisitors. When asked by the executioner to lay her head on the block, "No," said she, "my head never committed treason: if you will have it, you must take it as you can."(c) The executioner obeyed. On hearing of his mother's death, Pole exclaimed: "My mother will pray for me; I am the son of a martyr."(d)

(a) Coke's Parliamentary History of England.

(b) Lingard.
(c) Id.
(d) Ep. Poli.

CHAPTER XL.

THE SIX ARTICLES.

Henry's political theories.—Religious parties formed in England.—Gardiner head of the Catholic party.—He preaches against the Reformation.—The king is desirous of putting an end to the contentions now rife in the kingdom.—The committee on the Six Articles.—The Statute of Blood.—Penalties.—Opinions of Melancthon and Luther on the Six Articles.—Danger incurred by Cranmer, who determines on sending back his wife to Germany.

We have said enough on scenes of bloodshed; we will therefore allow the reader time to breathe, and dedicate the present chapter to the royal follies.

In the religious government of the country, Henry seems to have followed the theories which Wolsey adopted in the political administration; theories which were as easy to retain as to practise; never to let himself be troubled about the honour or the life of any man; to exalt or humble him, to keep or sacrifice him as necessity should require; to take advantage of every triumph, discount every failure, and, with an eye and a heart alike impassible, to break or keep his word, according as danger should threaten or gain invite; to despise all parties; to show no pity for any one that should attempt to disturb the monarch's repose; to aggrandize despotism till it should appear just; and in order to live without remorse or shame, conceal the hand that struck, and sanctify the chastisement, in some degree, by leaving the initiative or the responsibility to the representatives of the nation; in case of Parliament proving restive, to exact its obedience by threats; to reign by corruption; never to be restrained by the fear of shedding blood, if that blood would afford the government an hour's life or calm; to look upon every subject great or small as an instrument, every royal caprice as a Christian precept; to render the Divinity

incarnate in terrestrial royalty, and transform the monarch into an impeccable representative of Him who reigns in heaven.

The murder of the Carthusians, Thomas More, Fisher, Father Forest, and so many other Catholics; the insurrection of the Pilgrims of Grace, the spoliation of the monasteries, the banishment of the monks, the dispersion of the ashes of St Thomas à Becket, the violation of the tombs of Alfred and St. Austin, the apostacy of the bishops and the clergy, must evidently have compromised the title of Defender of the Catholic Faith, which the king continued to arrogate to himself in all his official acts. Heresy was on the alert in England; the erasure of the Pope's name from the books of liturgy was an unimportant triumph; the object of its promoters was to change the Catholic creed, and to substitute in its place a confession similar to that established in Germany; and they felt confident of being able to accomplish this revolution, if Cranmer were retained in the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury. But about this time a reactionary movement occurred in England. Two parties were formed; the party of reform, the leaders of which were Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Latimer, Bishop of Worcester; Fox, Bishop of Hereford; and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury; the party of resistance under the guidance of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; the Archbishop of York; and the Bishops of London, Durham, Bath and Wells.(a)

After an honourable exile, Gardiner, who was thenceforth to take the lead of that religious opposition which was destined to struggle with equal skill and perseverance until Henry's death, against the innovations of Cranmer and his party, had just returned to his diocese. Gardiner had spent two years travelling in Germany, and had returned heart-broken at the inanity of those doctrines which were opposing Catholicity beyond the Rhine. For this ardent and enthusiastic spirit, the victim of his ambition, it was necessary that he should visit the heart-rending scenes to which Saxony was at that time a prey, in order that he might be preserved from falling into heresy. The Lutheran gospel, announced as the breath of the Spirit of Truth, and which, after having rejected tradition, was in its turn being examined, sounded and ridiculed, seemed to be a lesson reserved for him by Divine Providence. On hearing of the bishop's return, Henry summoned him to appear before him, and ordered him to preach on the following Sunday at St. Paul's Cross. Gardiner ascended the pulpit, and took for his text, the gospel of the day, the temptation of Jesus by the devil, in order that he might have an opportunity of attacking the innovators whom he compared to Satan. "Satan," said he, "is crying aloud to us by the mouths of these innovators: cast thyself on that stone; on that stone cast fasting; on that stone, confession; on that stone the use of images and the veneration of the saints." This sermon was a manifesto which Gardiner thus terminated: "The movement of the Reformation is not progressive but retrograde."(b) The bishop, on deserting the party of error, was joined by Norfolk, the first minister of the crown.

Parliament assembled on the 5th of May, 1539, under the emotion necessarily excited by this Catholic discourse; and it was soon ascertained that by the king's orders, a committee of ecclesiastical peers had been appointed to put an end to the religious dissensions which were at that time troubling England.(c) The *Christian Institute*, that work of reconciliation, so far from pacifying only increased the dissension; and the same difference of opinion was manifested in the committee as in the jarring creeds. The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Carlisle, and Bangor, rallied around Gardiner, and were for arresting the progress of the Reformation; while Cranmer, and the Bishops of Ely and Salisbury, together with Cromwell, were for having it disengaged from every obstacle. They came no decision, and Henry, after waiting patiently for eleven days, submitted to the

(a) Todd.—Lingard.

(b) There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backwards.

(c) Lingard.

consideration of the committee six questions, relative to the Real Presence, communion under two kinds, vows of chastity, private Masses, the marriage of the clergy, and auricular confession.(a) The debate then commenced among the lords spiritual, Cromwell and Audley observing a prudent and respectful silence. Cranmer and the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Worcester, Rochester, and St. David's, evinced at first some slight opposition. The scene is thus described by one of the Lords of Parliament: "Notwithstanding my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Ely, my Lord of Salisbury, my Lords of Worcester, Rochester, and St. Davyes, defended the contrary a long time, yet finally his highness confounded them all with goodlie learning. York, Durham, Winchester, London, Chichester, Norwiche, and Carlisle, have showed themselves honest and well learned men. We of the temporalty have been all of one opinion: and my Lord Chancellor (Audley) and my Lord Privy Seal (Cromwell) as good as we can devise. My Lord of Canterbury and all his bishops, have given their opinions, and have come in to us, save Salisbury, who yet continueth a lewd fool."(b) Cranmer again sacrificed his conscience to the will of his master, for he acknowledged afterwards to the rebels of Devonshire, that if his majesty had not come in person to Parliament, those Popish articles, rejected by theologians, would never have passed.(c) The primate should have said, that in order to please the king, he had consented to offend God.

Two committees were appointed to prepare a bill conformable to the royal will; one composed, says Lingard, of three recent converts to the king's views, the prelates of Canterbury, Ely, and St. David's; the other of men distinguished by their attachment to Catholicism, the prelates of York, Durham, and Winchester. Two bills were prepared by the committees, and submitted to the king on the 2nd of June. Henry gave the preference to that which had been drawn up by the second committee, and which was indeed said to be his own work.(d) On the 3rd, Cromwell laid the Six Articles before convocation, which approved of them, and the Lord Chancellor laid them before the House of Lords, and on the 7th, before the Commons. Parliament passed the bill, which received the royal sanction, and England possessed another law which history has branded with the title of the Statute of Blood.(e)

It was stated in the preamble of the bill, that the king, having been informed of the divisions that had glided into the minds of his subjects, secular as well as ecclesiastical, touching the interpretation of various religious formularies, and knowing well the happy effects that would be produced by the unity of doctrine and faith, and the evils that must inevitably arise from the absence of harmony in faith and in doctrine, had assembled his Parliament and his clergy, who had endeavoured to reconcile these deplorable differences. Six Articles had been proposed and seriously examined. In Parliament, as well as in his Privy Council, his majesty had disputed on these articles with no less science than skill; and with the co-operation of his Parliament had resolved and decreed.(f) 1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there remained no substance of bread and wine, but under these forms the natural body and blood of Christ were present. 2. That the communion in both kinds was not necessary to the salvation of all persons by the law of God, but that both the flesh and blood of Christ were together in each of the kinds. 3. That priests, after the order of priesthood, might not marry by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity ought to be observed by the law of God. 5. That the

(a) Todd.—Strype.—Lingard.
(b) MSS. Cleop. V., 128, quoted by Lingard.
(c) That these articles were so enforced by the evil 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.—Todd.—Burnet.—Strype. Todd and other historians maintain that Cranmer refused to subscribe to the six articles; but if he had persisted in his opposition, he would have been obliged, like the Bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, to resign his see.

(d) Wilkins' Concilia.
(e) Hume.
(f) Burnet.

use of private Masses ought to be continued, which, as it was agreeable to God's law, so men received great benefits by them. 6. That auricular confession was expedient and necessary, and ought to be retained in the Church.

Then followed the penal clauses: 1. If any person wrote, preached, or disputed against the first article, he should not be allowed to abjure, but should suffer death as a heretic, and forfeit his goods and chattels to the king. 2. If he preached in any sermon or collation, or spoke openly before the judges against any one of the other five, he should incur the usual penalties of felony; but if he only held contrary opinions, and published them, he should for the first offence be imprisoned at the king's pleasure, and forfeit his lands during life, and his goods for ever; for the second, he should suffer death. 3. The act pronounced the marriages of priests or nuns of no effect; ordered such persons so married to be separated, and made it felony if they cohabited afterwards. 4. It subjected priests, living carnally with women, or nuns with men, to imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and to death on the second; and lastly, it enacted that persons contemptuously refusing to confess at the usual times, or to receive the sacrament, should for the first offence be fined and imprisoned; and for the second, be adjudged felons, and suffer the punishment of felony.(a) The bill filled the partizans with terror of the new doctrines; and, for a time, every one in England at all inclined to the teaching of the Reformation, sought his safety either in silence or in blind submission to the tyrant's will. Latimer and Shaxton, the Bishops of Worcester and Salisbury, sent in the resignation of their sees on the 1st of July;(b) but Cranmer contined to live in his palace at Canterbury. It is of no great importance for us to inquire whether he persisted, in his beautiful abode at Lambeth, in rejecting(c) those doctrines which he had sanctioned by his vote. Though not a believer either in the Real Presence, or in the necessity of auricular confession, in the Sacrifice of the Mass, or in the obligation of celibacy of the clergy, he continued to perform the duties and receive the revenues of his archbishopric. When the news arrived in Germany of the enactment of the statute of blood, Melancthon already pictured to himself Cranmer ascending the scaffold in defence of liberty of conscience against the fury of the tyrant; and pointed out to him the palm of martyrdom which God was holding suspended over the head of the courageous confessor of the gospel.(d) Luther appears to have entertained a similar opinion of Cranmer's courage, for, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Saxony, on the subject of the Six Articles, he speaks in the highest terms of the primate whose wise counsels Henry had contemned. Of his former rival, he makes a sophist and a babbler, who is seeking to govern the world by mere gloss, and compares the King of England to Nebuchadonozor, to Herod, and even makes him worse than the Pope, who, at all events, said he, never made the celibacy of the clergy a Divine commandment. The King of Great Britain, added he, is so much the more culpable as he has not been unwarned, and has recently had translated into English an excellent little treatise on the various questions discussed and defined in the statute.(e)

We believe in the sincerity of these protestations on the part of Melancthon, Luther, Bucer, and Calvin, against the Draconian code of Henry VIII,; but there are certain facts that weigh heavily on men's consciences, and the German Reformers would have done well to remember them. In 1525, when the poor peasants demanded from their oppressors a certain modicum of liberty, Melancthon replied:

(a) Lingard.—Hume.—Herbert.

(b) Godwin.—State Papers, I., 849.

(c) Cranmer, soon after this memorable debate, confirmed the opinion he had urged with the following assertion: that the Scripture speaketh not of penance, as we call it a sacrament, &c.—Burnet.—Collier.

(d) He believed Latimer, Shaxton, Cranmer, and others, to be in prison upon the occasion; he wished them all the fortitude of Christians; he admitted that nothing more honourable could befall them than to suffer for the truth they maintained against the recent statute.—Todd.—Gerdes.

(e) Luther's Brief, 1539.—De Wette.

"These rustics are, indeed, not a little unreasonable! What do these peasants then want; they have already too much liberty?(a) Joseph imposes labour on the Egyptian, because he knows well that it will not do to give the reins to the people." And Luther, addressing himself to the kings of the earth, in 1539, when the people were sinking under the weight of their oppression and suffering, exclaims: "Pope, cardinals, Romish trash, hang them all, and tear out their tongues as blasphemers."(b) In the same year, Bucer taught that the civil power possessed the right, not only of inflicting capital punishment on the heretic in his own person, but also of putting to death his children or his wife, and even of destroying his flocks.(c) Calvin also condemned Servetus to the stake, and witnessed the agonizing death of the anti-trinitarian from a neighbouring window.(d) The Reformers, therefore, had no reason to call the King of England to account for the blood that was shed through the enactment of the statute of the Six Articles. We are equally at a loss to account for Melancthon's complaints against Henry's intolerance, when we find him, in 1525, while a disciple of Luther, sacrificing, like his master, the democratic principle of the Reformation, and advising the Landgrave of Hesse, who had consulted him on the subject of the religious disputes, so frequent in the pulpit among Protestant ministers, to forbid those to preach whom he should consider to be in the wrong; thus constituting, as a Reformer observes, a secular prince supreme judge on a disputed passage of Scripture.

After the passing of the bill of the Six Articles, we may easily conceive that the primate's position was anything but enviable. Had there been no difficulty but that of manifesting external acts of faith in opposition to the dictates of his conscience, Cranmer would have felt no embarrassment, for he would have condemned to the stake every schoolmaster in the kingdom, had Henry required their death. His conduct, if not the most edifying, is at least the most skilful model for the guidance of any courtier that is desirous of ending his days in his master's good graces. In Lambert's trial, for instance, we find him supporting the dogma of the Real Presence, which he seems to have rejected in 1539, in order to retain the king's favour, and apparently yielding afterwards to the irresistible force of the crowned theologian's arguments; but he had other and much more perplexing difficulties to contend against. The reader will doubtless recollect that, acting the part of a man of prudence, he had left his wife at Nuremberg, in Osiander's house; but he had since recalled her, and had her living with him in the archiepiscopal palace of Canterbury. Catholic historians accuse the primate of infringing on the precept of chastity canonically imposed on the priesthood, and of disobedience to the king, who, in a circular dated 19th November, 1534, ordered the bishops to institute inquiries in their dioceses, and to imprison any priests who should be found acting in contravention to the canons of the Church by keeping concubines, and to certify their names to the council.(e) The primate, as one of the bishops, received the royal prescription, but did not deem it expedient to denounce to the prince the transgressors of the ecclesiastical canons and the laws of the state. Two years later, on the 16th of November, 1536, a proclamation was issued, likewise in the name of the supreme Head of the Church and director of all minds under God, ordaining that all priests publicly known to have been married should be deprived of their benefices, and considered as laymen, and that all those who should marry after this notice should be punished and imprisoned according to his majesty's pleasure.(f) The primate still continued to disobey the monarch, the image of God on earth, and to cohabit with Osiander's niece, and was especially careful not to leave his diocese, or lay down

(a) Pfizer.
(b) Contra Pontificatum à diabolo fundatum.
(c) Karl Hagen.
(d) M. James Fazy, Essai d'un précis sur l'histoire de la republique de Genève.

(e) Wilkins' Concilia.
(f) Strype.

his crosier and mitre. The primate's biographers, we mean the Anglican writers, candidly acknowledge that Cranmer did not act with sincerity or courage in this affair; but they will not allow that he was guilty of incontinence, and one of them declares that it would be an act of blasphemy for any Catholic writer to assert, that the *holy man* was ever guilty of criminal conversation with Osiander's niece, or with any other woman.(a)

However this may be, the cohabitation was not without its fruits, for the primate, either concealed or openly, had several children born to him. Cranmer had recourse to all sorts of expedients to enable him to keep his wife. At one time he submitted to Henry certain specious arguments against the celibacy of the clergy. At another, he suggested the expediency of a royal declaration imposing silence on a subject at that time warmly discussed in Germany; but the manifesto never made its appearance. At length he boldly proposed that the question should be debated before impartial judges, on condition that, if the tribunal should pronounce against the marriage of the clergy, every advocate in favour of it should be mercilessly put to death; but that, if the sentence should be favourable, the canonical prohibition should cease to be obligatory. Henry on this occasion, however, did not feel disposed for the shedding of blood, and the proposal was therefore rejected.

Prompted by Cranmer, Melancthon, who was considered one of the most moderate theologians of the new school, undertook to overcome the obstinacy of the king to whom he addressed a long letter;(b) but neither the artifice of the prelate, nor the rhetorical powers of the professor, could change the opinion of the Head of the Church. Cranmer, who was unwilling to remain any longer with the penalty of death impending over him, sent his wife and his children to Germany, and wrote a letter to the king apologizing for his temerity in having had the presumption to maintain an opinion contrary to that of his majesty. The prelate's offences, if he had committed any, were soon forgotton, for Henry foresaw that he might still stand in need of Cranmer's services, and he might have sought in vain among the members of his clergy for a more tractable and docile spirit. A consolatory letter from the king, conveyed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Cromwell, relieved the archbishop from all his fears. A few of the clergy, who, emboldened by the primate's example, had been living in concubinage, lost no time in separating from those whom they had called their wives. One of them, John Foster, on dismissing his concubine, wrote to Cromwell, humbly acknowledging that he had sinned in violating the canons; but that having been convinced of the error of his ways by the king's theological science, he confessed his fault, and humbly sued for pardon. "If his majesty," said he, "had decided that it was lawful for priests to marry, we should, as loyal subjects, have willingly obeyed him."(c) The primate's example, therefore, in separating from his wife, as well as that of his marriage, was not without its effect.

(a) It is true that the *holy man*, wisely declining the danger and malignity of the times, made not at the first any public profession of his marriage, as was needed to avert mischief. But that he ever had any *dishonest conversation* with her or any other, is no other than the accent of the mouth of blasphemy. —Honour of the married clergy.

(b) Lingard.

(c) For yf the Kyng's Grace could have founde yt lawful the prestys might have been maryd, they would have byn to the crowne doubbyll and doubbyll faythefull.—MSS. Cott., Cleop., F. IV., 116.—Ellis, 1st Series, II., 111, 112.

CHAPTER XLI.

ANNE OF CLEVES.—1539-1540.

Signs of Cromwell's approaching fall.—To prevent his disgrace, the Minister marries the King to a Lutheran.—Anne of Cleves.—Her character.—Arrival in England.—Henry is deceived in her, and wishes to send her back.—Triumph of Cromwell, who is created Earl of Essex.—His fall.—Sent to the Tower.—Cranmer's letter to the King respecting Cromwell.—The Minister condemned without a hearing.—Cranmer votes for his death.

Cromwell was on the brink of an abyss; the favourite's approaching fall was clearly foreseen by infallible signs: the king's contemptuous manner towards him, the repressed murmurs of the people, the concentrated indignation of the aristocracy, the insolent exultation of Gardiner, the leader of the Catholic party, and above all, that prophetic solitude formed around the minister who was about to fall or die. Other passages, equally comprehensible, might have warned him that the days of his power were numbered. Elevated from a low rank to the office of Vicar-general, Vicegerent, Keeper of the Privy Seals, not so much through his great talents as through any freak of fortune, he was sure to excite the jealousy of the nobility. The Duke of Norfolk could not, without blushing, look upon the diamond buckle which clasped the garter of the son of a blacksmith. The people, still animated by feelings of veneration for those establishments in which they had been fed with the bread of charity,(a) saw in Cromwell only a violator of tombs, a spoiler of religious houses, and a profaner of relics. During their march through Yorkshire, the Pilgrims of Grace had petitioned Heaven to deliver the country from this instrument of murder and slavery, and the monks had pronounced a curse upon him from the pulpit. By Catholics, he was regarded as a vile apostate;(b) at Rome, he was designated the Son of Satan; and the Protestants themselves could place no confidence in a selfish being who betrayed or served them according as it suited his changeful policy.

Cromwell had only one means of warding off the blow. By giving to England a Lutheran queen, he hoped that he would be able to invigorate the party of Reform, which the statute of the Six Articles seemed to have ruined. But Providence had designed that the very means which he adopted to re-establish his credit, should only serve to precipitate his fall. Henry did not so bitterly bewail the death of Jane Seymour as some historians relate. As soon as he heard that Heaven had blest him with a son, he thus wrote to Francis I.: "My well-beloved brother, I was delighted on receiving your congratulations on the birth of a son, which it has pleased God to bestow on me, and my only hope is that the realization of your desires in this respect may soon afford me an opportunity of expressing the same feelings towards you; nevertheless, it has seemed good to Divine Providence, whose will be done, to mingle with this my great joy, the bitterness of losing her who presented me with this happiness. From the hand of your good brother, cousin, companion, and perpetual ally."(c)

After two months of widowhood, Henry became a suitor for the hand of Marie of Lorraine, dowager duchess of Longueville, whose wit and well-made form had con-

(a) Hume.
(b) Le Grand.

(c) Le Grand.

pletely captivated him. But Marie preferred James V., King of Scotland, who was in the flower of his age, to the English monarch, whose gray hairs began to betray his advanced years, and who was weighed down while walking, under the ponderous mass of his corporal exuberance. In vain did Francis assure his "good brother" that the duchess was affianced to James; the murderer of Anne Boleyn would not admit the possibility of a refusal. For several months, he continued to importune the young woman with his amorous solicitations; and when she sailed for Scotland, the rejected suitor, in a moment of ill-humour, refused her permission to land at Dover, and travel through England. A daughter of the Duke de Vendôme was then offered to the king, as if the sovereign of three kingdoms would consent to marry a woman that had been rejected by the King of Scotland![a] At length Henry consented to marry one of the daughters of the King of France, on condition that he should not decide on taking any one in particular, till after he had seen them all at Calais; a proposal which Francis rejected with indignation. "You may have heard," wrote M. Bochetel to Castillon, the French ambassador in England, "of the king's intention respecting these marriages; and to tell you the truth, the king ridicules the proposal that has been made to you on the subject, saying, that apparently, women in England are regarded as nags, to be assembled together and trotted out in droves to see which has the finest action; but his majesty has no idea of placing his daughters among the herd."[b]

Henry next turned his attention to Christina, Duchess of Milan. "Tell the King of England," said that princess, "that had I two heads, I might be induced to risk one of them, but having only one, I wish to preserve it."[c] Cromwell, about this time, proposed Anne of Cleves. This alliance, observed the minister, would be highly advantageous to England, inasmuch as the Duke of Cleves had pretensions to the duchy of Guelders, and his eldest daughter was married to the Duke of Saxony, who would keep the forces of Charles V. employed if ever there should be a war between the Emperor and Henry; political reasons which Cromwell developed with zeal, and which appeared to make an impression on the mind of his master.[d] But Cromwell kept in reserve one argument by which he calculated on overcoming the irresolution of the sensual monarch, viz. the portrait of the princess, painted on ivory by Hans Holbein. Anne was in her 24th year, and the artist had represented her as a real Suabian beauty, such as are more frequently to be seen in German hostelries than at the court of princes.[e] He had given her a fair complexion, auburn hair, thick and rosy lips, and a lively air in every feature. Unfortunately, the original was not equal to the portrait; and the artist, had he wished, could certainly not copy the marks that the small-pox had left on the countenance of this masculine beauty.

The king, deceived by the portrait, sent a splendid embassy to solicit the hand of the princess.[f] The elector of Saxony did not at first approve of the marriage; the statute of the Six Articles appeared to him to be an attack on that liberty of conscience which Protestantism hoped, after the fall of Catholicism, to introduce into England as it had done into Germany.[g] But Cromwell succeeded in overcoming the scruples of that prince, and had no difficulty in persuading the confederates of Smalkalde that this union would be a decided triumph for the Reformation, as it would place on the throne of England a princess whose religious education had been intrusted to one of the most ardent and zealous disciples of Luther. He did not avow, the miscreant, that his object was to make use of the queen as an instrument for the suppression of Catholicism which seemed to be reviving in England, and threatened to gain the ascendant. He was, moreover, as well as Henry, the dupe of Hans Holbein. Had not the artist

(a) Lingard.
(b) Le Grand.
(c) Mad. Prus., Hist. des six femmes de Henri VIII.
(d) Burnet.
(e) Voss.
(f) Lingard.
(g) Burnet.

voluntarily committed an act of deception, Henry would perhaps have found a master in Anne of Cleves. Cromwell continued to inflame the king's passions by the description of her imaginary graces. "Everything in her is beautiful," wrote he to the amorous prince, "her face as well as her form." Christopher Mount, the English ambassador, declared that she was, in comparison to the other ladies of the country, as the golden sun to the silvery moon.(a) Her mental qualities were mentioned as secondary to her physical beauty: "Every one praises her learning and modesty; virtues of which her countenance is the faithful mirror."(b) After several months spent in negotiations, one of the counts palatine of the Rhine, the ambassadors of the Duke of Saxony and the Duke of Cleves, Anne's brother, whose father had just died, came to England, and concluded the marriage.(c)

The king, on hearing of the princess' arrival at Dover, on the 31st December, 1539, set out in disguise for Rochester, impatient of seeing without being seen, that German beauty who engrossed the attention of the court, and desirous also of exciting his love, as he expressed himself to Cromwell.(d) Unfortunately, the lovely maiden drawn by Hans Holbein existed only on ivory! Anne was indeed the fresh looking German girl of whom Henry had dreamt, but completely devoid of that grace and modesty with which the artist had described her in his portrait; coarse, tall, and vulgar-looking was the figure that met the eyes of the future husband, who stepped back before he was recognised, whispering to one of his courtiers, that she was like a "Flemish mare."(e) Anne, who had not remarked the monarch's embarrassment, advanced, and bent her knee with such awkwardness, that the king raised her up, and considered himself bound to embrace her.(f) Suffolk acted as their interpreter, for Anne could only speak German. The conversation was but of short duration. Henry retired to his room without having the courage to present to the princess the New Year's gifts which he had brought with him, consisting of a ruff, a sable fur, and a muff, which were given to her on the following morning.(g) "What do you think of her," inquired the king of Lord Suffolk, whom he sent for the following morning before setting out for Greenwich? "Tell me, truly, is she as fair and as beautiful as she has been represented to me?" "She is not fair, replied the courtier; she is a brunette,"(h) and taking Lord Russell by the hand, Henry exclaimed: "Good God! whom can I trust? She is not at all like the portrait that was sent to me. It is infamous to deceive me thus; she does not please me at all."(i) On entering his barge, he said, shrugging his shoulders: "I see none of those qualities in her that have been represented to me; how could men of gravity thus deceive me?"(j)

Cromwell was awaiting their arrival at Greenwich. A few hours before his death, the minister related the history of his interview with the king on this occasion, and there is every reason to believe the testimony of a man who was about to appear before his God. It was a confession that he was requested to make, and which he did make, but some parts of it are related in terms the coarseness of which the Latin language can ill disguise. We shall act as Holbein did, for we cannot reproduce the true Cromwell. No sooner had the minister seen the king, than he pressed forward to inquire how he liked the queen. "She is not what she was represented to me," said the king, quite confused. "Had I known

(a) One, amongst other purposes, said unto them of late, that she excelleth as farre the Duchess as the golden sun excelleth the silvern mone.—Brit. Mus. Vitell., B. XXI., 86.
(b) Id. ib.
(c) Burnet.
(d) Ad alendum amorem.—Burnet.
(e) Per dio, questa è una cavalla fiaminga! Martinelli Istoria d'Inghilterra.—Burnet and other historians.
(f) Lingard.
(g) Strype.
(h) Whereunto the said lord admiral answered, that he took her not for fair, but to be of a brown complexion.—Lord Russell's depositions in Strype.
(i) And yet I like her not.—Ib.
(j) I see nothing in this woman a men report of her. I marvel that wise men could make such report, as they have done.—Sir A. Brown's Depositions.—Strype.

sooner what I no
have come to
advice on the
shook his head
the following day
début at Greenw
monarch advance
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may be."(c) Cro
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for his wife was a

(a) Epist. Crom
—Otho, C. IX.
(b) Hall.
(c) Id.
(d) Id.

sooner what I now know, she should never have come to England. What is your advice on the subject?"(a) Cromwell shook his head and made no reply. On the following day, Anne of Cleves made her *début* at Greenwich; and, this time, the monarch advanced to meet the minister.(b) "Well," asked he, with an air of triumph, "my dear lord, am I not right? You may say what you will, she is not so beautiful as she was described to me; modest she may be."(c) Cromwell was forced to admit the truth of his master's observations. "What is to be done then?" added the king; "is there no remedy? Am I quietly to submit to the yoke, and allow myself to be bound?"(d) This question was important, and Cromwell did not immediately reply. The council assembled, and sought in vain for a plea by which the marriage might be broken off. It was urged that Anne had been promised in marriage to the Marquis of Lorraine, but no contract had been signed, and the Privy Councillors had great difficulty in convincing Henry that such an engagement entered into without the consent of the parties, and before either of them had attained the age of reason, could not release his majesty from his engagements. Anne of Cleves, on being examined, replied that she was perfectly free when she promised her hand to the King of England. Cromwell, moreover, represented, that Henry could not send her back without incurring the displeasure and hatred of the confederates of Smalkelde, whilst Charles V. would no doubt form some plot against him at Paris.

Henry was therefore compelled to resign himself to his fate. The nuptial ceremony was performed on the 6th of January, 1540, but it was cold and sorrowful. On the following day, his majesty attended the council with a dejected countenance, so that Cromwell scarcely dared speak to him. To an indirect question from his minister, Henry candidly replied that his aversion for his wife was as great then as it had been when he first saw her, and that she remained the same as on the day of her landing at Dover. For several months, however, she continued to share his bed; although, if any credit is to be given to his assertions, he treated her with the utmost contempt.(e) Anne spent her time in sewing and embroidering. She possessed none of those arts which are calculated to captivate a husband; she could neither dance, sing, nor paint, very different in this respect from Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour; she did not understand a word either of English or Latin, so that whole mornings were spent without her being able to exchange a word with her royal husband.(f) Her ignorance of the English language was, however, a fortunate circumstance for her, as she was thereby spared from the cutting remarks of the courtiers; but it must have been a sore annoyance to the bridegroom not to be able to torment, with his bitter sarcasms and gross expressions, a poor creature whose unpardonable fault was that of not being handsome. Holbein was fortunately in Germany. It is impossible to say what might have been his fate, had he at this period been in Henry's power. Norfolk, together with the bishops who still adhered to the Catholic cause, at the head of whom was Gardiner, were in hopes that this marriage would have destroyed Cromwell's influence. The minister's fall was destined to be hastened by a theological discussion.

Gardiner, in a sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross, had made use of violent language against certain preachers who advocated the Lutheran doctrine of faith without works. A few days afterwards, Barnes, who had denounced Lambert, ascended the pulpit and defended the Saxon creed, laughing at the egotistic individual named Gardiner, who wished to be the keeper of the garden of the Lord, and had not arms to defend it.(g) The king sent for the preacher, admonished him, disputed with him, and succeeded in obtaining from him the promise of a public retractation. Barnes, on the 4th of April, apologised to Gardiner, and commenced a

(a) Epist. Cromw. Regi.—MSS. Brit. Mus.—Otho, C. IX.
(b) Hall.
(c) Id.
(d) Id.
(e) Martinelli.
(f) Sir Anth. Brown's Depos.—Strype.
(g) Fox.

second attack upon the doctrine of works; this was considered a direct insult to the dignity of the king, who consequently sent him to the Tower, together with his accomplices, Jerome and Garnet.(a) Barnes was one of the creatures and secret missionaries employed by Cromwell in Germany.(b) What, it was asked, could be the orthodoxy of a statesman who employed agents infected with the Saxon doctrines? Henry was informed of these proceedings, and sent for Cromwell. After several interviews, he was restored to royal favour, much to the annoyance of Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and Clarke, Bishop of Bath, who were contending for it.(c) Cromwell, so far from having fallen, seemed more powerful than ever. At the opening of Parliament, on the 12th of April, 1540, he took his accustomed seat in the House of Lords, the bearer of a royal message. After the Chancellor had informed the house of the motives for which they had been assembled, Cromwell rose from his seat, and addressed them as the Vice-gerent, deeply deploring the internal dissensions which were at that time desolating the country. "On the one hand, audacity and licentiousness; on the other, superstition and obstinacy have occasioned disputes that are deplored by all true Christians. Wherefore should there exist those opprobious epithets of Papists and heretics, by which Christians are constantly insulting one another? The different parties are abusing the indulgence of his majesty, who has placed in their hands the Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue. Instead of making them the rule of their faith, some pervert them in order to justify their excesses, others to find an excuse for their brutal prejudices. With a view to remedy these evils, the king has appointed two committees of prelates and doctors, commissioned to draw up a rule of faith. The prelates are the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Rochester, Hereford, and St. David's; the doctors are Thirlby, Robinson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Redmayn, Edgworth, Crayford, Symmons, Robins, and Tresham. His majesty has also nominated other commissioners to examine the ceremonies, and decide upon those that are to be abolished and those that are to be retained. These commissioners are the Bishops of Bath, Ely, Salisbury, Chichester, Worcester, and Llandaff. The king now appeals to the members of his Parliament; it will be for them to enact penalties against those who shall treat the Scriptures with irreverence, or twist their sense so as to derive from them all sorts of absurd commentaries."(d)

Cromwell terminated his speech by an eulogium on the king, "whose praises no human mouth could justly celebrate;" and this tirade was received with unanimous applause.(e) The orator obtained the greatest success; and the Speaker, in his reply, asserted, that the Vice-gerent deserved to be the Vicar-general of the universe.(f) This was a complete triumph for Cromwell, if we may judge by the new favours that were conferred on him by the king one after another. He first obtained the granting of three manors, arising from the suppressed monasteries, the revenues of which would enable him, for he was exceedingly liberal, to silence more than one enemy. His title of Earl of Essex was re-established in his favour on the 17th of April, and the office of Lord Chamberlain added to those which he already possessed.(g) But his enemies were still on the watch, and the king had again marred their plots. On the 9th of May, he wrote a pressing letter to his dear and well-beloved cousin, begging him in the most affectionate terms to come to him immediately. "It is a question," said his majesty, "touching the security of our person, the preservation of our honour, of your repose and tranquillity, and of the welfare of our dear subjects, as I will explain to you when I see you."(h) It is not known what passed

(a) Lingard.
(b) Tytler.
(c) Le Grand.

(d) Burnet.
(e) Id.
(f) Hume.
(g) Stow.—Lingard.
(h) Right, trustye and right well biloved cousin, we grete you well, signifying unto you our pleasour and commandment ys, that forthwith, and upon recept of thiese our letter, setting all other affaires a part, ye doo repaier

at this interview, to which the prince had so amicably invited his good cousin, nor what the important affair was which so deeply interested the monarchy, the king, and his well-beloved subjects. It may, however, be easily conceived, for, a few days after, Cromwell presented to Parliament several bills; one for putting Henry in possession of all the property belonging to the knights of St. John of Jerusalem; another for obtaining from his subjects a subsidy of four-tenths and four-fifteenths, independent of six per cent. on the landed rental, and five per cent. on merchandise and all moveable property; a third for obtaining from the clergy a gift of two-tenths, and twenty per cent. on their revenues for the term of two years. The minister obtained what he asked for, under the pretext that Henry had been at great expense in guarding the coast against any Popish invasion.(a) The shade of Pole had been of wonderful service in seconding Cromwell's eloquence.(b)

The minister, elevated by success, sent Richard Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, to the Tower, on suspicion of having abandoned the Anglican Church to return to Catholicism,(c) and Doctor Wilson, a Lutheran in disguise, who had openly attacked the statute of the Six Articles. He had the insolence to threaten with the king's anger the Duke of Norfolk, and the Bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Bath, his greatest enemies.(d) God had blinded him. The patience of his enemies was not, however, exhausted. Katherine Howard, the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, and niece of the Duke of Norfolk, proved a fit instrument for their vengeance. Still in the flower of her youth and beauty, Katherine had, in a few days, acquired so great an influence over the mind of the monarch as to be mainly instrumental in effecting the ruin of Cromwell.(e) Henry did not hesitate to sacrifice a favourite detested by the aristocracy, the clergy, and the Parliament; he had no longer any need of him, and, moreover, he might compromise the king through his acknowledged partiality towards the German Lutherans. Instead of watching over the integrity of the Anglican creed, he openly favoured the heretics, and what was worse still, he had been the counsellor of a marriage that was detestable to the monarch. Anne had for some time been aware of his majesty's intention to divorce her, and Henry suspected his favourite of having betrayed him to the queen.

But that faithless soul was in possession of secrets that Henry could not allow him to carry into exile. A piece of ground, such as was granted to Wolsey at Esher, was not to be the lot of Cromwell; he was destined to have his tomb on Tower Hill. A stroke of the axe would enable the sovereign to take possession of all the wealth that the minister had amassed during his long administration. The well-beloved cousin was now transformed into a traitor! Cromwell did not suspect the pact that the king had signed with the Norfolk faction. On the 10th of June, at three o'clock in the afternoon, he went with his usual retinue to the House of Lords. His seat was ready for him; the peers saluted him with a smile; he sat down, and cast a passing glance at some papers, when the Duke of Norfolk, seizing him by the arm, said: "I arrest you, in the king's name, as guilty of high treason.(f)" The sheriff was waiting at the door to take the Vice-gerent to the Tower. Cromwell acted nobly; he uttered not a single word. Kingston had received orders to place him in the cell which had been previously occupied by Sir Thomas More. What a number of illustrious guests the lieutenant had received during the last fifteen years!

A few days sufficed to collect sufficient evidence to convict Cromwell. As Prime Minister, he was accused of having received bribes; of having intrenched on the royal authority by issuing commissions

unto us for the treatye of suche great and weightie matters, as where upon dothe consiste the suretie of our person, the preservation of our honour and the tranquilytie and quietness of you and all other our loving and faythefull subgietts, like as, at your aryval here, ye shall more playnely perceyve and understande.—MSS. Titus, B. 406.

(a) Wilkins' Concilia.
(b) Hume.
(c) State Papers, I., 627.—Strype, Mem.
(d) Le Grand.—Lingard.
(e) Todd.
(f) The Life of Cromwell, Eccles. Biog.

unknown to the king; of delivering prisoners, pardoning those who had been condemned, granting licenses for the exportation of specie, corn, horses, and prohibited merchandise; of exempting natives and foreigners form the right of visit. As Vicar-general, he was accused of having openly protected heretics, circulated among the people various tracts in which the Real Presence was denied, permitted German missionaries to preach their dangerous doctrines, issued orders to the sheriffs, in the king's name, to liberate heretics, and of having himself asserted that every Christian had as much power as the priest to consecrate and administer the Eucharist.(a) As Vice-gerent, he was accused of extortion. It was said that, being proud of the wealth he had acquired by pillaging the people, he had always acted with insolence towards the aristocracy; and as a proof of this charge, it was stated, that on the 31st of January, 1539, when requested to remember his humble origin, he had replied that if the aristocracy intended to treat him so disdainfully, he would give them such a breakfast as was never before made in England.(b)

In proof of the crime of treason, it was alleged that on the last day of March, 1539, being in a parish of London, called St. Peter of the Poor, complaints were brought to him against certain preachers, and amongst others against Dr. Barnes, and that he had replied that they preached the Word of God, that he should be proud to defend their doctrine against all, even the king himself, should the prince ever abandon it; that if such were to be the case, they would see him, sword in hand, defending it at the peril of his life; and brandishing his sword, he had exclaimed that he wished they would pierce his heart if he were not found ready to die in that glorious struggle; and that the king, moreover, in the course of another year would no longer have it in his power to oppose the propagation of the Divine Word.(c) What unreasonable malice! Even supposing these charges had been proved, Cromwell was not guilty of treason. To impute as a crime to a minister that he had exempted foreigners from the right of visit; that he had allowed the exportation of corn, and threatened to give the peers a bad breakfast, was but a poor subterfuge. If history could bring no other charge against Cromwell, he might certainly be considered the most upright minister that England ever possessed!

One member alone of the Privy Council appeared to commiserate Cromwell, and that was Cranmer; but this apparent pity, like the act of accusation, was nothing but a mockery. Cranmer thus wrote to the king: "Cromwell a traitor! He who is indebted to your majesty for all that he has; who has no friend but your majesty; who loved your majesty as much as God; who had no other desire than that of pleasing your majesty; the most prudent, the most active, the most devoted, the most faithful servant that any sovereign ever had; he who was so attentive in watching over your safety, that no sooner was a conspiracy plotted than it was discovered! Ah! if those princes of glorious memory, Henry II., John, and Richard II., had had such a counsellor, they would not have been so cruelly betrayed, so odiously deserted! I love him as my friend; and I esteem him the more on account of his attachment and devotedness to your majesty. If it be possible that he can have betrayed you, I shall feel sorry that I ever loved him, or confided in him; but I am happy, however, that his treason has been discovered in time. But if Cromwell has really betrayed you, in whom can your grace in future confide? Oh! my God,

(a) Burnet.

(b) That if the lords would humble him so, he would give them such a breakfast as never was made in England.—Brit. Mus. MSS., Titus, B. I., 503.

(c) The 9th article states, that on the 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, &c.—Brit. Mus., Titus, B. I., 503.

how I should pity your grace, for you would no longer be able to trust any one. I pray to God night and day to send you a faithful servant, a minister that will watch over you with the same love and solicitude as Cromwell."(a)

At the time of the trial of the Countess of Salisbury, Cromwell asked the judges whether a person accused of high treason could not be declared guilty without any of those judicial forms which, in all civilized nations, protect the life of the citizen. The reply was, that a bill of Attainder, passed by the supreme court would legally condemn to the scaffold a person accused of treason. Cromwell requested that he might be tried before his peers; his petition was rejected, and the court decided on passing a bill of Attainder against the minister. An act of iniquity, of which Cromwell in his prison complained to Kingston; as if he had not himself solicited the same proceeding against a woman of seventy years of age! Tacitus would then have acknowledged the existence of a Divine Providence.

The bill passed three readings. At the first, the archbishop was not present, but he attended at the second, and also at the third, when he pronounced the sentence, GUILTY. His letter to the king in favour of Cromwell is dated 14th of June, his vote for his death, the 19th of the same month. The bill was unanimously passed by both Houses (b) On the 24th of April, Parliament assured Cromwell that he deserved to be Vicar-general of the world; on the 19th of June, it condemned him to the scaffold.

(a) Todd.

(b) "Cranmer," says Burnet, "was not in the House when Cromwell was condemned;" but this is one of the innumerable errors of the historian of the Reformation. The primate's presence and his vote are fully proved by the journals of the House of Lords. "Five days afterwards," says Todd, "Cranmer's panegyrist, whether convinced, or persuaded, that the purity of the great statesman in certain cases had been questionable, — Cranmer, on the second and third readings of the bill of Attainder against him, offered no dissent."

CHAPTER XLII.

ANOTHER DIVORCE.—1540.

Anne of Cleves sent to Richmond.—The Queen's trial before the House of Lords.—The clergy convoked.—They pronounce in favour of a divorce. The Queen's submission.—New Acts of Parliament.—Execution of Cromwell.—His character.

THE disgrace of Cromwell was soon to be followed by the repudiation of Anne of Cleves. By the king's orders, she was sent to Richmond that she might have the benefit of country air, as the court of Greenwich pretended to take great interest in the health of the queen, at the same time that it attempted to cast a stain on her character. Henry was the instigator of the evil reports that were spread, and which he, better than any one else, must have known to be perfectly false.(a) He would certainly have been delighted to discover that some other musician had sung his amorous strains under the window of Anne of Cleves while in Germany; but, unfortunately for Henry, the daughter of the Duke of Cleves, whatever the king might whisper in the ear of

(a) He basely impugned her honour, as if she had not been a virtuous woman when he received her hand.—Burnet.—Herbert.—State Papers

his wretched confidant, was pure when she left her country. Wriothesley, one of those parasites, who live on the bread of lies, bewailed, with tears in his eyes, the fate of an unfortunate prince compelled to live with a woman whom he could not love.(a) He was the first, it was said, to suggest a divorce between the ill-assorted couple.

In the beginning of July, 1540, the Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and four other peers were successively sent to the House of Lords. "Having been commissioned, in the first instance," said they, "to negotiate the marriage, they now felt bound to state that from more recent information, they began to entertain serious doubts as to the validity of the union." They therefore requested that, with the royal permission, an inquiry should be instituted before the clergy, who, aided by the light of the Holy Ghost, should pronounce as to the validity or invalidity of the marriage. The Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of Durham, were deputed as messengers to the Commons to solicit their co-operation in this important affair. The Commons promised their aid, and appointed a deputation of their members to act in conjunction with the committee of the House of Lords. The deputation proceeded to the palace, and humbly solicited the king's permission to submit to his consideration a subject of great delicacy and importance. Henry assented, on condition that they would propose nothing to him that was unreasonable or unjust. He listened to the petition, which was read by the Chancellor, with imperturbable gravity, and replied, that he could refuse nothing to the estates of the realm; that the clergy, guided by the light of Heaven, would no doubt come to an equitable decision; and that as far as regarded himself, he would conceal nothing from his judges; that he had no other object in view but the glory of God, the prosperity of his people, and the triumph of truth.(b)

(a) Wriothesley prepared the way for the divorce by lamenting the case in which the king's highness stood in being bound to a wife whom he could not love.—Strype.

(b) Lingard.—Journals of the House of Lords.

This scene had been all pre-arranged, since it was written in its fullest details, with the exact indication of all the characters, and even the language of the actors, in a letter from the Privy Council to Clarke, dated 3rd July, three days previous to its being performed in the king's palace.(c) The letter of convocation to the clergy was ready, and was rather the pastoral of a bishop than a royal commission. Henry desired that his clergy should assemble in a national synod, and being filled with the Spirit of the Lord, whose light and aid they were to invoke, should give a decision founded on equity, truth, honour, and holiness, which his majesty would take for his rule of conduct. What he requested was, that being members of the Church, they should examine the question with the utmost justice, calmness, and patience (d) The royal commission, dated 6th July, and addressed to all the bishops in the kingdom, could not possibly reach the more distant sees before the middle of the month. Notwithstanding this, on the 9th of July, nearly one hundred and sixty archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and doctors of law and theology, deans and other dignitaries of the Church, assembled at Westminster, pronounced the dissolution of the marriage, and made known their decision to the sovereign.

Let us now lay before our readers the motives on which this Anglican Council founded the legality of the divorce. "We are of opinion that the marriage between your majesty and the noble lady, Anne of Cleves, is vitiated, annulled and invalidated by an anterior contract between that

(c) Herbert.

(d) Wishing therefore that you should be convoked and formed into a general synod by our authority, we commit and entrust this charge to you, individually and collectively, that, looking into the true state of the case, and having God only before your eyes, you may report to us by an authenticated document, what you judge, on deliberation, to be true, just, honourable, and holy. And this one thing we require of you as our own right, that you approach this very important ecclesiastical cause, as good and faithful members of the Church, and that you give in due time a decision on the subject, according to the commission issued to you for that purpose.—State Papers, I., 630.

princess and the Marquis of Lorraine. Judging from the proofs that have been submitted to us, we consider that there was not, at the time of your marriage with Anne of Cleves, full, pure, perfect and entire consent on the part of your majesty; you had been deceived in order to entice you into this alliance by exaggerated accounts of an imaginary beauty, by hyperbolical representations of fabulous attractions; the act of the celebration of the marriage was wrung from you by political considerations, while interiorly you were struggling against this union.(a) Considering therefore that the marriage was not in the first instance consummated, nor could be consummated at a later period, on account of a serious impediment, with the particulars of which we have been made acquainted(b); for these reasons and considerations, we, the archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and other members of the clergy, by the tenor of these presents, declare that your majesty is not in any way bound by a marriage null and invalid, and that, without taking any other counsel, and referring the matter to the authority of the Church, you are at liberty to contract another marriage with any other woman. This is our decision, as the representatives of the clergy and the learned communion of the Anglican Church, and we declare our sentence to be true, just, equitable and holy."

What melancholy reflections steal on our minds on reading this sentence, pronounced by the Anglican clergy, under the direction of Henry! They were assembled on the 6th of July, the date is official, and unless an angel from heaven had transported the members of the synod to Westminster on its wings, the court could not have been formed for several weeks. Even supposing that Henry had the same power over time and space as he had over consciences, it would have been impossible for them, in the brief space of two days, to collect together at Westminster the numerous documents connected with the question. The convocation were of course obliged to hear Henry and Anne of Cleves, as well as the peers who went to meet her at Dover, and who had witnessed the royal disappointment, the queen's maids of honour, her ambassadors, her physicians, and her domestics. The copying alone of these various depositions would have required a month's labour. It has been said that the inquiry was intrusted to a committee selected by the synod, and composed of the two archbishops, four bishops, and eight doctors of divinity; but when? Doubtless on the day of the assembly. Admitting even that a courier dispatched from London could arrive at York on the same day, and that the prelate convoked could be at Westminster on the 7th, the council would only have had twelve hours at most to hear the witnesses, transcribe their depositions, and draw up their sentence.

It is evident that the archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, had one and all been prepared for the event long before, on the first intimation of the king's wishes; that this sacerdotal phalanx had anticipated the royal summons; that the materials were all in readiness; that the sentence was already drawn up, and that the mitred heads in cassock and cowl, had only to meet at Westminster to sign an act which they could not even have had time to read. To what other conclusion can we come, when we find one hundred and sixty priests, almost all doctors of divinity, deciding on the invalidity of a marriage because the bride was not like her portrait; that it was null, although celebrated in a church before numerous witnesses, because the bridegroom, deceived by the hyperbolical praises of his bride elect, had said, "I will," by word of mouth, but not with his heart; null again, although the married couple had shared the same bed for more than six months, because the marriage had not been consummated, as had been incontestably proved to the members of the council; null also, on the grounds of a physical impediment, with which these medical priests had been made acquainted, and which did not admit of the marriage being fruitful!

Are we to laugh or blush on reading this decision? One thing is certain, that with

(a) State Papers, I., 632.
(b) Ib., 632.

such doctrines as these, marriage would be no longer possible; and it is also equally certain that, under the Papacy, the clergy of England would not have been convoked to sit in conclave at a court where, instead of Christ, we find only the image of a pontiff-king, a husband deceitful and deceived. We have spoken of bishops and priests, but in this ecclesiastical synod, many of the members styled themselves Bishops and Priests without having any claim to the titles. We are aware that orders conferred by a schismatical, or even heretical bishop, are not the less valid, if the sacrament has been administered in due form; but this is not the case, when in the consecration of a bishop or the ordination of a priest the ceremony has not been duly performed, by the omission or alteration of the authorized words; when the consecration or ordination, instead of being founded on the secular tradition of the Christian churches, and the spiritual authority of Rome, receives its authority solely from the good pleasure of the king, the Supreme Head of the Church, and from the sanction of Parliament.(a)

The synodical decision was followed by a proclamation,(b) explaining the causes of the divorce between Henry and Anne of Cleves. Henry followed the example of his clergy, and belied his conscience. To hear him, one would imagine there had been a previous contract between Anne of Cleves and the Marquis of Lorraine, which the counsellors of the princess had promised to explain before the celebration of the nuptials. Olisleger and Hagesden, on being examined at Greenwich respecting this matter, pledged their word that the contract entered into during the minority of both parties, and consequently null and void, should be produced in a short time. On several occasions, and before consenting to the celebration of the marriage, Henry had expressed his reserve and his unwillingness to be united to the affianced bride of another man;(c) and this clause had even been inserted in the act of solemnization. The marriage had certainly taken place, but the prince, mindful of the Divine decree: *Quod Deus conjunxit homo ne separet*, had taken care that no carnal tie should bind him to a woman whom he had only married conditionally. But this condition, *i.e.*, the production of the contract, not having been observed, he was free, because a conditional contract could not be binding.(d) Moreover, as the Church has the power of ratifying or annulling marriages that have not been consummated, Henry, as well as Anne of Cleves, who had submitted unconditionally to the sovereign authority of the council, was free by virtue of the decision of the ecclesiastical synod of England; both therefore, recovered their full and entire liberty. This was merely a story trumped up to save appearances. Some of the Privy Councillors, says Burnet, aware of the king's aversion for Anne, were of opinion that much stress should be laid on the previous contract; but the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Durham did not consider that a difficulty of so little importance ought to be allowed to hinder the celebration of the marriage,(e) and the ceremony took place without any of those reserves which the king mentioned for the first time in his proclamation. The following act affords irrefutable testimony of his bad faith:

Cromwell was a prisoner at the Tower, awaiting the hour of his execution, when he was requested, for a criminal condemned to death is never commanded, to say all that he knew respecting this unhappy marriage; he concealed nothing, as may be seen from the various fragments that we have extracted from his deposition.(f) In

(a) The ordinations, therefore, are only determined, to be invalid, on account of the interruption in the succession of bishops in England, and on account of the defectiveness of the form, which they now employ in the consecration of bishops.—Drouin. Doct. Sorbonici, ordinis prædicat, de Re sacramentariâ, Parisiis.—De ordinationibus Anglicanis, Concil. Trident. Sessio XXIII., C. IV.

(b) King Henry VIII.'s declaration of the causes of his separation from Anne of Cleves.—State Papers, I., 635-637.

(c) Cum aliená sponsâ seu uxore.—State Papers.

(d) If any shall allege that the kinges majestie consentyd in the solemnysation, it is to be answeryd, that a consent condicionall is no consent.—Ib.

(e) Burnet.

(f) Hall.—Stowe.—Burnet.

the whole of that lengthy document, which contains all the prince's objections, there is not a single word of the conditional consent inserted by the king in the act of celebration. The reader will doubtless have remarked this theory of the sovereign: that the exterior, free, and spontaneous act, such as his marriage with Anne of Cleves, was not in any way obligatory, since it had not been sanctioned by an interior consent; a maxim, says an historian, which would at once justify fraud and perjury (a) What opinion, moreover, can we form of the continence which a prince so licentious as Henry could voluntarily observe for six months with a young woman of twenty-four years of age, without infringing on the Divine precept: *Quod Deus conjunxit homo ne separet?*(b) A miracle of prudence, which was not however sufficient to invalidate the marriage, since Henry had maintained with all his theologians, in the trial of Katharine, that the consent of the parties formed the accomplishment of the contract.(c) When he wanted to expel Anne of Cleves from his nuptial bed, he alleged a previous contract between two children, while he was seeking to prove that an engagement entered into between persons arrived at the age of reason in the presence of several witnesses, sworn to at the altar and blest by the priest, was not binding on either of the contracting parties!

On the 10th of July, the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom we are sure to encounter whenever any act of servile iniquity is to be counselled or committed, went to the House of Lords to announce the sentence of the clergy, which was read to them by the Bishop of Winchester; and the same communication was made to the Commons. On the 11th, the Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Southampton, and the Bishop of Winchester waited on the queen, to make known to her the dissolution of her marriage. She was promised at first 500 marks(d) as the reward of her resignation, for it was necessary to purchase her silence, the title of adopted Sister of the king, a number of handsome presents, and an annual pension of £4,000; an amount far exceeding the value of the Duchy of Cleves. Anne, who had neither counsellor nor protector at the court, and who was afraid of the scaffold, submitted without a murmur to the will of her master. She was made to write a letter filled with protestations of gratitude to Henry, whose kindness, virtue, generosity, and wisdom, she extolled in the highest degree. She declared that she willingly submitted to the decision of the clergy, acknowledged the invalidity of her marriage, and promised to resign the title of Queen,(e) too happy in receiving the name of Sister, which his majesty graciously conferred upon her. In a few words, adroitly inserted by the royal commissioners, and too obscure to wound either the modesty or the candour of her who copied them, even had she understood English, Anne acknowledged that Henry had been, so far as she was concerned, a chaste and continent husband.(f)

It was feared, and not without reason, that the queen might protest, on some future occasion, against a document written in a language with which she was unacquainted, and declare herself its victim; a dangerous proceeding, however, says Madame Prus, and one which Henry might have felt disposed to resent in a summary manner.(g) Suffolk, in whose skill the

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.

(b) Ladies Rutland, Rochford, and Edgcumb were examined to prove his continence. "That the queen told them, that he always slept with her: 'and when he comes, he kisses me, and biddeth me: Good night, sweetheart! and in the morning kisses me, and biddeth me! Farewell, darling!'"—Strype.

(c) Rapin de Thoyras.

(d) Declaration of the Duke of Suffolk touching certain proceedings of the Earl of Southampton with Lady Anne of Cleves.—State Papers.

(e) Whereby I neither canne, ne will repute, myself for your grace's wief, considering this sentence whereunto I stande, and your Majestie's clene and pure lyving with me, yet it will please you to take me for one of your most humble servants, and so to determyn of me, as I may summetymes have the fruicion of your most noble presence, which I shall esteem for a great benefite, &c.—State Papers, I.,637 638.

(f) Burnet.

(g) Mad. Prus.

king placed the greatest confidence,(a) was commissioned to allure the princess by those splendid promises of jewels and finery, which have so irresistible a force on the female mind, that she might be induced to translate her first letter to the king into German, and to indite a second to her brother, repeating therein all that she had said in the first. Henry, who thought nothing of deceiving others, was afraid of being himself deceived; he had no faith in the promises of a woman, a being essentially fickle, said he to his confidant, and on whom we can never depend, unless she divest herself of her nature, and cease to be a woman.(b) He calumniated Anne of Cleves, whose beauty Holbein, by a license common to artists, might indeed have exaggerated, but whose virtues and good qualities were beyond all praise. She was a real treasure of good nature and German simplicity, possessed of a soul full of energy, although apparently inactive, of a reflective mind, and well capable of playing the dupe in order to escape from falling a victim. Divested of her crown and the title of Queen, she still retained on her finger a last relic of her momentary grandeur, the nuptial ring, which Henry had given her at Greenwich, and which he now requested her to return, and on receipt of which he declared himself satisfied.(c) A few months afterwards, however, he was much alarmed by the report that Anne of Cleves had been delivered at Hampton Court of a son, which she had had to him. The Privy Council was assembled, and orders were given to make a strict search after the authors of a report so offensive to his majesty. The inquiry lasted a long time, but nothing could be proved to inculpate the parties suspected.(d)

Parliament was always found ready to take upon itself the responsibility of every bloody or absurd act committed by royalty, to acknowledge its justice and sanctify its legality. It was essentially necessary that Henry should have a shield thrown over his late acts, to protect him from the indignation of the virtuous, and Parliament denounced every one as a traitor who, by writing or printing, by word or any external act, should qualify Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn as a legitimate union. In order to display its devotedness, it sacrificed good sense as a holocaust of propitiation! By a legislative act, it decreed that a marriage which had been consummated could not be annulled by the existence of an ulterior contract or by any other authority than that of Divine right. It would seem that Parliament had lost all recollection of its previous doings; that it had forgotten that the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn had been pronounced null and void by the primate, precisely under pretext of a previous contract, and that during that very session, both Houses had approved of the repudiation of Anne of Cleves. This was a voluntary insult against logic on the part of Parliament; and, thanks to this flagrant contradiction, the king, by virtue of the first provisions of the act, could, if such were his pleasure, legitimatise the Princess Elizabeth, and, by virtue of the second clause, marry Katharine Howard, the first cousin of Anne Boleyn. One of the acts passed during this session decreed, that Henry's ordinary titles should be, King of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church; as if there were no inconsistency in his retaining the title of Defender of the Faith, conferred on him by the Pope for his defence of the Catholic Church against Luther, and in his styling himself Supreme Head of the Church, in opposition to the rights of the Head of the

(a) We doubte not, but, by your good handeling, and dexteryte, ye shall facyile bring to passe.—King Henry VIII. to the Duke of Suffolk.—State Papers.

(b) And otherwise, whatsoever your good myndes and endevors hath ben which we knowe to have ben of the best sorte, and accompte hitherto to have done, as well as we coulde desire, yet oneles the letters be obteyned, al shall aremayn uncertain uppon a woman's promise that she wil be not woman; the accomplisshement whereof, on her behalf, is as difficile in the refrayning of o woman's will, upon occasion, as in chaunging of a womannysh nature, which is impossible.—State Papers I., 640.

(c) State Papers.

(d) See letters on this subject in Vol. I. of State Papers, pp. 697, 698, 704 706.

Catholic Church.(a) Another bill cancelled the debt which the king had contracted by his last loan from the nation, and enacted that all those who had already been reimbursed, either in part or in full, should repay the sums they had received into the exchequer.(b)

The formula of the oath which he had established to insure the acceptation of the new profession of faith was no less inconsistent than his other regulations. All his subjects, without exception, had already been compelled to reject the supremacy of the Pope: but as the articles which they had sworn to observe did not appear sufficiently explicit, Parliament enacted another oath; and accordingly, it was decreed, that whoever had taken the first should be considered to have taken the second; "a supposition," says Hume, "which would represent a man as bound to keep an oath which he had never taken."(c) They had now arrived at the limits of absurdity, and were soon to pass over them. In one of its bills Parliament gave the force of law to every thing that the commissioners, appointed by the king to establish the articles of religion, had ordained, or should in future ordain, by the king's command, thus constituting him sovereign master over the lives and consciences of his subjects. A clause was also inserted, under pretence of limiting the king's authority, prohibiting any act that was contrary to the existing laws. Hence, any one refusing to acknowledge the king's measures, on the plea of illegality, was liable to forfeit his life and his property by virtue of one clause of the bill, and also to incur the same penalties by transgressing the existing laws in order to obey the king; "An abominable contradiction," says Rapin de Thoyras, "which was not introduced without design into the Parliamentary statute."(d)

Let us return to the Tower, to which we have so often directed the reader's attention in the course of this deplorable reign. Struck by the hand of God, Cromwell exerted all his interest to prolong a life spent in crime. Unlike many of those noble victims whose blood he had demanded, and who, on their knees and with clasped hands, had breathed out prayers for their persecutors, he gave utterance to nothing but imprecations and curses. "May God," exclaims he, "confound my enemies! May the wrath of Heaven fall on their heads! May the infernal devils annihilate them!"(e) But these wishes were not to be accomplished; his enemies were in the prince's council, rejoicing at his torments and his despair, and counting the days that he had yet to live. Henry's attention was too much engrossed by the lovely Katherine Howard to admit of his listening to the complaints of his loving cousin in days of yore. Cromwell entreated, groaned, wept, and sued for mercy; but no one paid any attention to him. He had, however, both paper and ink, for he was not deprived of these, as he had deprived More, and therefore wrote a letter to the king which he terminated as follows: "Written at the Tower, Wednesday, the last day of June, with a broken heart and a trembling hand, by your miserable prisoner and poor slave. O, most merciful of princes, pity, pity, pity!"(f) He knew not the heart of him whom he had served. On the 28th of July, 1540, four days after the bill of Attainder had received the royal sanction, Cromwell was led to the block. On the scaffold, he turned towards the populace, and said: "The law has condemned me; I suffer death in expiation of my sins. I confess that I have offended God and the king; I die in the bosom of the Catholic faith, without doubting any article of the creed, or rejecting any sacrament of the Church. I declare that I have never been an abettor of heresy; I may have been seduced, but I repent. Pray to God for the king, pray for his son Edward; pray for me, a poor sinner who am about to die." He then made a sign to the executioner, and his head was severed at the second stroke.

Lingard says, that by "the Catholic faith," Cromwell meant the faith established by the law of the land.(g) "This

(a) Hume.
(b) Id.
(c) Id.
(d) Rapin de Thoyras.

(e) Burnet.—Lingard.
(f) MSS. Cott., Otho, C. X.
(g) Lingard

expression was made use of in those days," observes a Protestant writer, "in its true sense, and not in that attributed to it by the Papists. Roman Catholics have no grounds for imagining that Cromwell died in their communion; he prayed in English, and addressed his prayer to God alone, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, and had not recourse to any of those superstitious acts required of those who die in the bosom of the Church of Rome."(a) Burnet here alludes to the cross which More carried with him to the scaffold, and which he kissed before laying his head on the block. Such was the end of Cromwell, a man who certainly deserved to suffer by the hand of the executioner, but not by that of him who had struck off the heads of More, Fisher, the Countess of Salisbury, and so many other holy and noble victims, whose blood was offered up as a holocaust to the tyrant of England. If success were proof of skill, Cromwell would be entitled to our admiration, for during the whole period of his unlimited power, his fortune was gradually on the increase. The Reformed writers, who only see in him an implacable enemy of Catholic doctrines which he designed to suppress, may boast to us of his energy, his prudence, and diplomatic skill; but what weight have these vulgar qualities, when we place in the opposite scale, his hypocrisy, his avarice, his servility, and his docility in obeying all the sanguinary behests of his master, and his contempt for everything that ought to be regarded as honest and just?

It was his custom, when about to appear before the king, or to attend the council, to write down short notes as an assistance to his memory. Some of these fugitive scraps have been preserved and betray, on the part of their author, a most profound contempt for the authority of the laws, an unbounded love of despotism, a fixed determination, by the application of torture, to wrest from his unfortunate victims, an acknowledgement of imaginary crimes.(b) Fearful of forgetting some royal victim, Cromwell had always his memoranda at hand, to remind him of the heads that were doomed to fall.

"*Item*, the abbot of Reding to be sent down *to be tried and executed* at Reding with his accomplices.—*Item*, the abbot of Glastonbury to be tried at Glaston, and also *to be executed* here, with his complices.—*Item*, to know his pleasure touching Maister More—*Item*, when Maister Fisher shall go." Cromwell was never known to show the least pity for any of those unfortunate beings whom Henry had determined to execute. The French king, it appears, had requested that the sentence against More and Fisher should be commuted into perpetual exile. Cromwell, indignant at this request, replied to the ambassadors that no friend, and much less a brother, ought to advise his majesty to banish traitors who, on a foreign soil, would be able to hatch plots with impunity against the security of the kingdom.(c) Cromwell's precaution in not saying anything on the scaffold that might offend the king, was highly favourable to his son Gregory, who was that same year created a peer of the realm. The office of Vice-gerent was suppressed; no one, indeed, would have coveted so dangerous a dignity.(d)

Two days after Cromwell's execution, London became the scene of others still more atrocious. Both Catholics and Protestants were put to death; the latter for having rejected certain dogmas of the Church of Rome; the former for having denied the king's supremacy. A frightful period, when the admission of the Papal authority was an act of treason, the rejection of the Papal dogmas heresy; two crimes, the former of which was punishable by the axe or the rope, and the latter by the pillory and the stake. Bowell, Abel, and Featherstone, doctors of divinity, were convicted of having formerly defended the validity of Katharine's marriage, and of

(a) Burnet.
(b) Ellis's Letters.—Second Series, II., 117, 125, 165.

(c) 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.—Burnet.
(d) Rapin de Thoyras.

rejecting the spiritual supremacy of the king;(a) Barnes, Garret, and Jerome, of maintaining heterodox opinions. Imbued with certain doctrines which were beginning to prevail in Germany, Barnes and his disciples held that man, once reconciled with God, could not fall from a state of grace; that God was the author of sin; that good works were not necessary unto salvation; that the forgiving of injuries was not an obligatory precept.(b) The same sentence was passed on a man who had corresponded with Cardinal Pole; on another for having wished to take the town of Calais; on a third for having secreted a rebel. Catholics, Protestants, traitors to their country, were fastened on the same hurdle and dragged from the Tower to Smithfield. At the sight of the poor wretches tied back to back, a stranger inquired what crime they had committed; he was answered that some of them were condemned for having attacked the Catholic religion, others for having defended it.(c) None of them were even allowed to undergo a trial. Barnes, after having expounded his creed to the people, turned to the sheriff and asked him if it was known for what crime he had been dragged to Smithfield, to which the sheriff replied by a shake of the head in token of his ignorance. Barnes, on approaching the stake, said "that the nature of the punishment which he was about to suffer afforded ample evidence of the crime for which he had been condemned."(d) Both the Catholics and the Protestants prayed to God for the king before they breathed their last.

(a) Sanders.
(b) Lingard.—Burnet
(c) Sanders.
(d) Rapin de Thoyras

CHAPTER XLIII.

KATHERINE HOWARD.—1540-1542.

The Catholic party exert themselves to bring about the marriage of Henry with Katherine Howard —Her character.—Henry's happiness.—Lassells denounces Katherine to the Primate.—Cranmer informs the King of her conduct —A commission issued to examine into the charge.—Derham and Culpepper.—Katherine sent to Sion House.—Her trial.—Her accomplices condemned.—The Queen convicted and sentenced on the charge of adultery.—Her execution.

The Duke of Norfolk had succeeded to Cromwell's place in the king's favour, and exerted all his influence in recommending the marriage of his niece, Katherine Howard, with Henry. This union, opposed by Cranmer, was calculated to promote the interests of the Catholic party of which the duke was the political leader. This party, which increased daily, was under the spiritual direction of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, whose influence in the cabinet was an immense obstacle to Cranmer's plans of reformation. Gardiner had been one of the most active agents of the Anglican schism, but soon repented of his error, and deplored the rupture between Henry and the Holy See. He had halted as soon as he perceived that the primate was seeking to throw England into heresy, and cut her off entirely from the Catholic communion. We may reasonably feel some astonishment that a person imbued with such zeal and frankness of spirit as Gardiner, should have descended so low as to employ intrigue in attempting to effect a religious counter-revolution; he had not the moral courage to acknowledge that he had been deceived; the avowal of his faults would no doubt have been too great a trial on his vanity. At a later period, under the

reign of Mary, he explained his fall and rise in the form of a moral fable. "A certain man," said he, "believed on specious appearances, that his first spouse was dead; he selected another, whom he took to be a virgin, when the first wife again made her appearance, and insisted on the guilty union being dissolved. The husband at first resisted and struggled, but being at length overcome by his conscience, he yielded, and took back his first wife." By this ill-imagined parable, he sought to palliate his crime in seceding from Rome, and to explain his return to the spouse that he had betrayed and neglected. There is no candour in an allegory: it is a veil thrown over truth; our esteem for Gardiner would have been much greater, had he courageously retracted his errors; but such an act, under Henry VIII., would have been perilous in the extreme, and Gardiner, by offering himself as a martyr, would have done little or nothing towards advancing the return of England to unity.

Katherine's marriage with the king would naturally have a ruinous effect upon the party of reform, and tend to promote a reconciliation between Rome and England. Gardiner and Norfolk were zealously labouring for the attainment of this end, and Katherine exerted all the powers of her charms in promoting the same object. She was descended from that illustrious race of the Howards that has supplied England with heroes of every description.(a) The peers besought the king, for the welfare of his people, to contract a fifth marriage, in the hope that Heaven would bless him with a more numerous issue,(b) and within a month, on the 8th of August, 1540, Katherine appeared at court with the title of Queen. The expense which the king had incurred in contracting a marriage with a woman whom he did not love, had exhausted the royal treasury, and it was therefore decided, that neither the marriage nor the coronation should be attended with any solemn ceremony. Henry contented himself with having a medal struck on the occasion, which he intended for his young bride. This medal was stamped with a crowned rose, encircled by the following inscription: "Henricus octavus rutilans rosâ sine spinâ."(c) The rose without thorns paid dear for her diadem; she was destined to follow a capricious master, to nurse the leper covered with disgusting sores, to contribute to the amusement of a despot tormented by loss of sleep and remorse, and to pass her days in scenes of blood and tears.

Henry had never before felt so happy; he imagined that he was loved, and was perhaps not deceived, if we may judge from the praises which he was continually lavishing upon his wife in the presence of his courtiers. He was even surprised one day, returning thanks to Heaven for having vouchsafed him in his old age so lovely and faithful a companion.(d) Katherine's beauty and amiability engrossed his whole attention. So great was his amorous excitement, that he requested the Bishop of Lincoln, who was something of a poet, to compose a hymn on the conjugal felicity which he enjoyed with Katherine.(e) Marillac, the French ambassador, mentions the splendid arms which the husband had engraven for his wife, and for which he himself composed the motto: *Non aultre volonté que la sienne.*(f) The king, proud of showing his Katherine to the people, took her with him on all his excursions and it might have been said that the young queen had softened his character. While he was thus amusing himself in travelling through his kingdom, he no longer thought of that theocrat's crown, to which he had once aspired; although there was no lack of ink in England, blood for the time had ceased to flow. On hearing of the sufferings of a woman imprisoned in the Tower, Henry was moved to pity, and permitted Katherine to send her some clothes. It was in the depth of winter, and the old woman was suffering from cold in all her members. Katherine, therefore, ordered her tailor to prepare everything that was

(a) Quarterly Review.
(b) Lingard.
(c) Miss Strickland, IV., 392.
(d) Burnet
(e) Hume.
(f) Cuthbert Sharp.

necessary for the poor captive,(a) a pious thought for which every Christian heart will give her credit.

Days were spent in pleasure. The king and queen were travelling in Yorkshire, when a wretch of the name of Lassells came to Cranmer to confide to him a secret. He had been told, said he, by his sister, formerly in the service of the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk, and now married and living in the county of Essex, that Katherine, before her elevation, had granted her favours during a "hundred nights" to a gentleman named Derham, at that time page to the duchess.(b) What motive could have induced Lassells to denounce the queen? Was it sectarian fanaticism, or the allurement of a rich reward? During the fifteen months that Katherine had been married, this horrible mystery had never been revealed; no one knew of it at the time when Henry asked her hand in marriage. A hundred nights spent with a page in the house of the duchess, would, one would imagine, have created so much scandal, that the rumour would have reached Henry's ears; but the king had not the slightest suspicion of any act of irregularity on the part of Katherine! It is difficult to conceive that the dowager, had she been aware of her niece's intrigues, would not have informed the Duke of Norfolk of her conduct when preparations were being made for the celebration of her marriage with his majesty. By concealing such deplorable acts of immorality, she would have risked her liberty and her life; and the duke, by pressing the marriage, would have incurred the anger of his royal master.

It may be asked, what an honest man would have done in Cranmer's position; the reply is easy: whether the informer's accusation were true or false, he would have purchased his silence, and thus saved the queen. If fifteen months had elapsed without Katherine's irregularities being discovered, there was every probability that another fifteen would pass away, before the veil that concealed her faults would be removed; and during that period how many opportunities would occur to warn the young woman, and rescue her from the resentment of her implacable husband! It would have been easy, for instance, to draw up a contract that would have bound her to her seducer. Did not the king bear on his body the signs of an approaching dissolution? Cranmer, moreover, ought to have been silent for the sake of the crown. To disclose these disgraceful facts to his majesty, was to divest royalty of its covering, and expose it anew to ridicule, the sharpest of all weapons. How did Cromwell act? On the strength of a confidential communication, the motive of which he had not examined into, on the testimony of a man whom he had never before seen, on a denunciation which might be a mere calumny, he went on the same day to communicate the information to his friends, the Lord Chancellor and Lord Hertford, and they all three come to the resolution of detaining Lassells, and informing his majesty of the important secret.

The young woman, perfectly unconscious of the danger that was impending over her, arrived at Hampton Court to spend there the Feast of All Saints. The royal couple received the communion in Cranmer's presence. After divine service, Henry returned thanks to God, for the happiness he enjoyed, and said with a smile to the primate, that he had never before been so happy.(c) On the following day, after the king had heard Mass, the archbishop delivered to him a sealed letter. Henry opened it, and after having perused a few lines, smiled with an air of incredulity, and turning towards Lord Russell, Sir Anthony Brown and Wriothesley, to show them the paper, he shook his head as if confident of his wife's fidelity.(d) Cranmer, who had watched every movement of the king, turned pale, for he felt convinced that he was doomed, if he could not manage to substantiate the charges of

(a) Imprimis, a night-gown furred, a kyrtle of worsted, and a pettycoat furred. Item, another gown of the fashion of a night-gown, of saye lined with satin of cypress, and faced with satin. Item, a bonnet and a frontlet. Item, four pair of hose. Item, four pair of shoes, and one pair of slippers.—Acts of the Privy Council VII., 147.

(b) Herbert.

(c) Acts of the Privy Council.

(d) Hume.

inconstancy alleged against the queen. The king, awaking from his stupor, hastily ordered the Keeper of the Privy Seal to institute an inquiry into the matter forthwith, but to take care to respect the queen's honour.(a) Cranmer breathed. On being examined, Lassells, who was in prison at London, repeated all that he had said to the archbishop, and appealed to the testimony of his sister, who persisted in the statement which she had first made to her brother. Derham, on being interrogated, confessed his passion for Katherine, and candidly acknowledged the favours that she had granted him. Manox, a musician, arrested about this time, informed the royal commissioner, that a girl of fifteen had made the house of the Duchess of Norfolk a common brothel. The king, utterly amazed at these sad disclosures, was for a long time unable to speak; he wept bitterly over the loss of that delusive happiness in which he had been indulging, at least, so say his official counsellors.(b) It was not only his heart but his self-love that had been wounded. Pale and dejected, he left the palace without seeing the queen, who had not the remotest idea of the danger that was threatening her.

On the following day, the Privy Council, by the king's orders, informed Katherine of the accusations that were brought against her honour. She denied, in the most positive terms, the crimes that had been imputed to her, and wringing her hands protested her innocence. Scarcely had the counsellors retired, than she fell into so violent a fit of rage, that she lost for some time the use of her reason.(c) The king, in order to extort from her an avowal of her guilt, sent Cranmer to her. The archbishop was commissioned to inform her, that although the law was inflexible, the king's heart was full of mercy, and to promise her in his name, that every thing that had occurred should be forgotten, provided she would confess her faults.(d) Katherine deceived, almost delirious, wrung her hands as a supplicant to this messenger of clemency, this angel of Heaven, and exclaimed: "Oh thanks, thanks to his gracious majesty, who has taken pity on me, and vouchsafed to grant me, his unworthy servant, more than I should have presumed to ask."(e) She recovered herself for a moment, but soon fell into another fit of rage,(f) which was followed by so violent an attack of spasms, that even Cranmer could not speak of it without feeling deeply affected. It was manifest, says the archbishop, that her heart was oppressed by some great weight of affliction. In the name of that sovereign majesty that had sworn to pardon her, Cranmer conjured the queen to conceal nothing that had transpired, and assured her that the king was disposed to cover all with his unbounded clemency. On hearing this, Katherine screamed aloud, for she could no longer speak: "Alas! my lord, the fear of death did not so much afflict me as the goodness of the king does at this moment. How can I help feeling deeply afflicted when I call to mind what a gracious and amiable prince I had in Henry? This unexpected offer of a pardon, greater than I expected or deserved, only serves to aggravate my conduct, and renders me yet more odious; and the more I consider his generous commiseration, the more does my heart grieve for having offended his majesty."(g)

(a) But he would not, in any wise, that in the inquisition any spark of scandal should arise against the queen.—Acts of the Privy Council, VII., 354.

(b) His heart was so pierced with pensiveness, that it was long before his majesty could speak and utter his sorrow to us; but finally, with plenty of tears, which was strange in his courage, gave vent to his feelings.—Herbert.

(c) Mad. Prus.

(d) And last of all, to signify unto her your most gracious mercy. . . . And I comfort her by your grace's benignity and mercy.—Cranmer to King Henry VIII.—State Papers, I., 689.

(e) And after I had declared your grace's mercy extended unto her, she held up her hands, and gave most humble thanks unto your majesty.—Ib.

(f) She suddenly fell into a new rage.—Ib.

(g) Alas, my lord, that I am alive. The fear of death grieved me not so much before as doth now the remembrance of the king's goodness. For, when I remember how gracious and loving a prince I had, I cannot but sorrow; but this sudden mercy and more than I could have looked for (shewed unto me so unworthy, at this time), maked mine offences to appear

This was all the confession that Cranmer could extort from the queen, after repeated interviews both by night and by day. Even supposing that these words, uttered during the interval of several nervous attacks, were faithfully repeated by the archbishop, it would be impossible to conclude from them that Katherine had defiled the king's bed. Scarcely had Cranmer retired before the unfortunate woman, having become more calm, sought to disavow all these confidential acknowledgments extorted from her while under the influence of a fevered brain; she grew pale, explained and commented on every expression, and ended by swearing to God that Derham, in accusing her, had been induced to do so by threats or by the application of torture.(a)

The anti-Catholic faction had now been more successful than it had any reason to expect. Lassells had delivered the Reformers of a woman who, according to the expression of a Protestant historian, was employing all her influence with the king to restore England to Popery.(b) It is probable that Cranmer did not wish that his triumph over Gardiner should be attended with the death of Katherine; it would have been sufficient for the success of his plans, that the king should repudiate her, and this was all that he required. In his interviews with the queen, he therefore employed his most persuasive eloquence to induce her to acknowledge that she had strayed from the paths of virtue previous to her marriage; and having obtained this confession, we have seen in what terms he relied upon her consenting to perjure herself by appealing to a formal engagement between her and her seducer before or after her fall; but in this he was mistaken. Cranmer, it was said, imagined that the acknowledgment of a contract with Derham would remove Katherine from the palace; and it is further stated, that he endeavoured to save her life by representing that the intimate connexion between her and Derham necessarily supposed the existence of a previous contract;(c) a matrimonial theory which the king refused to admit. Cranmer should not have forgotten that the verbal contract of Anne Boleyn with Percy had not been available to save her from the scaffold.

The queen was sent to Sion House, a palace belonging to the Bishop of London. Three apartments, richly decorated, but divested of the royal tapestry, were placed at her disposition.(d) Her suite was composed of four ladies, two maids of honour, and an almoner, Nicholas Heat, Bishop of Rochester, and Henry's confessor.(e) Mrs. Seymour delivered to the queen, on the part of the king, six hoods *à la française*, embroidered with gold, but without pearls or diamonds,(f) and various robes of velvet and satin. Anticipating the sentence of the House of Lords, Henry took possession of all the queen's property.(g) The judges and counsellors having assembled in the Star Chamber, Audley, the Chancellor, "a man of spirit who favoured the Reformation whenever he could without compromising himself,"(h) disclosed the intrigues of the queen with Derham, carefully refraining, according to his instructions, from any allusion to a previous contract, which might have been alleged in Katherine's favour.(i) In defence of the accusation, he read the depositions of numerous witnesses of both sexes, none of whom had been confronted with the queen, and stated

before mine eyes much more heinous than they did before. And, the more I consider the greatness of his mercy, the more I do sorrow in my heart that I should so misorder myself against his majesty.—State Papers.

(a) And after my departure she began to excuse and to temper those things which she had spoken unto me, and set her hand thereto. For she saith, that all that Derham did unto her was of is importune forcement, and in a manner violence, rather than of her free consent and will.—State Papers.

(b) Rapin de Thoyras.

(c) Yet I suppose, surely, it is sufficient to prove a contract, with carnal copulation following.—State Papers, I., 690.

(d) State Papers, I., 691.

(e) Ib., I., 692.

(f) Ib. I., 695.

(g) Lingard.

(h) Rapin de Thoyras.

(i) Omytting and leving out as moche as in anywise toucheth the precontracte.—Sadley to Archbishop Cranmer.—State Papers, I., 694. The king was unwilling that any mention should be made in the trial of a previous contract which might serve as a defence for Katherine.—The Council to Archbishop Cranmer.—State Papers I., 692.

at the conclusion of his address, that other abominable acts, hidden as yet under the clouds of secrecy, would no doubt shortly be brought to light by the active investigations of the royal commissioners.(a)

The Chancellor's prediction was soon fulfilled, and those "clouds" of which he had spoken, and which concealed a portion of the facts, were shortly after dispersed. After an inquiry confided to the creatures of Cranmer and the secret promoters of the new doctrines, it was discovered that this young woman was indeed an "abominable" creature. At the age of fifteen, she had had several lovers at the same time; after her elevation, at the age of eighteen, she had continued to admit Derham to her bed in the capacity of her especial favourite and intimate secretary. Both as a maiden and a wife, she had bestowed her favours, like a second Messalina, on all who solicited them. Henry Manox, a musician, and Derham, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, whom she had known almost before the years of puberty, had spent the night in the same chamber with the queen and some of her maids; three women were in the room in which on the same bed slept Derham, Katherine, and Lady Rochford. During the king's sojourn at Lincoln, Lady Rochford, at eleven o'clock at night, had introduced into Katherine's apartment, Culpepper, her cousin, who had left at four in the morning, carrying away with him a rich cap bestowed on him by his royal mistress.(b)

History is not like a tribunal with closed doors; the daughter of truth, it loves and seeks for its parent. Why then should it disguise under a false philosophy, enormities, the mere enunciation of which stamps them with improbability. We certainly find in the annals of the Cæsars, a woman who left the imperial bed, night after night for the company of the soldiers; but this woman was nearly thirty years of age, void of every feeling of modesty, and was joined to a husband, Claudius, whose beastiality was proverbial, and who never knew or heard anything that was passing in the imperial palace. Messalina, moreover, whenever she left the palace, took care to leave behind her all the ornaments that might lead to her being recognized. But in this case, we have a woman of nineteen, who required the aid of witnesses to excite her imagination, and with the crown of royalty on her head, invited her chamberlains, and even her maids of honour to orgies such as are depicted in the mosaics of Pompeii. She is represented as having given rendezvous to her lovers in the very bed-chamber of the king, fearless of encountering a jealous husband, fearless also, of that Lady Rochford, who had already denounced the real or imaginary incest of the brother and sister, and regardless of the awful fact, that the throne to which she had been elevated by the caprice of the monarch, reposed on the coffins of three wives. What are we to think of those members of the Privy Council who were willing to travel a hundred miles in order to collect evidence of Katherine's incontinence, and who, during twelve months, had not been able to discover all those lovers of high and low rank who spent their nights in the queen's bed, without even a screen to separate them from the indiscretion of witnesses? And what sort of conjugal repose was that in which Henry had slept for fifteen months without being aware that his wife was turning his palace into a brothel! We may fearlessly assert, that the peers of England, by giving credence to these ridiculous accusations, calumniated common sense more than they did the character of the queen.

It appears, however, that the majority of these monstrous accusations were not admitted. On the deposition that Katherine had authorised Derham to see her; that she had employed him as her secretary; that while at Lincoln, during the king's last excursion, she had permitted Culpepper to remain in her room, together with Lady Rochford, till four o'clock in the morning, the judges decided that these circumstances, if they could be proved, and they were proved, might be taken as presumptive evidence of the crime of

(a) State Papers, I., 694.

(b) Letter from the Council to William Paget, ambassador in France.—Rapin de Thoyras.—Hume.

adultery.(a) And, on this presumption, these two gentlemen were declared guilty of high treason.(b) They were left at the Tower for ten days, in the hope that they might be induced to confess something that would afford more convincing proof of their adultery.(c) But they made no further disclosures; whereupon Wriothesley wrote as follows:—"We consider that we have nothing more to expect from Derham, and, consequently, unless we receive contrary orders from his majesty, we appoint the 9th of December as the day of his execution."(d) Derham threw himself on the clemency of his majesty, who replied that he did not deserve it, and that the execution must therefore take place.(e) In consideration of his family,(f) Culpepper was most graciously permitted to be beheaded at Tyburn. Derham was hanged and quartered, and the heads of both were exposed on London Bridge.

The king's vengeance next fell upon all those who, having been aware of the previous *liasions* between Derham and Katherine at the Duchess of Norfolk's, had not denounced them. They also were criminal, said the counsellors of the prince; the duchess for not having published the shame of her grand-daughter, her daughter, the Duchess of Bridgewater, Lord William Howard and his wife, and nine other persons in the suite of the dowager, for having exposed his majesty's honour and his life. Their silence was construed into a refusal to reveal an act of treason, a crime that was punishable by the law. The duchess, at the time of Derham's arrest, had removed some papers from a desk belonging to that gentleman, and the Privy Council examined her closely on the motive of this mysterious act. Why had she opened the desk? What were the contents of the letters that she had taken out of it? Why had she not sent them to the ministers? These letters, no doubt, contained some proof of treason against his majesty. It was said to Lord William Howard: "You were informed, while at Calais, of Katherine's *liasions* with Derham, and, nevertheless, you did not inform the king of them!" Damport, another gentleman, was told: "You were in the queen's apartment, when a lady, speaking of Derham, said: 'He is one of her lovers who has been sent to Ireland,'(g) and you remained silent!" Neither of these prisoners were confronted with their accusers, brought before any tribunal, or allowed any sort of trial: all the evidence that could be adduced against them consisted of copies of confessions obtained from them by iniquitous means. The witnesses that were examined in private had seen nothing; they merely related what they had heard. The examination was conducted by the Master of the Rolls, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and three of the Privy Councillors. The judges were neither guided by the evidence of the facts, nor the veracity of the witnesses, but solely by the will of the monarch, whom they frequently consulted during the investigation. The king transmitted to them his doubts, and his personal convictions, and they listened to him as though he were a God. In order to extort confessions, the commissioners employed persuasion, promises, menaces, and torture. The women generally yielded on seeing the instruments of torture, and with tears in their eyes, cried aloud for pity and mercy; their weakness and their fall were regarded as a proof, or rather as presumptive evidence of their guilt, and on this presumption they were sentenced to die. Lord William Howard at first evinced considerable courage before the royal commissioners; but after the verdict, he became timid and implored for mercy; the king, at the recommendation of his council, exempted him

(a) Thus we learn, from the highest possible authority, that Derham suffered on presumptive evidence only; not that he had wronged the sovereign, but that he had conceived the intention of doing so.—Miss Strickland, IV., 433.

(b) Herbert.—Tytler.—Guthrie.

(c) Lingard.—Carte.

(d) State Papers.

(e) Ib.

(f) According to his highness's most gracious determination.

(g) This is he who fled away to Ireland for the queen's sake.—State Papers, I., 701.

from the halter.(a) Damport refused to acknowledge himself guilty.(b)

Deceived by a young girl who had dared enter the royal bed, after having lost her virginity, Henry prosecuted even the friends of Katherine and Derham at the Duchess of Norfolk's and the council was interested in seconding his royal fury. Scarcely had the offender entered his prison, ere the royal officers seized on all his property, his furniture, his jewellery, his clothes, his plate and table linen, all of which were adjudged to the crown on the same day that the bill of Attainder was published. No time was lost in having the sentence passed, for, had he died before his conviction, his property could not have been confiscated to the king.(c) It was easy at that period to form an estimate of the value of a prisoner's fortune from the anxiety of the commissioners to bring the investigation to a conclusion. Punishment, in these cases, did not come with faltering steps as in the fable; it would, if possible, have been supplied with wings, and the motive of this murderous celerity was no secret. Hence, in the case of the Duchess of Norfolk, the council was careful to observe, that the dowager being old and infirm, it would be necessary that she, as well as her accomplices, should be tried immediately, in order that Parliament might legally take possession of her property, in case she should die before the bill of Attainder was passed.(d)

The members of the Privy Council, Lord Southampton, Wriothesley and Sadler, announced to his majesty in transports of joy, that they had found in the house of the old duchess 2,000 marks in silver coin, and to the value of 600 or 700 in plate. Nothing could exceed their delight on hearing her acknowledge that she had concealed £800, which were about to become the property of the king. At this confession, they could no longer keep the secret that the king had confided to them: "His benign majesty had granted the guilty woman her life." The duchess fell down almost senseless, wrung her hands, and with tears in her eyes, could scarcely express her thanks to her gracious sovereign.(e) Sir John Gorstwich and John Skinner were sent to Ryegate to search the house of Lord William Howard, and draw up an inventory of all his property. Sir Richard Long and Sir Thomas Pope were commissioned to place the seal of sequestration on the property of the Countess of Bridgewater at Southwark.(f) The bill once passed, neither age, sickness, nor suffering was allowed to plead in favour of the condemned persons. Without the royal permission, nothing could be altered in the regulations at the Tower. Sometimes, the royal visitors themselves, moved to compassion at the sufferings of those whom they would probably never see again, humbly asked Henry to allow them to breathe the fresh air in the courts of their prison;(g) but Henry was inexorable.

Who does not recollect the last moments of Messalina, as described by Tacitus? Lying in the gardens of Lucullus, with her mother Lepida seated by her side to console her, she awaited till death should terminate a life which she dared not destroy with her own hand. Katherine Howard was even more to be pitied than the wife of Claudius. No one, not even her relatives, visited the captive at Sion House. Her mother was

(a) It were too long, being nowe so late, to write all his wordes used in his submission, but, to be short, it was both for the kinge's majestes honor in the confession of the offence, and for exemple, as good was to be desired.—Kingly Council in London, to the council with the king.—State Papers, I., 726.

(b) Ib.

(c) Lingard.

(d) Seconde, for as moche as she is old and testye, and may per case, upon the committing of her, take it so hart, as might putt her in perill of her life, wil his Majeste that she, and alle the rest specified in our sayde former letters, shall be indicted of misprision of treason, whiche we thinke may be within four or five days, wherebie the parliament shall have better grownde to confiscke theyre goddes, if any of them shold chaunce before theyre atteyndour, to die.—State Papers, I., 705.

(e) State Papers, ib.

(f) Ib.

(g) And surely they be so chaunged with their imprisonment that we think diverse of them cannot long lyve, unless it shall please his Majeste that they may have libertye in the Tower with summe resort and confort of their freendes; wherin we require you to knowe his Majestes pleasure and the same to signifie unto us.—The council in London, to the council with the king.—Ib., I., 726.

dead; but she had still an uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, first minister of the crown. Norfolk might have gone to Parliament and insisted on his niece being tried before the House of Lords, confronted with her accusers, heard in her own defence, and judged according to the laws of the country; but Norfolk made no appeal in her behalf. We have seen how the conqueror of Flodden behaved towards Anne Boleyn, whose defence he interrupted by shaking his head and uttering certain monosyllables in token of his incredulity. On hearing of the arrest of several members of his family, Norfolk immediately addressed his sovereign, not for the purpose of defending the honour of his relatives, who, said he, would not have incurred the rigorous punishment which they were then suffering, had they not been guilty of some act of treason against his majesty, but in order to manifest his devotedness to the king, and to remind him that this odious plot had been discovered, in part, at least, through the revelations of a faithful subject. He was aware that these denunciations would plead for him; that the infamous treason of his two nieces and his mother-in-law, who was not very fond of him, would not occasion him the loss of his sovereign's good graces.(a)

Katherine had been several months at Sion House when Parliament enacted a bill of Attainder, after having obtained his majesty's permission to this effect. This bill, which was read for the first time on the 21st of January, 1542, could only have been brought forward on a proof of adultery. Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Southampton, were, therefore, nominated by the Chancellor to interrogate the queen.(b) They were to proceed to Sion House, and repeat that sad farce which the archbishop had previously performed in his interviews with Anne Boleyn; to hold up to her the prince's mercy and equity, and in case of a full and entire confession, promise her a free pardon. But this project, it appears, was not acceptable to the Privy Council.(c) Suffolk and the Earl of Southampton went alone to receive the prisoner's confession. Suffolk, on the third reading of the bill, informed the lords that Katherine had acknowledged herself guilty towards God, towards the king, and towards the country.(d) During his speech the Commons arrived, and shortly after a message was announced from his majesty. In the requisition which they had addressed to the king, the Lords and Commons intreated him not to allow himself to be too much afflicted about a misfortune to which every one bearing the title of husband was liable; to consider the frailties of human nature, the instability of all human affairs, and to seek his consolation in these Christian considerations.(e) They besought him further to give his sanction to the bill, not in person, as that might only tend to renew his grief and injure his health, but by an official nomination of commissioners. And as there was an existing statute which declared any one guilty of misprision of treason, who should speak or write anything against the king or queen, they implored Henry's clemency, if, during the trial, some of their members should be compelled to transgress this law.(f)

The king's reply had just arrived, conveying to Parliament a full pardon for anything that it might be compelled to adduce against the queen, and authority to condemn her to death as well as her confidant, Lady Rochford, who had witnessed all her secret amours.(g) For the future protection of their well-beloved sovereign against the chances of these conjugal misfortunes, from which kings are no more exempt than other mortals, Parliament

(a) Wherefore, most gracious sovereign lord, prostrate at your feet, most humbly I beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter has come to light by my declaration to your majesty.... Which my true proceedings towards your majesty being considered, and also the small love my two false traitorous nieces and my mother-in-law, have borne unto me, doth put me in some hope, that your highness will not conceive any displeasure in your most gentle heart against me.

(b) Rapin de Thoyras.

(c) Journals of Parliament, 34 Henry VIII.
(d) Lingard.
(e) Hume.—Echard's Hist. of England.
(f) Hume.—Rapin de Thoyras.
(g) Hume.

declared any individual a traitor to the state, who, on becoming acquainted with the irregularities of the queen, should not immediately reveal them to the king; any young woman who, having lost her virginity, should presume to marry the sovereign; any queen of England who should allow herself to be seduced; any individual who should pay his addresses to the queen, or make to her a declaration of love, either by writing, vivâ voce, or through a third person; and lastly, any one known to have served her as a confidant or witness in such abominable intrigues.(a) The king gave his sanction to this statute which excited no little ridicule throughout the kingdom. It was said that Parliament had by this act prohibited Henry from marrying any other than a widow, for what young woman would thenceforth have the courage to accept the king's hand?(b)

On the 10th of February, Katherine, accompanied by the Duke of Suffolk, entered a barge which proceeded slowly down the Thames, at that period generally covered with a dense fog, which on this occasion would doubtless conceal from her the heads of her seducer, Derham, and of her cousin, Culpepper. These two heads, it will be remembered, had been exposed for the last two months on London Bridge.(c) She ascended the traitors' steps, and was located in one of the dungeons of the Tower. *Le roi le volt*, the usual formulary appended to all warrants for executions, had been made known to Kingston, the constable of the Tower, about two days before. Nothing was now left to Katherine but to prepare for death; she therefore sent for her confessor, Dr. Longland, that Bishop of Lincoln, whom Henry ordered to compose an epithalmium on his happy marriage: "My Reverend Father," said she to him, before ascending the scaffold, "in the name of God and his holy angels, and on the salvation of my soul, I swear that I am innocent of the crime which Parliament has condemned me to expiate; I never defiled the king's bed. As for the faults of my youth, I do not seek to palliate them; God will be my judge for them, and he will pardon me. Pray with me to His Son Jesus Christ, my Saviour, that He may vouchsafe to have mercy on me."(d) On the 13th of February, the prison-door was thrown open, and Katherine, accompanied by her confessor and followed by Lady Rochford, advanced towards the little hill opposite the church of St. Peter ad Vincula. On a rising ground, the stones of which still indicate the spot, was erected the scaffold which had been ascended by Anne Boleyn, Lord Rochford, the Marquis of Exeter, and the aged Countess of Salisbury. Katherine was beheaded the first. Before laying her head on the block, Lady Rochford said to the spectators, that she died in expiation of the crime which she had committed in unjustly denouncing Anne Boleyn and her husband, but that she was pure from any other stain.(e)

Was Katherine Howard an adulteress? No one will dare say so, after having read the bill of Attainder by which she was condemned on "mere presumptions,"(f) the official correspondence of the State Papers, Cranmer's investigation and Suffolk's report. In all her acknowledgments, there is not a word that can justify the suspicion of her having been an unfaithful wife. That she yielded, before her marriage, to the solicitations of Derham cannot be denied; but she fell under the hand of the executioner for having married Henry after the loss of her virginity. Historians are unanimous in acknowledging the great influence which she had obtained over her royal husband; and this influence

(a) Statutes of the Realm.
(b) Burnet.
(c) Miss Strickland.

(d) Speed.—Carte.—Burnet.
(e) Gregorio Leti.
(f) Familiarised as the people now were with the sight of blood, it was not without some feelings of national abasement that they beheld another queen ignominiously led to the scaffold, and that, we may add, to die not according to law, but in defiance of the laws of England, which have provided, for the security of human life, that no one shall be put to death without a fair and open trial.—Tytler. Among the MSS. at Lambeth we meet with the following passage: "This day, February 13th, was executed Queen Katherine, for many shocking misdemeanours, though some do suppose her to be innocent."—No. 306.

was threatening to overturn the Reformation; for, the young queen, by religion and family connexion, belonged to the Catholic party, and the Reform party, under the direction of Cranmer, was interested in working out her ruin. The revelations of a miserable wretch enabled the primate to overcome the only obstacle to the accomplishment of his designs. It is perhaps just to believe that Cranmer did not wish to purchase the triumph of his doctrines by Katherine's death, for he sought in the first instance to save her from the scaffold, by recommending her to plead a previous contract, a proposal which she rejected with a noble indignation worthy of the illustrious name which she bore. He next came to her with a promise of pardon which the king had perhaps made, but which a husband, wounded in so sensitive a manner as Henry, could not be expected to keep. Cranmer, who wished to make himself the leader of a sect, calculated, by his denunciation of the queen, on disgracing her without sending her to the scaffold. But he knew his master, and he ought to have reflected that Henry would show the same severity to the dishonoured bride as to the adulterous wife. Cranmer prepared the victim, Henry slaughtered it.

CHAPTER XLIV

WAR WITH FRANCE.—1543.

Henry seeks in vain to lead Francis I. into schism.—Causes of the rupture between these two princes.—League of Henry and Charles V. against France.—Operations of the Emperor.—Siege and Capture of Boulogne by Henry.—Defection of Charles V.—Dangers incurred by Henry, who returns to England.—Naval war between France and England.—Peace and alliance between the two nations.

Henry had long expected that Francis would support him in his schism, and that France, following the example of England, would separate from unity; but Francis resisted all the solicitations of his ally, and if he did consent to serve Henry's designs, it was only so far as the altar was concerned.[a] The political motive for the Valois's refusal to quarrel with Rome was, that schism would have introduced heresy into France, and heresy would have been compelled to adopt a creed. But what creed would have prevailed? Placed at the confines of Germany, Francis beheld all those countries in which the new doctrine had triumphed torn by internal quarrels, and continually labouring to substitute a new creed for the old Catholic Catechism. Zuinglius, from his mountain retreat, had endeavoured to seduce the French monarch by an exposition of faith, from which the dogma of the Real Presence had been banished. Calvin, in the preface to his "Christian Institute," invited him in pompous terms to unite himself to the Church of Geneva, in which it was taught that the election or reprobation of man depended solely on the will of God.[b] Carlstadt invited him to form a part of the Jerusalem which he had discovered, by breaking those images which Christian art had collected in the Teutonic churches. Luther, in order to gain him over to the doctrinal code of Wittemberg, showed him that pearl which he had found on the way, and which he designated faith without works. Osiander wrote to him from Nuremberg, to propose to him as a truth necessary for salvation, his justification

(a) Pole.

(b) Calvin, Inst. III., ch. XXII. § 2.—Audin's Calvin.

operated by the intimate union of the substantial justice of God with our souls. Augsburg tempted him by a confession of faith dictated by the Holy Spirit himself, but with difficulty, if we may judge from its style. Francis, endued with a practical mind, soon perceived that the Reformation sowed discord and anarchy wherever it appeared; that instead of adopting a uniform creed, it introduced a multiplicity of confessions, which gave rise to interminable quarrels; that in Germany, it had engendered thousands of sects, each of which claimed the right to constitute itself a Christian republic; that Carlstadt, Œcolampadius, Osiander, Schwenckfeld, Munzer, Bockold, the spiritual sons of Luther, denied their father, and taught in their turns contradictory doctrines, all of which were represented as proceeding from the Spirit of light. But humanly speaking, what would have become of the fine country of France, had Francis allowed her to become a prey to this swarm of heresiarchs who could not agree among themselves, and who cursed and anathematized one another; who, as Storch, preached the community of property; as Carlstadt, the destruction of images; as Hermann, polygamy; and as Calvin and Zuinglius, fatalism and the slavery of the human will? And if he cast his eyes upon England, had he not reason to congratulate himself for not having listened to the counsels of Henry VIII., when he saw the torrents of blood that had flowed in the establishment of that spiritual supremacy which the king had arrogated to himself?

The support which Francis had invariably given to the authority of the Pope was construed by Henry into an insult. Hence Henry's coolness towards his brother. Francis, on his side, had felt himself slighted by the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn, after his promise at Boulogne to delay the union. But the immediate cause of the rupture was the alliance of the King of France with the Kings of Scotland, those implacable enemies of the Tudors. One of Henry's favourite ideas was to incite Scotland against the supremacy of the Pope, and to introduce into that kingdom the Reformation, which he had just succeeded in imposing on England. Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lenox, was at that time at the Tuileries, and Francis, who knew the hatred that Lenox bore to England, had sent that nobleman into Scotland, to support Cardinal Beaton and the Queen Mother, who had always shown themselves zealous partisans of the Valois.(a) Lenox set out, with a promise of money and troops, which Francis was to send in a short time. The arrival of Lenox rekindled the hatred which the Highlanders bore against the English party, of which James, Earl of Arran, of the House of Hamilton, was the leader and the representative.(b)

The death of Katharine of Arragon had enfeebled, if not wholly stifled, Charles V.'s desire of revenging his aunt; his great enemy was always Francis I., and he narrowly watched, through the medium of his ambassadors, the progress of the hatred of the King of England against France, a hatred which he hoped to make subservient to his own interest, by enabling him to humble his rival and close Italy for ever against him. At the very time that he was filling Christendom with his complaints against a prince who was holding secret intercourse with the Turks, Charles was seeking the friendship of a monarch excommunicated by the Church, and neglected to execute the sentence declared against Henry by Paul III.(c) One obstacle alone retarded the completion of this alliance; Charles demanded, for the honour of the imperial family, that Mary should be legitimatized, which Henry had refused to allow; such an act would have been a tacit acknowledgment that Katharine of Arragon had been treated unjustly. At length an expedient was discovered, by which the pride of both princes was left unwounded. Parliament restored to Elizabeth and Mary their right of succession;(d) but by one of those anomalous acts so common in the life of the despot, Henry, in opening to his two daughters the way to the throne, refused to annul the statutes that had proclaimed their illegitimacy. In obedience

(a) Robertson, Charles V.
(b) Hume.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) Lingard.

to the caprice of the sovereign, Parliament granted him the power of excluding them from the throne in case they should refuse to submit to the conditions that he might impose on them. The reading of Tyndal's Bible might deprive them a second time of their hereditary rights.(a)

Eager to revenge himself for the intervention of France in the affairs of Scotland, and piqued at the raillery of Francis, Henry quarrelled with his former ally, and concluded a treaty with the emperor, (11th February, 1543,) which contained a plan for the invasion of France. They agreed that ambassadors should be sent to Francis to request him to break the alliance which he had recently contracted with the Turks; to make reparation to the Christians for the losses they had sustained through that alliance; to restore to Ferdinand of Austria a town which the infidels had sieged; to restore to the Emperor Castro Nuovo, which the Turks had besieged and taken with twelve galleys which France had lent them; to pay to the King of England certain sums of money due to him, or to deliver up to him, as security for the debt, the towns of Ponthieu, Boulogne, Montreuil, Ardres, and Têrouanne.(b) The ambassadors were to inform Francis, that if, within forty days, these conditions were not complied with, the allies would declare war, and that they pledged themselves not to cease hostilities, until the emperor should be master of Abbeville, Bray, Corbie, Péronne, Saint Quentin, and the whole of Bourgoyne: and Henry, of Normandy, Guienne, and the whole of his ancestral possessions in France (c) The confederates, as in all the preceding wars, proposed the dismemberment of the monarchy. They might have known, from experience, that Francis would not be willing to sign the conditions proposed; the conqueror of Marignan had still some blood flowing in his veins. Heralds-at-arms were commissioned to convey these insolent conditions to Francis; and although the entrance into Paris was forbidden them, the two sovereigns considered themselves justified in executing their conventions.(d)

Francis did not wait for the enemy, but, marching with all his forces into the Netherlands, he made himself master of Landrecies, which he fortified, and then invaded Luxemburg with his lancers, his Swiss troops, and his legions commanded by the *élite* of his officers; the Duke de Vendome, D'Aumale, De Guise, and the young Châtillon, who, under the name of Colligny, was destined to take so distinguished a part in the civil wars of France. The emperor soon made his appearance with his army, composed of Spaniards, Milanese, Romans, Albanians, Suabians, Tyrolians, Flemings, and Francs-Comtians; a motley crew of soldiers in a variety of costumes, and not unlike a theatrical army.(e) Charles threw himself into the states of the Duke of Cleves, determined to take summary vengeance on the twofold sympathy of that prince for France and for Protestantism. By his alliance with France, the Duke of Cleves frustrated the emperor's designs on Italy; and by favouring the Smalkalde League, he prevented the accomplishment of the Germanic unity, a favourite theory of the successor of Maximilian I. It was essential that the chastisement of this prince, of a German race, and who had betrayed his country and his faith, should be exemplary. Duren, one of the principal towns of the duchy, was reduced to ashes, to give the prince some idea of the emperor's anger.(f) The duke offered no resistance, but throwing himself at the feet of the conqueror, who received him with the crown on his head and the sceptre in his hand, he humbly sued for pardon. An act of cowardice which he attempted in vain to justify, by complaining of the culpable inactivity of

(a) Hume. Act. XXXV., Henry VIII., Ch. XII.

(b) Rymer, Act. XIV., 768.—Herbert.

(c) See: "Consideracions, which way is thought by the counsell to be most convenient for the Kinge's Majeste to set forwarde with his royall armye this somer to invade the realme;" by the hand of the Duke of Norfolk. —State Papers, I., 761-762.

(d) Robertson.

(e) Capefigue, Hist. de Francois I.

(f) Robertson.

his ally, who left him to the mercy of the Spaniards, without sending a single lance to save or succour him.(a)

Nothing could now arrest the forward progress of Charles V., who advanced by forced marches through Hainaut, and laid siege to Landrecies. A few thousand English, under the command of John Wallop, joined the emperor to accelerate the capitulation of the town, which was summoned to surrender; but the garrison, composed of veterans commanded by La Land and Dessé, refused to capitulate (b) Francis, moreover, hastened to the succour of the fortress. For a moment, it was thought that the struggle between the empire and France, which had lasted upwards of twenty years, was about to be terminated under the walls of the town. Twenty years before, Francis would have offered battle to his rival; but now that age had made him more prudent, he saw that with his inferior forces he would run the risk of being cut to pieces, and of throwing open, by the loss of Landrecies, the road to Paris to the confederates; he therefore refused to risk an engagement.(c) In vain did Charles endeavour to excite his rival's self-love. Francis was proof against all the seductions of glory and vanity; immoveable in his lines, he studied the movements of his enemy, and held himself in readiness to re-victual the town, and succeeded in supplying it both with provisions and troops. Charles, despairing of success, raised the siege, and retired into winter quarters; he had two enemies to conquer, Francis, and the inclement season. This was, therefore, an unsuccessful campaign.

The allies, however, buoyed themselves up with the hope of having their revenge during the following spring, and the return of that season revived their ambitious hopes. Henry and Charles availed themselves of a religious pretext to justify their dismemberment of the kingdom of France. In the name of the Catholic faith, shamefully deserted by Francis, who had become the ally of Soliman II., the sworn enemy of Christianity, they determined to attempt the conquest of Picardy, the pillage of Paris, and the division of the provinces of France. To fight against Francis, the renegade, was regarded in England, in Germany, and in Spain, as a holy work, and the coalition was certain of success. It must be acknowledged that their plans were excellent. Henry was to enter France through Picardy, the emperor through Champagne, and the two allied sovereigns, should they meet with no obstacle, were to meet on an appointed day under the walls of the capital, which, surrounded on all sides, would be sure to surrender. The Imperialists were the first to commence the campaign.(d) The movements of Charles were no less bold than unexpected. After having taken possession of Luxemburg by a successful stratagem, he followed the course of the Meuse, and on his way made himself master of Commercy and Ligny, and then laid siege to St. Dizier, which refused to open its gates to the conqueror, and defended itself valiantly for nearly six weeks against the Imperialists, but was at length forced to capitulate.(e) The alarm was spread through the populace; the capital was threatened; every day some town or other was falling into the power of Charles; on one day Chalons, on another Epernay, Vitry were reduced to ashes, as the penalty of their heroic resistance.(f)

The English army, in its turn, had taken the field. In the month of June, 1544, the first division of the British forces landed at Calais, and about the middle of July, Henry crossed the French frontier at the head of his numerous body of archers. Boter has described the march of the troops that were led by Henry to the conquest of Paris. Three divisions, each composed of 12,000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry, formed the army of expedition. The king was in the centre with 2,000 horsemen; the uniform of the soldiers was red, with yellow facings; a hundred pieces of cannon of large calibre occupied a line of nearly a league in

(a) See "Accord entre l'Empereur and le duc de Clèves, 7 September, 1543.—Bib. du roi, MSS. Béth., N. 8615, p. 28.
(b) Robertson.
(c) Du Bellay, Mémoires, p. 405.
(d) Godwin.—Stow.—Du Bellay.—Lingard.
(e) Du Bellay.—Robertson.—Herbert.
(f) Du Bellay.

length ; (a) 25,000 draught horses and 15,000 oxen were employed in transporting the baggage of the army. Never had there been an invasion so menacing ; and if these two powerful enemies of the French nationality had marched together upon Paris, the monarchy might have trembled for its security. Fortunately, the two allied princes became divided in their counsels. Henry could not, without jealousy, witness the success of his ally, who had obtained possession of three large towns without striking a blow, and instead of attempting the siege of Paris, according to agreement, he determined on attacking Boulogne and Montreuil.(b) The latter of these towns was defended by Marshal de Biez, who killed the last horse that he possessed and shared its flesh with his soldiers. Although infirm and powerless, he requested to be carried to the ramparts that he might be able to encourage the besieged ;(c) and with a garrison of only 500 men, he resisted the united forces of Flanders and England.

On the 26th of July, 1544, Henry commenced the siege of Boulogne. The month of August was spent without his being able to effect a second breach. The garrison, pressed by land and by sea, famishing and decimated, was about to surrender, when Eurvin, an attorney at the Seneschal's Court at Boulogne, in 1544, and soon afterwards elected mayor of that town, assembled the inhabitants, men, women, and children, and conjured them to swear that they would bury themselves under the ruins of the town, rather than surrender. They all went in procession to the town-hall, and took the oath on the Gospel.(d) Crepieule, who as well as the others took the oath, says, that he saw an immense sheet of parchment covered with the names of women and children who promised to die or save the city.(e) Unfortunately, however, the governor, Vermin(f) failed heart and capitulated ; an act of treason or cowardice which he afterwards expiated by the loss of his head.(g) On the 18th of September, Henry made his entrance into Boulogne. "He settled in that town a colony of English, who committed such acts of atrocity that after having overthrown the altars, burnt the images, and trampled under foot the relics, they destroyed the chapel of the Mother of God, filled it with soil, and raised on its ruins a species of embankmesst from which they might survey the neighbouring country, whilst the interior of this Basilica, one of the most ancient sanctuaries of Europe, in which Clothaire had formerly knelt, was converted into an arsenal."(h) The inhabitants of Boulogne, unwilling to take the oath of fidelity to the King of England, left the town on the

(a) D. Boteri. Relatio de Regno Angliæ.

(b) Herbert.—Du Bellay.—MSS. Col., E. IV.—Rymer XV., 52.

(c) Le siége de Boulogne en 1544, poème MSS., par M. le baron d'Ordre, notes de M. Marmin.

(d) Siége et prise de Boulogne, par les Anglais, en 1544, par le prêtre Anthoine Morin, témoin oculaire, MSS. en vers.

We shall quote a few fragments from this inedited MSS. to give the reader an idea of the poetical talents of the brave Morin :—

Un maître Jean Finfin et tous ses compagnons
Rendirent la tour d'Ordre pour moins de deux
oignons;
La tour étoit munie assez pour six semaines;
On les doit envoyer à leurs fiebvres quartaines.
Le propre jour sainte Anne fut Perrotin Morin
Touché droit à l'épaule dont il fut mis à fin.
Le demain Gin le peintre d'un coup de fauconneau.
Fut frappé et deux aultres assommés comme veaux.
. . . . . .
Le jeudy dessus dict deux soudards de Jean Pocque,
Jean Morel et Fournier par guerre qui nous brocque,
Furent mis sous la rogne jusques au jugement;
De crier *bigre*, *bigre*, ont eu leur payement.
La plupart des soudards ce mot avoient en bouche
Qui fort me déplaisoit, car fort deshonneur touche.
Tel au vespre se couche qui ne voit le matin,
Plustot que d'une mouche est frappé le malin.

This curious MSS. forms a small volume in 4to. The original is no longer extant, but a faithful copy was taken of it during the last century

(e) MSS., Morin.

(f) L'an mil cent quarante et quatre,
Un Vervins lassé de combattre,
Par un jour de Sainte-Croix,
Rendit Boulougne aux Anglois.
—MSS. Morin.

(g) Hume.

(h) Antiquities du Boulonnois, ou Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la ville et du comté de Boulogne, par Dubuisson, huissier de la sénéchassée du Boulonnois, MSS. in 4to, (Bibl. de Boulogne.)

faith of the capitulation which promised them "protection and assistance to retire whithersoever they desired." But the capitulation was shamefully violated, for they were attacked near Hardelot and Etaples, and nearly all slain by the sword of the English.(a)

Charles, perceiving the error committed by his royal ally, urged him, but in vain, to advance towards Paris; the remonstrance, the counsel, the entreaty and even the anger of the emperor were useless. Henry persisted in besieging a few paltry towns which he succeeded in taking, but Paris was saved.(b) In order to induce him to abandon the siege of the fortified towns, Charles crossed the Marne and proceeded rapidly towards the capital. The Germans and the Spaniards met with a temporary check to their progress from the young Duke of Guise, but soon took possession of Château-Thierry. The alarm was spread through Paris, and all the wealthier portion of the inhabitants fled in haste, and took shelter beyond the Loire.(c) Francis, on the approach of danger, exclaimed: "Oh! God, how dear hast thou made me pay for the crown which I received from thy hand!" But immediately reproaching himself for this sudden burst of emotion, as an offence against God, he added: "Thy will be done;" and resuming that calm of soul which he had shown at Marignan, he ordered the dauphin to invest the capital with 8,000 men, and publicly announced his determination to bury himself under the walls of Paris. The Parisians, aware that the king never failed in keeping his word, resumed their courage; the fugitives returned to their hearths, and if they did not sell the field on which Charles was encamped, they amused themselves publicly in lampooning(d) those two heroes "of the highway," one of whom, Charles V., was impotent and gouty; the other, Henry VIII., whose body was obliged to be bound by a belt of steel, and both of whom insolently boasted of their desire to divide France, reduce Francis to the rank of a private gentleman, and make Paris the second capital of the kingdom of England.

Eleanor, the wife of Francis, whom her faithless husband had sacrificed for the enjoyment of his mistresses, perceived the danger which threatened the monarchy, and immediately determined to interfere in this sanguinary quarrel, and to appease the anger of her brother Charles V.(e) Accordingly, followed by a Spanish monk, named Gusman, she went to the emperor's camp, whom she found suffering more from his habitual complaint, than from the irresolution of his ally. The suffocating heat of the season; the activity of the dauphin, who did not allow the Spanish troops to remain a moment inactive; the want of provisions; the anger of Paul IV. against a league, the leader of which was an excommunicated prince;(f) the entreaties of a sister, and the counsel of a priest determined Charles to listen to the proposals of an armistice. The plenipotentiaries met at Crespy, a small town in the vicinity of Meaux, when the basis of a treaty of peace was established. It was decided that the emperor should give his eldest daughter, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand in marriage to the Duke of Orleans; that he should give up to his daughter the sovereignty of the Netherlands, to his niece the investiture of the duchy of Milan; that the Duke of Orleans should have his choice of the duchy of Milan or the Netherlands; that Francis should restore to the Duke of Savoy all the territory that he had taken from him, with the exception of Pignerol and Montmelian; that Charles should resign all pretensions to the duchy of Burgundy, and the county of Charolais, and Francis all his rights to the kingdom of Naples; that these two princes, bound by unchangeable friendship, should wage war against the Turks, and that the King of France, as an auxiliary to the emperor, should furnish his ally with 6000 *gendarmes* and 10,000 infantry, to aid him in driving back these enemies of the Christian name

(a) MSS. de Morin et de Dubuisson.
(b) Lingard.
(c) Paradin, Histoire de notre temps.
(d) Brantôme.—Robertson.
(e) M. Capefigue.
(f) Fra Paolo.—Pallavicini.

into Asia.(a) Charles's policy was triumphant; the emperor had succeeded in inducing Francis to renounce the Smalkalde League, and the alliance of Soliman II., to repress Protestantism, and to expel the Turks from Europe. It was supposed, for a time, in France, that a few diamonds given to the Duchess d'Etampes, had imposed on the conqueror of Marignan the treaty of Crespy; but he was compelled by necessity to accept it, for Charles was within a day's march of the capital. Granvelle, the skilful minister, and one of the king's counsellors, must have taken great credit to himself for having arrested the progress of the emperor in his victorious march upon Paris.(b)

The defection of Charles V. from the League exposed Henry to real dangers; the dauphin, master of his movements, was advancing rapidly, at the head of 40,000 men, to engage the English army, decimated by the two murderous sieges of Boulogne and Montreuil. Henry, unwilling to meet so young and enterprising a commander, gave orders to the Count de Buren, to raise the seige of Montreuil, recalled the Duke of Norfolk, and after having re-victualled Boulogne, the command of which he intrusted to Admiral Dudley, set out for England on the 30th of September.(c) The object of the coalition had failed. Henry, who for twenty years had meditated the conquest of France, was obliged to retire in disgrace, accusing Charles of a breach of faith, and of deceiving him as Maximilian and Ferdinand had formerly done. It was almost always to the intestine dissensions among her invaders, that France was indebted for her safety in the sixteenth century. The Leagues formed against her independence were broken by the explosion of the same passions that had given them birth—hypocrisy and ambition.

Left to contend single-handed with Henry, Francis conceived the project of a naval war with England, and of chastising the insolence of that queen of the ocean. Two hundred men of war, equipped in the different ports of France, and sent to join other vessels that had been sent to Genoa, were to terminate on the sea a quarrel which England had determined to decide on the continent.(d) Captain Paulin, an experienced sailor, left Marseilles with twenty-five vessels to cruise about in the channel,(e) while Marshal D'Annebaut was collecting a numerous fleet in the roads at Havre, under the eyes of the King of England. The admiral set sail from Havre, and arrived, on the 18th of July, off the Isle of Wight, in sight of Portsmouth, where sixty English ships were lying at anchor. The two fleets met, and after exchanging a few shots, retreated; the English fleet behind the sand banks, the French out of reach of the enemies' guns.(f) The firing was almost entirely ineffectual; the shots tore the sails, made holes in the vessels, but seldom struck any of the crew, so badly were the pieces pointed. During an engagement of twelve hours, scarcely three hundred shots were exchanged, for these enormous masses of wood could not be moved in less than a quarter of an hour, and the admiral's orders and manœuvres could only be obeyed when the wind served.(g) The French, perceiving that it was impossible to entice the English into an engagement in the open sea, resolved to make a descent upon the Isle of Wight, but the sacking of a few wretched villages had not the effect of inducing the English admiral to quit his position behind the sand banks, from which he could defy the enemies' attempts.(h) The pillage of the British coasts was not the principal object of the equipment of the French fleet. Francis aimed at recovering Boulogne, which his rival was making preparations to succour, and into which a few hundred lancers, taken from the garrison at Calais, had already effected an entrance, by eluding the vigilance of the French officers.(i) Encamped on Mount Saint Lambert, within a few cannon shots of Boulogne, the Duke of Guise had every day some fresh skirmish with the English infanty. In one of these

(a) Belius, de causis pacis Crespiæ, in Actis Erud., Lipsiæ. 1763.
(b) M. Capefigue.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) Rapin de Thoyras.
(e) M. Capefigue.
(f) Rapin de Thoyras.
(g) Hume.
(h) Du Bellay, Memoirs.
(i) Rapin de Thoyras.

engagements he was wounded by a cut with a lance, which entered at the corner of one of his eyes, and came out behind his head; and this wound, pronounced to be mortal by all the physicians, was healed by Ambroise Paré, leaving a glorious scar, which obtained for the hero the surname of Balafré.(a)

The season was too far advanced for the French army to undertake the siege of Boulogne, and their operations were therefore limited to a few insignificant engagements; the burning of a few villages, at which very few were slain; both the leaders and the troops were anxious for peace. Henry could scarcely sit on horseback, and Francis was suffering in his tent from the effects of wounds that he had received in his Italian campaigns. The English army was often in want of provisions, and the French cavalry, consisting of raw recruits, had not yet been drilled into the hardships of a soldier's life, and consequently filled the hospitals. The treasures of the two princes were daily decreasing, and the two camps were tired of a war which would bring neither profit nor military glory.(b) An armistice concluded on the 7th of June, 1546, suspended all hostilities, and the two monarchs entered into negotiations which were soon terminated by a treaty of peace between them. The princes of the Smalkalde League interposed, and their mediation was accepted. The German commissioners, Christophe de Verninghen, Johann Bruno, Johann Sturm, Ludwig Bambach, and Johann Sleidan met the plenipotentiaries of France and England at Campe, a small town situated between Ardres and Guines, and concluded a treaty of peace.(c) It was agreed that the debt owing by France to England, and stipulated by the convention of the 30th of August, 1525, should be paid in eight years, during which Henry should retain possession of Boulogne. This debt was laid at two millions of crowns in gold, independent of another sum of five hundred thousand crowns of gold, for the payment of which subsequent arrangements should provide.(d)

Thus terminated a war which cost England nearly a million and a half of money. Boulogne, surrendered through the cowardice of Vervin, was the only trophy of a campaign in which several thousands of English soldiers were sacrificed. Never was disloyalty more severely punished; the lesson was severe, and Henry was compelled to submit to erase from his proclamations the title of King of France.

(a) Rapin de Thoyras.
(b) Du Bellay.—Montluc.—State Papers, I., 782, 834.—Lingard.
(c) Rapin de Thoyras.
(d) Rymer, XV., 93.—Herbert.

CHAPTER XLV.

CRANMER.—1543.

Katherine Parr.—Her marriage with Henry the work of the Reform party.—Cranmer.—Additional acts of cowardice on the part of the Primate.—Progress of the Reformation.—Gardiner.—Cranmer denounced to the King by the Canons of Canterbury.—Their plot fails.—Contest between Cranmer and Gardiner, and their respective characters.—A fresh plot against the Primate

DURING the siege of Boulogne, Henry thus wrote to Katherine Parr: "My dearest heart, (a term of affection which he applied to all his wives,) I am enraptured with joy; the castle and all the advanced works are in my power, and I hope shortly to make myself master of the town. I will not enter into any lengthy details, for I am much pressed for time, and am almost exhausted by the pressure of military affairs; I have only just time to send my blessing to my well-beloved children, and

to recommend myself to the remembrance of a few dear friends."(a) Katherine Parr, whom Henry had married in the month of July, 1543, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, and the widow of Nevil, Lord Latimer. After the passing of the act of Parliament, which, in 1541, had decreed that any young woman whom the king should henceforward select as his wife should be bound, before entering the royal couch, to declare whether she were a virgin, under pain of death if she deceived her husband, the people predicted that Henry could not in future marry any one but a widow, and their prophecy was fulfilled. Katherine, still young, had won the heart of the old monarch less through that high colour given to her by some painters, than through her theological knowledge, an uncommon acquirement among women. Before her marriage with Henry, her house had been the rendezvous of Coverdale, Parkhurst, and all the free-thinkers of London.(b) Skilful and cunning, she had had many disputes with her lover on religious matters, and had defended her opinions with great force, but was always compelled to yield to the scholastic arguments of her adversary, and declared her conviction with so much grace, that her defeat only served to raise her in the estimation of her opponent.(c) Age had not served in the least to weaken in Henry that love of controversy which he had evinced from his earliest days.

This marriage was the work of the supporters of the Reformation. Cranmer had sought out a woman who would not be afraid of acknowledging her partiality for the new ideas, in order that he might succeed in arresting the progress of Catholicism, which was beginning to obtain considerable influence in the councils of the sovereign, especially after Wriothesley had succeeded Audley in the office of Chancellor. Cranmer, like a skilful statesman, concealed the plot which he had formed against the old religion; his agents were generally selected from the common people, whom he secretly excited to revolt, but denounced whenever their zeal was likely to compromise him and expose him to his master's resentment. In public, he acted the part of an ardent neophyte, obedient in all things to the will of of the Spiritual Head of the Church; never venturing to make any innovation, even in the liturgy, without having first consulted the king; careful in the extreme not to infringe on any of the articles of doctrine; censuring the zeal of innovators; disavowing their doctrines with great apparent dignity; ready at the first hint from the king, to condemn as the ecclesiastical judge, the smallest errors of those whom he had led into temptation:—the perfect model of docility and servility. But we must consider him seated in his palace at Lambeth, preparing in secret, the elements of that religious reform, the accomplishment of which he deferred till after Henry's death. All the German Reformers were acquainted with his designs. He was in correspondence with Calvin, Osiander, Bucer, and Brenz. He it was who caused to be circulated among the people, those virulent tracts against the "purple Babylon," with which Saxony was inundated. At the Real Presence, the fundamental dogma of the ancient faith, he aimed a deadly blow. All his creatures were renegades from Catholicism; his brother-in-law, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, who was constantly waging war against images, in the same manner as Carlstadt; Ridley, his chaplain, who undertook to prove that Confession was merely a human invention;(d) and another member of his chapter who maintained, that to pray in a dead language was a mockery of the Divinity.

The light of the Catholic faith was not yet extinguished in England. These underhand dealings of the primate against the faith of St. Dunstan were even denounced from the pulpit. "Away,"

(a) No more to you, at thys time, sweetheart! bothe for lacke off tyme and grete occupation off busyness; savyng we may pray yo u to gyffe, in our name our harte blessyngs to all our chyldren, etc. Wryttin with the hand off your loving howsbande.—MSS. Cal., F. IV., Ellis, II., 130, 1st series.

(b) Echard.

(c) Herbert.—Tytler.

(d) That Auricular Confession was but a very positive law, and ordained as a godly means for the sinner to come to the priest for counsel but not to be found in Scripture.—Todd.

exclaims a priest, "away with these teachers of error! Do you wish to distinguish the preacher of truth from the preacher of lies? You have all in your breasts a monitress called conscience. When you hear a sermon therefore, ask that faithful guardian, and if she tell you this is good, listen to the preacher; but if she say this is bad, turn away and flee."(a) Henry shrugged his shoulders, and amused himself with his courtiers at the expense of the rhetorician. He believed in the orthodoxy of his favourite; how could he doubt it when he read the following reply in Cranmer's own handwriting to certain questions which the monarch had put to him: "Such is my opinion, at the present moment, but I am not so rash as to decide anything; in all these matters, I am guided by your majesty's judgment."(b) But as the reader may feel curious to know the nature of these questions, the solution of which the primate of England left to his master with such edifying humility, we will here produce some of them. Henry asked whether the king could not create new bishops and priests, supposing that they should all happen to die in one day, and leave the souls of the faithful exposed to the danger of dying without the Sacraments? The archbishop replied in the affirmative.(c) Henry asked whether a Christian were bound by the text, *Quorum remiseritis*, to confess his mortal sins to the priest? Cranmer's reply was similar to that of his chaplain, Ridley: By no means?(d) The king next inquired whether, on the conquest of a pagan country, the prince, who might have no one with him but his civil officers, could not preach the Word of God, or cause it to be preached, confer holy orders, or cause them to be conferred? The primate replied: He might, he would be bound to do so by the law of God.(e) Henry's next question was, whether the bishop had the exclusive right, according to Scripture, to ordain priests? The prelate replied, that according to Scripture, the bishop had that right, and the prince also, by the order of God, and the people likewise by the right of election.(f)

These acts of cowardice on the part of Cranmer excited no surprise. One of his biographers remarks, that immediately before these artful questions were addressed to him by the king, the primate held contrary opinions to those which he expressed in his replies;(g) and in the reign of Edward VI. he abandoned these dangerous theories which would have submitted the validity of the Sacraments of the Church to the caprice of any tyrant that might choose to call himself Christian.(h)

But the despot was not yet satisfied. Henry resolved to treat the Church as he had treated those whom he had successively called the flesh of his flesh. Cranmer and some other bishops established a distinction between election and order. "Election, in the first days of Christianity, had been made by the apostles, and very often by the community, because there were not at that time any chief magistrates; but the

(a) Todd.—Strype.

(b) This is mine opinion and sentence, at this present; which I do not temerariously define, but remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your majesty.—Lambeth Libr. MSS., 1108, fol. 69.

(c) Whether it be forefended by God's law that it so fortune that all the bishops and priests of a region were dead, and that the Word of God should remain there unpreached, and the sacrament of baptism and others unministered, that the king of that region should make bishops and priests to supply the same, or no. It is not forbidden by God's law.—Todd.

(d) Whether a man be bound by the authority of this Scripture: *Quorum remiseritis*, and such like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a priest. A man is not bound by the authority of this Scripture: *Quorum*, &c.—Todd.

(e) It is not against God's law, but, contrary, they ought indeed so to do.—Todd.

(f) Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture or no, and whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest. He replies: "A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them and the people also by their election.—Todd.

(g) He had, before the artful questions of his sovereign were circulated, entertained sentiments very different from his present answers.—Todd.

(h) On mature consideration he abandoned these dangerous principles, which subject the validity of the Sacraments of Christ's Church to the caprice of every tyrant who may choose to call himself a Christian.—Todd.

Sacrament of order could only be conferred by him who, by prayer and fasting, brought down grace in the name of the Holy Ghost upon the forehead of the neophyte."(a) The king interrupted the argument: "Indeed," said he, ironically, "and where then have you met with this distinction between these two attributions? And if the apostle holds the place of the prince in the case of election, how will you prove to me that order is an episcopal attribution? By your *per manuum impositionem cum oratione et jejunio?* Where did you read that?" Encouraged by the position of the primate, and urged on no doubt by his secret advice, a number of the reformers assembled at Windsor in order to circulate what they termed the word of the new gospel. They were denounced by Dr. London, who had made himself conspicuous, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, by his furious zeal against images and relics. This London, since the death of his protector, Cromwell, had attached himself to Gardiner, who had obtained for him a canon's stall at Windsor.(b) In this reformed conventicle, the statute of the Six Articles was openly attacked. Anthony Person, a priest, Robert Testwood and John Marbeck, chanters, and Henry Filmer, were the principal orators. An order was issued to visit the houses of those who were suspected of holding heretical opinions. At Marbeck's was found a commentary of the Bible, and at the residences of the other members, heterodox books. Henry decided that they should be brought to trial,(c) and they therefore appeared before a tribunal presided over by Capon, Bishop of Salisbury, Franklin, Dean of Windsor, Fachel, Rector of Reading, and three other priests, all of whom had probably a *penchant* for the new gospel. They were accused of having spoken against the Mass; and the jury having found them guilty, they were sentenced to be burnt alive. Three of them suffered at the stake on the following day; but Marbeck was pardoned through the interest of the Bishop of Winchester. They underwent their sentence with apparent pride, praying to God for the king's conversion; mistaken victims, who perished for the triumph of doctrines which the Primate of England was teaching in secret, but had not the courage to profess openly! The jury condemned poor labourers for refusing to believe in the Real Presence, while the archbishop himself joined with his friends in Germany in ridiculing this Catholic dogma. The great heresiarch of the period was Cranmer, who denied a great part of the articles of the Catholic faith; who spent his nights in preparing matter for pamphlets to be published against the Church of Rome, when death should have delivered him of Henry; Cranmer, who in his palace at Lambeth, held nocturnal interviews with some of those Scotch prisoners whom he had received as his guests after the battle of Solway Moss,(d) and whom he was seeking to seduce. Among these prisoners was one of noble descent, the Earl of Cassilis, whom the king and the archbishop both desired to convert to their respective creeds; Henry by means of his "Christian Institute," the doctrines of which the Bishop of St. David's was commissioned to expound;(e) the archbishop, by means of homilies derived from the Protestant liturgy; and the primate was victorious. On seeing his noble convert depart for Scotland, Cranmer said: "As soon as God shall vouchsafe to enlighten the minds of the mountaineers, I hope that our attachment to Cassilis will not be without its fruits."(f) He was not deceived in his expectations, for Cassilis became one of the most zealous disciples of John Knox.

We have spoken of the party that was formed against Cranmer, and at the head of which was Gardiner, the only man, who, in his day, possessed any practical ideas re-

(a) Strype.—Appendix XXVIII.
(b) Burnet.
(c) Id.

(d) At Lambeth he experienced all the attentions due to his rank, not without the successful endeavour of the archbishop to convince him of the errors of Romanism.—Todd.
(e) The book made no impression upon them.—Id.
(f) When it should please God to enlighten that country, he hoped the intimacy which had subsisted between him and the Earl of Cassilis might not wholly be without effect.—Id.

specting the English constitution.(a) This party, to which some of the bishops were attached, soon began to deplore the schism that had taken place, and which separated them from Rome. Ambition had driven the greater portion of the clergy, together with the peers, the members of Parliament, and the gentry into schism; they had all allowed themselves to be seduced by the desire of worldly dignity,(b) into a revolt which they imagined they would be able to direct with success. They had been foolish enough to imagine that the Holy See would ultimately yield to the king's caprice in the affair of Anne Boleyn; but when they found that Henry, carried away by his passion, sacrificed the Church to his mistress, they halted on the brink of the abyss to which they had contributed in driving their unfortunate sovereign; but it was then too late. Luther, who from Wittemberg followed the revolutionary movement in England, took advantage of Cranmer's partiality for the German doctrines to introduce into the kingdom some of those libellous pamphlets which had served him in exciting the German populace against the Roman hierarchy.(c) These writings, which were so composed as to seize at once on the popular mind, in the form of dialogues, apologues, and verse, were read with great avidity in England.(d) Wolsey, thoroughly opposed in principle to all violent measures, contented himself with condemning these heretical tracts to the flames; at a later period however, in 1534, an Act of Parliament was passed, prohibiting the sale of books published out of the kingdom.(e) But to pretend to arrest the progress of the movement of innovation, was to contend against the infuriated elements.(f) In vain did Henry, who for a long time adhered with sincerity to the doctrines that had been instilled into his mind by early impressions so difficult to erase, employ the flames to suppress the voice of the "free-thinkers;" from the top of the pile, as from a pedestal from which they braved their judges, the sectarians sang hymns of gratitude to God, while their disciples, less courageous, fled from punishment, in expectation without doubt of that spiritual redemption promised them by Cranmer. One of the most powerful elements of the Reform Propaganda was the publication of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, which Cromwell and Cranmer favoured with all their interest. After the execution of the vicar-general, an order, dated 6th May, 1542, decreed that an English Bible should be placed in every parish church, at the disposition of all those who could read and felt anxious to examine its teaching.(h)

This word of salvation, thus placed within the reach of the people, was rather the word of Tyndal than that of the Holy Spirit. It was the English version of that innovator, published at Anvers in 1525, and republished at Straeburg, in 1535, and reprinted in 1537, under the name of Matthew, that was now exposed to tempt the faith of the people. In the first instance, marginal notes were inserted similar to those made use of by Luther, on the irregularities of "Popery;" but these were suppressed in Cranmer's Bible. What can we think of a version which, reproduced and republished so often under the reign of Henry, reappeared in each edition with fresh corrections and alterations, the fancies of the translator, which he always attributed to the Holy Spirit! This English Holy Ghost had first translated *ecclesia* by *church*; but at a late period, he inspired Cranmer, who wrote under his immediate guidance, to use the term *congregation*, to show that the laity ought to have some share in the government of the Christian society.(i)

On the day when the Bible first exposed its pages on a large desk to the ignorant curiosity of the bystander, the clerk approached, opened the volume, and filled with inspiration, began to expound the doctrines of the revealed Word. The priest was now compelled to abandon his pulpit and sit at his ease in his presbyterial chair. He had become superfluous, in the

(a) Hallam, Constitutional History of England.
(b) Hallam.
(c) Id.
(d) Strype's Memorials.
(e) 25th Henry VIII., c. XV.—Hallam.
(f) Hallam.
(h) Burnet.
(i) Hallam.

religious community, for what need was there thenceforward of the oral teaching of the priest, since, thanks to Tyndal, any one who could read was at liberty to assume the guidance of an evangelical flock? The reading of the Bible, however, only tended to increase disputes, and there were soon as many interpreters as readers, each immediately and directly guided by the spirit of unity, seeking to establish his own private interpretation as a heavenly inspiration. England now possessed her prophets as well as Germany had possessed hers, but the English prophet, fearful of the king's anger, confined himself to insult, without having recourse to arms in defence of his interpretation. "In England," remarks Erasmus, "the king reigns either by death or by terror."(a) Norfolk and Gardiner took advantage of a momentary absence of Cranmer to point out to the king the danger of allowing these versions in the vulgar tongue to be circulated; and the king, on reconsidering the matter, prohibited the sale of Tyndal's incorrect translation, and decreed that the Bible should no longer be read in the churches to the peasantry, to women, or any persons incapable of understanding it.(b) The Catholic party, the importance of which Burnet unjustly denies, was in a minority in London and all the large towns, but in a majority in the country parts of the north and south of England.(c) The peasants, even after the death of Henry VIII., manifested dispositions so hostile to the Reformation, that government was obliged to recall the German troops from Calais, "to bring them to reason."(d) The peasantry of Kent especially manifested a lively attachment to the ancient faith of Edward, and the Catholics of that county long resisted all Cranmer's attempts at corruption. The chapter of Canterbury, not to be seduced either by fear or cajolery, had frequently denounced from the pulpit the hypocritical conduct of the primate.

A storm was about to burst out against the archbishop. Encouraged by Gardiner, some of the canons of Canterbury denounced to the king and to the whole country certain acts that Cranmer had committed, and which, had their commission been proved, must have ruined him in the king's estimation. They accused him of having allowed some of his visitors to carry off from the churches the images of saints; of tolerating at Canterbury a club, at which a tailor acted as a priest, and, pretending to be inspired, explained the Scriptures to his disciples by twisting them according to his fancy; of protecting those members of the clergy who, like Spooner, vicar of Broughton, preached against auricular confession, and refused to hear the penitents who came to them to confess their crimes; of keeping up a correspondence with the German Reformers; of denying the Real Presence; of refusing to admit the Mass as a sacrifice; of regarding the celibacy of the clergy as an immoral state.(e) The memorial containing an enumeration of their complaints against the primate was secretly conveyed to the king, who, feigning astonishment, pretended to believe the accusation, and expressed his intention of instituting a serious inquiry into the conduct of his favourite. A few days after, the monarch took his barge and repaired to the archbishop's residence at Lambeth. At the sight of a barge surmounted by the royal arms, Cranmer descended the steps of his palace, and hastened to the river, to meet and compliment his sovereign, who invited him, in an affectionate manner, to take a sail on the river. The primate took his seat by the side of the king, and the following conversation immediately commenced between them:—(f)

"Truly," said the king, looking attentively at the archbishop, whilst the barge was returning up the Thames, "I have been thinking seriously on the progress that heresy is making in my kingdom; but woe to him who shall be found spreading

(a) In Anglia omnes aut mors sustulit aut metus contraxit.
(b) 34th Henry VIII., c. 1.
(c) Hallam.
(d) Burnet.

(e) See Strype, chap. xxvi., headed, "Black Clouds over the Archbishop," in which the accusations brought against the prelate are given in detail.
(f) Rapin de Thoyras.—Strype's Memorials.

it among my people; I shall certainly discover him, and punish him with the utmost severity. What do you think of it?" "Your zeal, sire, is certainly very praiseworthy; but I must entreat your majesty, in the name of God, to examine seriously what it is that is generally termed heresy, lest, instead of punishing sectarians, you let your anger fall on the disciples of the word of Truth." "Oh! I shall not allow myself to be deceived, I assure you. Are you acquainted with the heresiarch of Kent, the protector of the sectarians? I know him well; you are the very man, my dear chaplain."(a) Henry then took from his doublet the memorial presented to him by the canons of Canterbury, saying, "Read, read!" Cranmer, after having perused a few lines of the accusation, threw himself at Henry's feet, and, with clasped hands, called Heaven to bear witness to his orthodoxy; he acknowledged that he had been married, but observed that on the passing of the statute of the Six Articles, he had immediately sent his wife back to Germany; and ended by humbly requesting to be tried before his peers, that he might have an opportunity of proving his innocence. He knew well what he was doing; no one could reproach him with having uttered a word against the dogmas approved of by the king.(b) Had he been arraigned at the bar of the House of Lords, he would not have pleaded long, for he would have exclaimed, "My creed is the creed of the king," and how could he then have been condemned. Henry raised his favourite, embraced him, and appointed a commission, not to examine into the primate's conduct, but to prosecute his accusers. Some of them were imprisoned, and the rest were obliged to go as supplicants to beg the archbishop's pardon.(c)

The canons were sure to fail. They were attacking a priest whose opinions were reflected in those of his master, as the camelion is said to reflect the colour of the object presented to it; a Catholic when he replied to the work of Vadianus, "Aphorism upon the consideration of the Eucharist," because Henry believed in the Real Presence; a Lutheran in his Catechism dedicated to Edward, because the royal youth believed in the doctrine of consubstantiation; a Calvinist a few months later, because the Regent, Somerset, was favourable to the Genevan creed.(d) His adversaries were not, however, discouraged by the failure of the chapter, and the struggle revived with renewed vigour. John Gostwick, in the House of Commons, had the boldness to accuse the primate of sacramentarianism. If it could have been proved that he rejected the doctrine of the Real Presence, he would have been ruined; but by denying that he ever had held any other opinion than that of the king on the Eucharist, he once more escaped the stake, to which the vain orthodoxy of his master would have condemned him. On hearing of the accusation brought against his favourite, Henry exclaimed: "It is a monstrous act of impertinence for a scoundrel like Gostwick to attack in full Parliament the honour of the primate of the kingdom!" And turning towards one of his officers, he said: "Go to the House and tell this scoundrel that if he does not retract this calumny and make his reconciliation immediately with my Lord of Canterbury, I will first make of him a poor Gostwick; and my resentment shall not be limited to that, for I will punish him as an example to others."(e) Gostwick was therefore obliged to beg the primate's pardon. The king's language was not enigmatical; Henry gave him the choice of submission or death.

Cranmer had triumphed, and he determined to profit by his victory. A number of the sees having become vacant, he exerted all his influence to have them filled by the partisans of the Reformation. Lee, Archbishop of York, was succeeded by Robert Holgaire, Bishop of Llandaff, a man of a turbulent spirit, who, shortly

(a) O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent.—Strype.
(b) Rapin de Thoyras.
(c) Strype.

(d) Sanders de Schismate.
(e) Tell the varlet Gostwick, that if he do not acknowledge his fault unto my lord of Canterbury, I will soon both make him a poor Gostwick, and otherwise punish him to the example of others.—Strype's Memorials.

after his installation, began, says Burnet, to reform the numerous abuses which still existed in the divine service in his diocese, such as the invocation of saints, the veneration of images, pilgrimages, the custom of carrying the viaticum to the sick, and auricular confession. Holbeach, a man of no attainments or principle, was raised to the episcopal see of Rochester. Everything was prepared to extinguish the last spark of Catholicity, as soon as death should have terminated the career of Henry VIII.(a)

Alarmed, however, at that controversial mania which had infected every part of the country since the Bible had been given to the people in the vulgar tongue, Henry deemed it advisable, in order to put an end to the theological disputes that were threatening the stability of his church, to forbid all children, women, and peasants, to read the sacred Volume. This aristocratic whim of concealing "the Word of God" from the ignorant was a terrible blow upon the Biblical missionaries. Cranmer laboured hard to convince his master of the danger incurred by this measure, and at length succeeded in obtaining permission to publish an English version of the Bible, to be translated under the *surveillance* of his majesty. Cranmer wanted to have the Mass said in the vulgar tongue as it was in Germany;(b) but Henry was too much attached to that noble Latin language in which he had obtained his theological triumphs in his contests with Luther, to concede this point; he cherished the language like a laureate of rhetoric. The primate, however, continued to importune the king whom he never suffered to rest, till he had obtained permission to have the Litanies recited in English. The Reformers clapped their hands, and were transported with joy, when Cranmer introduced into the Litany the following invocation: "From the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable baseness, deliver us, O Lord." Cranmer, the only man, according to Henry, who never refused anything to his sovereign,(c) took advantage of the influence that he had obtained over the king's mind to secure for the triumph of the new doctrines, and there is no knowing to what extent he might have carried his innovations, had not Gardiner, who was in correspondence with Charles V., warned the king that the emperor was threatening to break off all intercourse with England, if his majesty should continue to listen to the enemies of the ancient faith. The primate's success, consequently, met with a temporary check.(d)

From this period, the two prelates were engaged in incessant contests, in which each struggled to overcome his enemy by the display of those different passions which were natural to him; Cranmer by his spirit of craft and cunning; Gardiner by the impetuosity of his temper. Had Henry's reign been prolonged but a few years more, it is probable that the lying and deceit of the primate would have succumbed under the blunt candour of the Bishop of Winchester. But the man of the north, represented by the primate, possessed an advantage over the southern character, represented here in the person of the bishop. Master of all his actions, of his soul as well as his pen, Cranmer never committed any fault that could compromise him in the eyes of his master; whilst Gardiner, with his impetuous anger, was continually committing himself, in the opinion of the king as well as in that of the public; his disposition was stamped on his countenance and always displayed in his writings. Cranmer possessed all the vices common to courtiers, dissimulation, obsequiousness and cowardice; Gardiner, the passions of youth, imprudence and anger; and his manner was as intemperate as his speech. Cranmer's conduct under Henry VIII. is a perfect model of learned hypocrisy;(e) his language and physiognomy, everything in the primate was

(a) Burnet.
(b) Hume.
(c) Le Grand.

(d) Hume.

(e) Not only in cases when fortune favoured the Lutherans, but when any one was to be burned on a charge of heresy, or a priest to be deprived of his wife, no one was more active than Cranmer; for his levity in flattering the king overcame his obstinacy as a heretic.—Le Grand, Histoire du divorce, quoting from the MS. life of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

acquired and studied; never was there a man more skilful in aping virtue. From his palace at Lambeth, he watched attentively every caprice of his master, and appeared to glory in his slavish submission to the monarch's will; in his eyes, Henry was more than a king, he was a divinity, whose every word was an oracle, and he possessed the art of divining every word and thought that occupied the mind of his God. Endowed with unbounded patience, he could wait for the issue of events with stoic tranquillity, and prepare himself long beforehand to act the part which circumstances, in proportion as they should develop themselves, might require from him.(a)

(a) When he published, at the commencement of the reign of Edward VI., his homilies in celebration of that youthful king's accession, Coverdale's enthusiasm was so much excited by the words of the archbishop, that he saluted the young prince as the commander-in-chief of the armies of the earth, as the pilot of the state-vessel, as the Noah of the sacred ark, as the dove that brought to the world the olive branch of peace. Astounded at the versatility of Cranmer, who in his sermons repudiated doctrines which he had previously taught, Gardiner paused, became irritated, and, fired with indignation, demanded the reason of this strange apostasy. "You tell me," said he, "that his majesty has been deceived in the book entitled 'the King's Book;' but it was Parliament that gave it this title, and you yourself recognised it, received it, approved of it, and even recommended it in your diocese! Would you have patronized a work that was not orthodox! If it contained errors endangering the salvation of souls, would your grace, and mightiest of bishops, have been disposed to risk the salvation of your flock, by giving them as articles of faith the doctrines contained in the royal book? For four years, your grace has been fed by no other spiritual food than that contained in 'the King's Book,' and no sooner is the king dead than you write to me stating that his highness was deceived: deceived by whom?" Which is not his book because I cal it so, but because it was indede so acknowledged by his parliament, and acknowledged so by your grace, then, and at his life, which, as you afterwards wrote, ye commanded to be published and red in your diocese."—Strype, Cranmer's Memorials, Appendix, 74.

In one of his homilies on salvation, adopting the theory of the Saxon school upon faith, the archbishop taught that we are justified by faith without the works of the law, and that charity is a work of the law: "We be justified by faith without all works of the law: charity is a work of the law."—Strype's Memorials.

Cranmer, on losing his most influential friend at court, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the husband of the dowager queen of France, who had died a few years before, found himself exposed to fresh attacks and dangers. The Catholics, depending on Henry's vanity in wishing to appear orthodox, represented to his majesty, that if his zeal was not successful in maintaining the peace of the Church of England, he had no one to blame but the primate, Cranmer, whose example and influence were the only support of heresy in the state.(b) "Let Cranmer be imprisoned in the Tower," said they, "and the terror which his name inspires having ceased to exist, the truth will triumph."(c) But the king, feeling inclined to give another lesson to the adversaries of his metropolitan, sent for him, revealed to him the plot, and pointed out to him the line of conduct that he wished him to pursue on this occasion: "You will obey, my Lord," said he to him affectionately, "the summons of the council; you will appear before the House of Lords and claim the privileges granted to your dignity; you will insist on being confronted with your accusers; if your request should be refused, you will appeal to your master, and if your voice should be silenced, you will exhibit this royal ring."(d) Cranmer threw himself at the monarch's feet, kissed his hand, and placing the ring on his finger, set out for Lambeth. London was in a state of commotion, for the primate's fall was predicted. All his friends were concealed; his creatures kept in the back ground, and even his servants had already begun to speak of quitting his service. This was the commencement of a drama like that performed in Wolsey's case, but the finale was to be somewhat different.

On the following day the archbishop received a summons to appear before the council; he set out, and was compelled, before being admitted into the council chamber, to wait several hours, confounded among the livery servants. On appearing before the tribunal, he heard the word

(b) Hume.
(c) Burnet.
(d) Fox.—Burnet.—Strype.

heretic whispered on all sides; all the councillors, with feelings of indignation, reproached him with infesting the country with false doctrines. Cranmer insisted on being confronted with his accusers. "To the Tower!" cried the judges, in one voice. "I appeal to his majesty," said the primate. "To the Tower!" "My lords," replied the primate, during an interval of silence, "since you take no notice of my appeal to the royal name, here is an object that will explain to you his majesty's will," and stretching out his hand, he showed them the royal ring, at the sight of which the indignation of the peers was suddenly appeased. They cast down their eyes in silence, rose from their seats with terror and confusion,(a) and repaired to the king's palace, trembling for fear of immediate punishment, and endeavouring to invent on their way expressions that might serve to disarm his majesty's wrath. "A pretty set of councillors you are," said the king, on perceiving the peers; "I imagined that I had in my service a number of wise men, and I find that God has given me nothing but fools. By the Mother of God, my lords, if ever a king could be indebted to his subjects, I swear to you that at this moment I ought to feel grateful to the primate; and observe how you treat him, like some servant, by making him wait at the door among your livery servants! Would you, my lords, like to be treated in a similar manner?" (b)

The Duke of Norfolk approached the king, and said, with a downcast look, "Sire, it was not through malice, but through friendship for my Lord of Canterbury, that we thought of sending him to the Tower, so sure were we that his grace's innocence would appear manifest before his judges at the House of Lords."(c) "If it be so, my lord of Norfolk," said the king, contemptuously, "we desire not to be numbered among your friends.(d) But enough; this state of things has existed too long; make your peace with my primate." Cranmer, who had kept at a distance, now approached, and offered his hand, which each of the peers respectfully kissed. A culprit, who had anticipated his pardon, and secured his impunity by his servile complaisance; peers who turned pale at the sight of a royal diamond; a prince who ridiculed the sacred forms of justice; such were the scenes of that comedy that was performed at Whitehall!(e)

(a) Fox's Acts and Monuments.—British Biography.

(b) Have you not used him like a slave, by shutting him out of the council chamber among serving men. Would ye be so handled yourselves?—Tytler.

(c) It was our trust that, after his trial, he might be set at liberty to his greater honour. —Todd, quoting Gilpin.

(d) Todd.—Tytler.

(e) Tytler makes the following reflection on this scene:—"But what opinion are we to form of the general character of a monarch who was thus familiar with the base prostitution of the law, and, when his own passions were to be gratified, not only permitted, but commanded it?"

CHAPTER XLVI.

KATHERINE PARR.—1544 AND FOLLOWING YEARS.

Heresy in England.—Shaxton imprisoned.—He retracts.—Anne Ayscough preaches against the Real Presence, is imprisoned, and afterwards burnt.—Cranmer's conduct.—Katherine Parr favours the Reformers.—She is denounced to the king.—Henry issues a warrant against his wife The queen escapes punishment.

THE impunity of Cranmer, whose heterodox opinions were well known, aroused the hopes of the Reformers; but the king, from his palace at Greenwich, kept his eye on the innovators and was prepared to punish the least attempt on the Anglican creed with the extreme penalty of the law. At the very time when the sacramentarians, imagined that this corporeal mass, eaten up with ulcers, was about to descend into the

tomb, it suddenly arose, revived, and pointed out to its satellites the victims doomed to the stake. Shaxton, who had resigned his see of Salisbury, was in prison for having taught that Jesus Christ was not present in the Eucharist; that the sacrament of the altar was but a mere symbol, or, in his words, a memorial of the body crucified for the redemption of man.(a) This was one of the opinions that the bishop had derived from the book of one of those sectarians whose ignorance had been so coarsely attacked by Luther. "Asses that you are," said the Saxon to the disciples of Zuinglius; "take and read: 'This is my body.' Do you understand?"(b) Shaxton, having been brought before the tribunal, was convicted of having denied the Real Presence, and sentenced to suffer at the stake; but his courage failed him, and he consented to see the Bishops of London and Rochester and Drs. Robinson and Redmayn,(c) who visited him in his prison, discussed the point with him, and succeeded in persuading him to retract. Shaxton shed abundant tears, and acknowledged and abjured his errors. As a reward for this unexpected return to the truth, which the commissioners regarded as the work of their eloquence, the sacramentarian was set at liberty, and, inspired with the zeal of a neophyte, began to preach against his co-religionists.

Among his former disciples, was a woman named Ryme, who had left her husband, and under her maiden name of Anne Ayscough, had assumed apostolic functions. Young, and exceedingly beautiful, she at first seduced by her charms those who heard her preach, and afterwards won them over to her doctrines by her persuasive eloquence. She preached in the public squares, and even in the apartments of some of the ladies of the court; and it was she who secretly supplied Katherine Parr with heretical books. The queen met with theological arguments in these books that sometimes exercised all Henry's dogmatic skill, and often excited his anger. Anne's co-missionary was Jane Boucher, whom Cranmer condemned to the stake as an Anabaptist under the reign of Edward VI.(d). Anne was imprisoned at Newgate, by order of the council, but her friends intervened to obtain her liberation on bail, and after a long conference, the Bishop of London made her sign a profession of faith in which she acknowledged that the body of Jesus Christ was in the Eucharist after the consecration, whether the celebrant were or were not in a state of grace. On signing this document, she added in a postcript, that she believed in the Real Presence in the purely evangelical sense. The bishop at first hesitated to receive this formulary thus amended, but yielded at last to the solicitations of the young woman's friends, and Anne was released from her prison. Bonner, it must not be forgotton, had joined Gardiner's party, and was struggling against the ascendant and the opinions of the Archbishop of Canterbury. During the whole period of his antagonism to the Holy See, the bishop was regarded by his party as a learned theologian, but now that he had deserted the cause of Cranmer, he was looked upon as an ignorant fanatic.

Immediately after her release from Newgate, Anne resumed her apostolic labours, and was again arrested. At Greenwich, where she soon after had to appear before the council, she continued her preaching before the assembled members, who, despairing of being able to overcome her obstinacy, sent her back to prison.(e) At Newgate, being deprived of the power of preaching, she occupied her time in composing controversial tracts, all on the same subject. She wrote to the king stating, that with regard to the Eucharist, she believed what Jesus Christ had said respecting it, what the Catholic Church believed and tradition had always taught. Henry was determined, if possible, to convert this woman: had the state of his health permitted it, he would probably have proposed to her a theological controversy which Anne would doubtless have accepted. Shaxton undertook to act as

(a) Crawley's Confutation of Shaxton's Articles, 1546.
(b) See Audin's History of Luther.
(c) Todd.

(d) Lingard.
(e) Burnet.

Henry's substitute. He went to her, armed with the same arguments by which Bonner and Heath had endeavoured to convert her; but he was even less successful, for the prisoner would scarcely listen to him. When they separated, she cursed him, applying to him what Jesus Christ said to Judas, that it would have been better for him had he never been born.(a)

As she had often been seen at court, the king inquired which of the noble ladies protected the heretic, and whether it was true, as had been asserted, that the queen was in correspondence with her. The Lord Chancellor, Wriothesley, was commissioned to examine Anne on the subject, and to induce her to give up the names and sentiments of her abettors.(b) Wriothesley, on succeeding Audley in the office of Lord Chancellor, had been received with joyous acclamations, but on his manifesting a desire of reconciliation with Rome, the Reform party began to look upon him as an upstart.(c) It must be acknowledged to the credit of Anne, who, by denouncing her secret benefactresses would most probably have obtained her pardon, that she observed an inviolable secrecy with regard to these noble ladies, and refused to utter a single word that could compromise them. This circumstance will serve to explain the cause of the tears that were shed by the Duchess of Suffolk, the Marchioness of Stafford, and Katherine Parr, at the sufferings of this young woman. All that could be extorted from her in the shape of a confession was, that a livery servant had come to Newgate and given her money to enable her to alleviate the rigours of her captivity, perhaps to purchase a little white bread, to procure herself a change of bed-linen, or a fire to warm her frozen hands, for the prisoners were cruelly treated in Henry's prisons; who shall say? perhaps she may have employed this money in purchasing a few sheets of paper, on which, when concealed from the eye of the lieutenant, she might attempt to confound her enemies in an imaginary contest. There were many other prisoners at that time confined in Newgate, and all for the same crime. Some of them, after the example of Shaxton, recanted, but others persisted in their obstinacy, and were brought before an ecclesiastical tribunal by Cranmer, who excommunicated them as incorrigible heretics, and delivered them up to the secular power. Todd asserts that the archbishop did not preside on the day when these victims of the royal fury were condemned to the stake; but it was his duty to preside over the ecclesiastical court, and Cranmer would not have ventured to absent himself for fear of incurring the displeasure of his sovereign, who, through a miracle which the archbishop never thought of disputing, was considered by him as the living image of the Divinity. The blood of Anne Ayscough was not held more precious than that of the schoolmaster Lambert, which he had so readily sacrificed to the fury of his royal master.(d)

When, at a later period, Cranmer condemned Jane Boucher, the confidant of Anne Ayscough, for having maintained that Christ, as man, was not born of the Blessed Virgin, as woman, whose humanity had been conceived in sin, but of the interior substance which had remained immaculate, the unfortunate creature rose from her seat, and thus addressed the archbishop: "A short time ago, you condemned Anne Ayscough to the stake for a piece of bread, and yet you now teach the very doctrine for which she was burnt, and how you are going to have me burnt for a little flesh; but I tell you that you will adopt my sentiments when you come to read the Scriptures and fully comprehend them."(e) It cannot be denied that

(a) I said to him that it had been good for him never to have been born.—Todd.

(b) Hume.

(c) A contemporary writer thus describes him:—

From vile estate of base and low degree,
By false deceit, by craft and subtle ways,
Of mischief mould and key of cruelty,
Was crept full high, borne up by various stays..
With ireful eye, or gleaning like a cat,
Killing by spite whom he thought fit to hit.
—Cavendish.

(d) See Chap. XXXVIII. of this work.

(e) Lingard.—Hallam.—Gilpin, in his "Life of Cranmer," says, "that nothing even plausible can be adduced in defence of the archbishop on this occasion." "The young king," says Phillips, in his "Life of Cardinal Pole," showed a reluctance to signe the warrant for the execution of these wretches, von Paries

Cranmer was present at the condemnation of Anne Ayscough, and yet, Strype asserts that he was not present; but how can we reject the testimony of Jane Boucher? Does she not directly accuse the primate of the condemnation?

Anne Ayscough was carried to the place of execution in a chair, her limbs having been dislocated, it is said, by torture. Nicholas Belenian, a priest, John Adlam, a tailor, and John Lassels, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, all condemned for the same crime, accompanied her to the stake. While the officers were binding them, Shaxton addressed the victims, exhorting them to follow his example and retract; but they refused to listen to him. His sermon being concluded, Wriothesley offered them a free pardon if they would recant, but being excited by the preparations of the execution, the flames that had already commenced to burn, and that vast crowd that had assembled to witness their death, they refused both the pardon and the recantation.(a) Their chastisement must have alarmed Katherine Parr, for her life was in danger, since she had only escaped the stake through the discretionary silence of Anne Ayscough. Henry might have called her to account for holding secret conference with the heretics; for circulating prohibited books even within the walls of the palace; for sending pecuniary assistance to the prisoner at Newgate, and for the protection which she had afforded to those turbulent spirits whose opinions were considered subversive of the creed established by the statute of the Six Articles. Katherine acted imprudently in not concealing her religious sentiments;(b) her almoner was an Augustine friar, named Coverdale, who, in 1535, had published an English translation of the Bible, which was merely a reproduction of Tyndal's unfortunate version skilfully disguised.(c) She employed Nicholas Udal to translate, with a slight alteration, the paraphrases of the gospels by Erasmus; and she spent her own leisure hours in compiling into the form of prayers the inspirations of a diseased brain.(d)

The king pursued his usual course of life, eating, drinking, and dogmatizing; the time that was not employed in theological studies was spent at the table, where he indulged without restraint his gluttonous appetite. Stuffed, yet never satiated, he almost invariably left the festive board with cravings of hunger, which he endeavoured to appease with delicate viands, prepared by a skilful cook. He had now almost lost the shape of humanity; an enormous mass of flesh, adorned through flattery with the name of majesty, and drawn about the apartments of his palace in an arm chair. Through the just judgments of Heaven, his fingers, which had signed so many death warrants, had become, almost powerless; three commissioners had been nominated, two to stamp the parchment with a dry impress of the king's name, and a third to ink over the relief of the impression.(e) From an ulcer in his left thigh, which had baffled all the skill of the medical art, there oozed a nauseous matter, which, like lava, marked its course by leaving black streaks after it. Life had taken refuge in the head; the eye preserved its brightness, and the lips their contractile powers. On this hideous being Katherine Parr bestowed, with unchanged and unceasing tenderness, all the cares of a loving and resigned wife. On her knees before Henry, in the evening, she would wash his ulcered leg, and clean the wounds

and Bocher, but Cranmer solved his scruples and prevailed on him to put his hand to it." "Not only," says Todd, "consenting to these acts of blood, but even persuading the aversion of the young king into a compliance, and thus informing his royal pupil's conscience: Your majesty must distinguish between common opinions and such as are essential articles of faith: these latter we must on no account suffer to be opposed."—Life of Cranmer.

(a) Burnet.—Hume.

(b) Burnet.—Tytler —Hume.

(c) Newcome's Biblical translations.

(d) The "Lamentations of a Sinner" at the end of the works of Thomas More, are said to have been written by Udal. "Prayers or meditations wherein the mynd is stirred patiently to suffer all afflictions here, to set at nought the vain prosperite of this world, and allways to long for the everlasting felicity, collected out of a certaine holy worke by the most vertuous and gracious princess Katherine, Queen of England, France, and Ireland."—Printed by John Wayland, 1545.

(e) Rymer, XV., 100, 102.

and sores without manifesting the slightest disgust, endeavouring to occupy the attention of her royal husband by some theological discussion, in which, unfortunately, she would sometimes disagree with him.

Henry's spiritual authority, like himself, was rapidly declining from old age and disease, not only in domestic circles, but also at court, in the Parliament, in the church, and in the universities and colleges. The days of that worldly papacy were numbered; the creed which it had taken so much care in establishing was likewise eaten up with ulcers. Henry had imagined that with his harrow, his block, his axe, and his stake, he could enchain the consciences of his accomplices, and those consciences yielded obedience so long as a breath of life remained in the royal breast, but now that the theocrat was confined to his chair, the forerunner of his tomb, they began to revolt. Then was manifested in England that reactionary phenomenon which we have already noticed, and which is ever produced with fatal uniformity wherever unity has been broken. In England, society, so calm under the papacy, became a prey to interminable disputes. The high priest found, to his great disappointment, that the acephalous Catholicism which he had been endeavouring to establish had no longer any chance of life, and was about to perish like every other production of the human brain. Henry now became a prey to those feelings of despair by which Luther was tormented when about to close his mortal career; the prophetic words of Fisher, of More, and the Carthusians, were now fulfilled. He had himself carried to Parliament; let us hear him for the last time: "It is the fault of the clergy," said he, "if England is a prey to intestine dissensions. Some adhere to their ancient *mumpsimus*, others think of nothing but the new *sumpsimus*.(a) Instead of preaching the Word of God, they spend their time in railing against one another; and the laity, witnessing their disputes, amuse themselves in censuring their bishops, their priests, and preachers. What remedy is there for these disorders? If you find that any one is preaching false doctrine, come and denounce the innovator to the members of our council; come and denounce him to us—to us who have received from God authority to direct consciences; and take care you do not constitute yourselves judges of your own fantastic opinions and vain systems. You have been permitted to read the Scriptures in your mother tongue, in order to enlighten your faith, to form that of your children, and not to dispute and make the Scriptures a theme of insult and censure against your priests and preachers. Oh! my heart is troubled when I find that this Word of God, this precious jewel, is discussed and rhymed in beer-shops and taverns.(b) Never was charity at a lower ebb amongst you; never were holy and godly morals less practised; never was God himself more negligently served."(c)

On his return to Greenwich, the theologian was destined to experience further difficulties. One day, when Gardiner was discussing with the king, (we quote from a Protestant narrative,) (d) the queen, who was present at the conference, not only contradicted certain opinions of the Bishop of Winchester, but even presumed to recommend her husband to be more moderate; whereupon Henry could not suppress a movement of displeasure which Katherine perceived. On her leaving the room, the king turned to Gardiner, and said in an angry tone, "You heard her! these women are presuming to become clerks; what think you of my being taught at my age by my wife?"(e) Gardiner, without the least dissimulation, gladly availed himself of this opportunity of prejudicing the king's mind against Katherine. He lauded Henry's anxiety to maintain orthodoxy among his

(a) An allusion is made in the text to the Protestant story of a priest who in celebrating Mass was in the habit of saying *mumpsimus*, instead of *sumpsimus*. On being corrected for this barbarism, the priest is said to have replied: "I am of the old church; I laugh at all innovators."—Andrew's Hist. of Gt. Brit.

(b) I am very sorry to hear that precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rhymed, and jangled in every tavern, &c.—MSS. Thomson.

(c) Hall.—Lingard.

(d) Tytler.

(e) A good hearing it is, when women become such clerks, and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife.—Id.

subjects, mingling with his applause, perfidious counsels calculated to work out Katherine's ruin; the more heavily the the royal severity should fall on subjects of an elevated rank, the more would he merit from the Church; the nearer those were to him whom he should punish, so much the more salutary would be the example on his people; the dearer the head that should fall under the axe, so much the more glorious would be the sacrifice in the eyes of posterity.(a) Let us not forget, however, that this is the report of the bishop's enemies. Next came the Lord Chancellor, who, on being in his turn consulted, sided with Gardiner in accusing the queen of plotting against the religion of the state.(b)

Irritated by these reports, Henry ordered his ministers to draw up a bill of indictment against the queen. Wriothesley obeyed, and soon after a warrant was brought for the king to sign, for it would have been a crime of high treason for the Chancellor to suspect the queen's fidelity had the king not been his accomplice. Henry attached his seal to the warrant, which by some unaccountable accident escaped from the hands of Wriothesley, and was picked up by a gentleman of the royal household, who took it to the queen. On seeing the royal seal, Katherine went into an adjoining room, and fell into hysterics, filling the whole palace with her cries. Henry, wearied by her screams, for he was no longer to be moved by tears, first sent his physician Wendy, and afterwards had himself carried to her room in order to console her; but on retiring from the apartment, he revealed to the physician the cause of her excitement.(c) Wendy was fortunately a man of intelligence and feeling; and when the queen was alone, he inquired into the nature of the plot, and what was of much greater importance, found out the means of defeating it.(d) In the evening, she went to see the king according to her usual custom, and was received in a much more friendly manner than she had any reason to expect. Henry soon turned the conversation on religious subjects, and appeared desirous of engaging her in a theological discussion; but Katherine recollected the instructions which she had received from the physician, and with great modesty and skill evaded the subject, pleading that such subjects were above the comprehension of a woman. "Woman," said she, "should be subject to man; this law dates from the creation. It is said that man was created after the image of God, and woman after the image of man. Now the image of man owes homage and obedience to the image of God. For my part, I am doubly bound by this law, in the first place as a woman, and secondly, as the wife of a prince who is capable of giving lessons to the wisest and most learned theologians in the world." "By St. Mary," said the king in astonishment, "it is you, Doctor Kate, that might teach instead of being taught."

Katherine, with a truly feminine grace, rejected the praises of her husband, and added, that if she sometimes ventured to dispute with his majesty, it was certainly not that she was proud of her talent, for she knew her incompetency, but merely to amuse his highness, who in the heat of an argument seemed to forget his sufferings; that a conversation, unless occasionally enlivened by contradiction, necessarily became uninteresting; that she had often hazarded objections for the mere pleasure of hearing them answered, and that in consequence of this innocent device, she had often found herself at the termination of a dispute, which she had designedly prolonged, much more enlightened than at its commencement.(e) "In that case," said the king, "my sweet heart, we are again reconciled;"(f) and he embraced her in token of his unalterable affection. Wriothesley was unaware of this reconciliation. On the following day, he was to execute the royal warrant, and conduct the queen to the Tower. It was a lovely day, and Henry, seated in his arm chair, was

(a) Humes—Tytler.
(b) Burnet and the writers on the Reformation.
(c) Tytler.—Lingard.
(d) Tytler.

(e) Lingard.—Hume.
(f) And it is so, sweet heart, then we are perfect friends again.—Tytler.

taking an airing in the park. The queen was by his side endeavouring to amuse him, when the Chancellor entered the garden followed by a numerous guard. The king ordered his chair to be moved a few paces, and the monarch and his minister were soon face to face. The queen remained at a short distance behind, and heard Henry cry out to Wriothesley: "Thou arrant knave and fool, begone."(a)

The Chancellor went away, and Katherine, rejoining her husband, endeavoured to appease him. "Poor Kate," said he, "thou art not aware what that man wanted here. He was going to arrest thee, my love, and imprison thee in the Tower, upon my word!" Katherine, who had thus almost miraculously escaped the stake or the block, was careful thenceforward not to irritate Henry by the slightest contradiction. If the despot had no longer the use of his fingers, his tongue could still perform its functions, and a single word or mute sign was sufficient to point out the victim to the ministers of his vengeance, who did not require a second command.(b)

(a) Knave, arrant knave, fool, beast.—Tytler.

(b) We have only the testimony of Protestant writers respecting the conduct of Gardiner.

CHAPTER XLVII.

NORFOLK.—1546-7

The King on his death-bed.—His anguish of mind.—The Howards and Seymours.—Conspiracy against Surrey and his father, the Duke of Norfolk.—Trial and condemnation of Surrey.—Grief felt in London at his execution.—Norfolk taken to the Tower and condemned to death.—He attempts in vain to excite Henry's pity.—The King's death saves Norfolk from the scaffold.

THAT ulcerous disease with which Henry had been so long afflicted was making daily progress. Struck by an Invisible hand, the tyrant dared not look at his sores; he turned away his eyes when they were dressed, and forbade his attendants to speak of them. But what troubled him still more than his disease, was the future prospects of his heir. His son Edward had not yet attained his ninth year; he was weak, delicate, and born of a mother who is said to have been consumptive; who would there be to watch over the safety of the royal offspring? He had no nearer relations to whom he could confide the education of his beloved child than his two uncles, Thomas and Edward Seymour; one of whom had attained the rank of a knight, the other that of Earl of Hertford, and had been appointed Lord Chamberlain. Elevated from obscurity and despised at court, where their low extraction was no secret, they both favoured the reformed doctrines. Henry read in the Scripture: "Woe to the land whose king is a child;" and this passage filled him with fear and anxiety.(a) He was particularly in dread of the ascendancy of the Howards over the mind of the future king; the Duke of Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey, were like two phantoms that incessantly haunted him; two enterprising men, who might, during a turbulent minority, usurp the place of a child who had no protectors but two imbecile uncles. But how were they to be removed?

A feeling of jealousy had existed for several years between the Howards and the Seymours, those upstarts of recent date, who, had it not been for the king's caprice in marrying Jane, would probably never have risen from their obscurity;

(a) Lingard.

but Jane had left behind her an heir to the throne of England, and that had served to ennoble them. The aged Duke of Norfolk was probably the most to be dreaded by Henry of all the peers of the realm, for he had rendered important services to his country. From the capture of the celebrated Scotch pirate, Andrew Barton, in 1511, until the suppression of the revolt known by the designation of the Pilgrimage of Grace, not a year had passed without his reaping fresh laurels. At Flodden, he had been found deciding by skilful manœuvres the victory of the English arms over the Scotch; and if he had not always been successful in the wars against France, his bravery in the defence of his country had always been incontestable. Favoured by fortune, and endowed with brilliant talents, he had arrived at the acmé of power without having excited the jealousy of others; a few steps alone separated him from that throne to which the old king foresaw that he might sooner or later be elevated. His wealth was immense; Henry had married two of his nieces in succession, and the Duke of Richmond, the king's natural son, had been his son-in-law. Allied to the crown through the House of Mowbray, from which he was descended, he was married to the daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, who was a descendant of Edward III. Both in England and in France, he was regarded as the head of the Catholic party, which, under the direction of so skilful a leader, might regain its ascendancy in England. The old duke, proud of his descent as well as of his services, could not, without feelings of jealousy, witness the exaltation of the Seymours over the Howards in the royal favour, and, unfortunately, he was not sufficiently skilled as a courtier to conceal his resentment.(a) Henry had also another crime with which to reproach him—Norfolk was the father of the Earl of Surrey.

Surrey was one of the most remarkable noblemen at the English court;(b) an excellent swordsman, adored by the literati, towards whom he behaved like a prince, fearless and irreproachable in fighting for the defence of his country, a good companion at the festive board, ever ready to assist the companions of his pleasure and his friends, extreme in his hatred as well as in his love, and no less sparing of his life than of his purse, a brilliant poet, a skilful musician, and, according to Dr. Nott, a faithful husband.(c) It was said at Greenwich that he was a cowardly soldier, incessantly jeered at by Marshal Biez, but this was a twofold calumny. The Seymours had never concealed their hatred of Surrey, whom they represented every where as a braggadocio, devoid of military talents, since he had compromised by his want of skill, the honour of the British army in the siege of the miserable town of Montreuil, defended by only five half-starved men, under an impotent marshal, and which he had failed to take till after a siege of three months. Henry had unfortunately believed these calumnious reports, and Surrey could not conceal his resentment, but burst out into threats of vengeance against the Seymours and the ministers of the crown. He had, moreover, become an object of suspicion to Henry by having at one time refused to marry the daughter of the Earl of Hertford, and also to contract any other marriage. Henry was now made to believe that this nobleman, whose wife was ill, aspired to the hand of the Princess Mary, a project which might deprive Edward of the crown.(d)

Hertford, the brother of Jane Seymour, as the uncle of the heir to the crown, was anxious to obtain the regency, as much through motives of ambition as those of avarice. A slave to both these passions, he was prepared to risk every thing for the attainment of his end.(e) Being a man of determination, he felt convinced that to

(a) Hume.—Lingard — Herbert. —Speed.

(b) The Earl of Surrey, whose name shines with so bright a lustre in the history of English poetry.—Tytler.

(c) The Edinburgh Review, 1827, p. 401. Dr. Nott has published the works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder. London, Longman & Co. 1815.

(d) Hume.

(e) A man of ambition, daring in his designs, and little solicitous regarding the means he employed.—Tytler.

hesitate in political matters, would entail an irreparable loss, and as he saw himself threatened by his rival, he resolved to work out his ruin. Under the reign of Henry VIII. it may be truly said that crimes are to be attributed to those who expected to profit by them; like certain herbs, they grow and ripen in the mud. Hertford, it was said, was led by men devoted to the new doctrines. Both he and the reformers were therefore interested in working out the disgrace of the Howards; Hertford, that he might be able to seize the reins of government after the king's death; and the reformers, that they might escape the penalties of the Six Articles.(a) Henry's death was daily expected, and it was therefore necessary to precipitate the disgrace of the Howards. Their enemies lost not a moment; they surrounded their dying master, and by dint of entreaty and intimidation, succeeded in obtaining, much more easily than they expected, an order for instituting an inquiry into the projects of the Earl of Surrey and his father, the Duke of Norfolk. A crowd of informers, such as are invariably to be seen at the court of a tyrant, lent their aid to the iniquisitorial zeal of the Seymours; some for money, others in the hope of promotion under the new reign, but the majority, through their envy and jealousy towards the Howards, or through the mere pleasure of working evil.(b)

Every thing that hatred or malice could invent was made use of to alarm the king and ruin the Howards. Sir Richard Southwell declared before the Privy Council, upon his soul and conscience, that he had some important revelations to make against Surrey; his depositions have not been preserved, but scarcely had he left the council chamber ere the poet Kennington urged his noble friend to present himself without delay before the Privy Council. Surrey at once acted upon the poet's advice, and presented himself as a man perfectly unconscious of any stain, either of soul or body. He indignantly repelled the accusations of his enemies, requested to be confronted with his accusers, and in case the council should refuse him justice, challenged them to single combat, offering, as a proof of his confidence in God, to fight them in his shirt.(c) Norfolk at the very same time arrived in London, was summoned before the council, and taken to the Tower on the 12th of Dec., 1546. Surrey, who was not aware of the arrest of his aged parent, was imprisoned a few hours after, in a separate dungeon. On the following day, Norfolk's house was searched, and the royal commissioners seized his plate, his furniture, his jewels, his papers and his money; such was the law of that period. Whether the party accused were condemned or acquitted, the crown always found some excuse for retaining his property; and if accused of high treason, he was never suffered to remain long in prison, for the state had no interest in prolonging the life of a prisoner whom it was bound to support. The duke's servants, his mistress, Elizabeth Holland, his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, relict of Henry's natural son, were all brought under an escort to London to be examined before the council.(d)

Then was witnessed a scene, horrible to relate, and unheard of in the history of any nation, even among the pagans; a daughter bearing witness against her father, a sister against her brother, a mistress against her lover. The Duchess of Richmond, before the image of Jesus Christ crucified, accused her brother, Lord Surrey, of having spoken contemptuously of the Earl of Hertford, of having introduced into his coat of arms, the armorial bearings of Edward the Confessor.(e) Sir Edward Knevet, who, had it not been for Surrey, would have had all his property confiscated,(f) came among the rest to depose against his benefactor, whom he accused of keeping among his

(a) Lingard.

(b) The downfall of Surrey was entirely the work of his jealous enemies, and Henry had little or no voice in the matter, on account of his great infirmities.—Nott.

(c) That he was ready to renounce the advantage of his armour, and to fight them in his shirt.—Tytler.

(d) Lingard.

(e) Tytler.

(f) Nott's Life of Surrey.

retainers certain Italians suspected of being spies in the service of Rome. Pope swore that Surrey had visited Cardinal Pole in Italy; another person that he was conspiring against the independence of the country. Surrey indignantly refuted these charges; if he had quartered on his escutcheon the arms of Edward the Confessor, he had done so in accordance with the decision of the king's heralds;(a) his Italian retainers were painters, of whose talents he was a great patron;(b) he had never visited Cardinal Pole, and rather than see his country fall under a foreign yoke, he was prepared to shed the last drop of his blood. All these facts were admitted by the jury assembled at Guildhall, for an attempt was made to treat the prisoner as a plebeian, and Surrey, found guilty of high treason, was condemned on the 19th of January. Six days after, his head fell on the scaffold;(c) but in silence and without witnesses, or the general preparations of an execution,(d) so that doubts were entertained as to whether the order had been signed by the king.(e)

Although the inhabitants of London had been for fifteen years accustomed to these bloody scenes, they could not restrain their tears on beholding that noble Surrey falling under the axe of the executioner in the prime of life. The women remembered his beauty and his youth, the soldiers his courage, the literati his poetical talents, artists his passion for paintings and statues. Never again, said they, would he see that cottage which he had built at Norwich, the first attempt at Grecian architecture in England, a purely Italian dwelling, embellished by the pupils of Petro d'Udine, after the walls of the Vatican. What was now to become of Churchyard, the poet laureate, whom he had taken into his service, and Adrian Junius, the great physician, whose talents he had so generously rewarded? The nymph Geraldine had now lost her knight and bard. He would see her no more with the magic mirror of Cornelius Agrippa, lying carelessly on a carpet of flowers, and reciting the poet's verses.(f) How many beautiful songs had he commenced which death was now to interrupt! More than one young maiden repeated, with tearful eyes, that sonnet in which Surrey imitated and surpassed his master, Petrarch (g)

The innocence of the Duke of Norfolk was, if possible, still more evident than that of his unfortunate son, and the services which he had rendered to his king even more important. His wife, one of the highest ladies of the court, and his mistress, Elizabeth Holland, denounced to the council, the one her husband, the other her lover, relating all those little incidents and secrets with which they had become acquainted through their intimacy with the old duke, or which they had accidentally discovered. His great crime was that of having said: "If the king should die, who but myself could undertake the guardianship of heir to the throne? The king is sickly, and has not long to live; the day is coming when this country will inevitably become the prey of serious contentions." He was further accused of having left one quarter of his escutcheon vacant, intending no doubt to introduce into it the arms of Edward the Confessor, which his ancestors had never borne. And as if his enemies could not be satisfied with imputing to the old duke crimes of which he had never even thought, they attempted to cast a stain on the conqueror of Flodden by making of him a procurer, who, after having married his daughter to the Duke of Richmond, placed her with the king as a concubine or

(a) Hume.
(b) Nott's Life of Surrey.
(c) Lingard.—Nott gives the act of accusation against Surrey.
(d) Herbert.
(e) Tytler.

(f) Nott.—Edinburgh Review, 1816, p. 360.

(g) The soote season, that bud and blooms forth brings
With green heth clad the hill, and eke the vale;
The nightingale with feathers new she sings,
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale;
Summer is come, for every spray now springs;
The hart hath hung his old head on the pale;
The buck in bracke his winter-coat he flings;
The fishes flete with new repaired scale;
The adder all her slough away she flings;
The swift swallow pursueth the flies smale;
The busy bee her honey now she mings;
Winter is worn that was the flowers' bane;
And thus I see among these pleasant things
Each care decays, and yet my sorrow springs.

courtesan. Such, however, was the position which the duchess, enleagued with the Seymours, accused her father and her brother of assigning to her—the mistress of a monarch eaten up with ulcers. The king himself, whose hand was already almost benumbed with the cold of death, took care to insert in the act of accusation the depositions of the degenerate daughter and sister.(a)

Norfolk imagined for a moment that a soldier would listen to the voice of a soldier, and wrote two letters to his former companion in arms, in which he said: "God knows that in the whole course of my long life I have never been unfaithful either to your majesty or to your family. What have I done? I know no more than the child that was born last night. My noble sovereign, in consideration of my past services, be so merciful as to order my accusers to be confronted with me before your majesty, or, at least, if you refuse me this favour, let us appear together before the council."(b) He waited in his dungeon for a reply to his petition, hoping that the king, whose throne he had saved at Flodden would reward him by granting him his life; but the king sent him neither letter nor message. Norfolk wrote again, entreating the same favour, for he dared not claim it as an act of justice; conscious of his loyalty he wished to be confronted with his accusers; but the king persisted in his silence.(c) The examination was commenced, and the members of the council allowed him no repose. 'He was asked whether he had not written letters to certain individuals in cyphers; addressed to the Bishop of Hertford a letter which the Bishop of Durham has since thrown into the fire, and maintained that the Pope had the power of annulling treaties concluded between two sovereigns.(d)

One of the Seymours, however, introduced himself into the Tower, and feigning an hypocritical pity for Norfolk, advised him to have recourse to the king's clemency, by signing an acknowledgment of the crimes attributed to him by his enemies. The captive, terrified at the idea of the scaffold, consented to sign the confession required, in presence of the Lord Chancellor; an act of weakness which his great age may account for but not justify. The duke therefore acknowledged, in the terms that were dictated to him, that on divers occasions he had confided to persons interested in knowing them the secrets of the state; that he had concealed the fact that the Earl of Surrey had adopted the arms of Edward the Confessor which the king alone was entitled to bear; that he himself, since the death of his father, had placed in his escutcheon the arms of England with three labels of silver, which, by hereditary right, belonged exclusively to Prince Edward; crimes of treason, according to the laws of the kingdom, and of which he acknowledged himself guilty and implored pardon for them.(e) This confession, far from exciting the king's commiseration, only served to precipitate the catastrophe of the drama prepared by the Seymours. Norfolk's rivals had already anticipated the division of his spoils among them. To the Earl of Hertford was allotted an income of £666. 13s. 4d. from the land rental of the victim; to Sir Thomas Seymour, £300; to Sir William Herbert, £266. 13s. 4d.; to Sir Anthony Denny, and to Lords Lisle, Saint John et Russell, £200 each; to the Chancellor Wriothesley, £100. Such was the price of the blood divided beforehand among the enemies of the conqueror of Flodden; and history

(a) The act of impeachment was written by the Chancellor Wriothesley.—State Papers, I., 891. The editor informs us that the original contains a few additions and corrections inserted by the trembling hand of the king. He adds: "Of these charges, which undoubtedly formed the ground-work of the impeachment, the most singular is the following, suggested probably to the king by the jealousy of Hertford: "If a man, *compassing with himself to govern the realm, so actually go about to rule the king*, and should, for that purpose, advise his daughter or sister to become his harlot, *thinking thereby to bring it to pass, and so would rule both father and son as by the next article doth more appear: what this importeth*." If a man say these words: "If the king die, who should have the rule of the prince but my father or I, (Surrey), what it importeth." The words in Italics are the king's.

(b) Herbert.

(c) Burnet.

(d) Burnet.

(e) Herbert.—Rapin de Thoyras.

relates that they were even dissatisfied with their share of the Judas-pence.(a) Norfolk, either with a view to disappoint the cupidity of his accusers, or what is more probable, to purchase his pardon, begged the king to settle on Prince Edward and his heirs the splendid property which he possessed in the vicinity of London. Henry accepted the legacy of his victim, and promised to compensate his favourites for any loss they might thereby sustain; imagining, no doubt, that he had still length of days before him, and new victims whom he might despoil.(b)

Deceived in their expectations, the Seymours were so much the more active in working out the destruction of Norfolk. Parliament had assembled, and the House of Lords, without examining the prisoner, without the semblance of a trial, and upon a mere written confession, passed against him a Bill of Attainder,(c) which they lost no time in sending to the Commons. Twenty-seven peers of the realm voted for his death.(d) Having arrived at this stage of the proceeding, Protestant historians would fain have us believe that Cranmer, although he had long belonged to a party that was hostile to Norfolk, retired to his house at Croydon, that he might not have any share in the minister's condemnation.(e) But this is a point which we cannot concede to them, for the journals of the House of Lords(f) show clearly, that instead of absenting himself, as Burnet asserts, the archbishop occupied his seat during the three readings of the bill.

The king's health was visibly on the decline. Henry, fearful that the duke might escape him, ordered the Commons to accelerate the reading of the bill, under pretence that Norfolk being invested with the dignity of Lord Marshal, it would be necessary to appoint another to fulfil the functions of that office at the approaching coronation of Edward.(g) The Commons obeyed; and the king having given his assent to the act of conviction, an order was transmitted to the lieutenant of the Tower to have the prisoner executed. On the following day every thing was ready for the bloody sacrifice; the priest summoned, the axe sharpened, the executioner at his post, the victim at his prayers, when it was announced at the Tower that the king had just breathed his last.—Norfolk was saved.

What a frightful history is that of Henry VIII., in which the reader is obliged to be continually on his guard lest he should shed a tear over those abominable victims, who, like Cromwell suffered, it is true, contrary to all human laws, but who had nevertheless transgressed every Divine precept; lest he should be induced to sympathise with a man whom a miracle seems to have rescued from the sanguinary rage of the Prince, when that man, like Norfolk, had shown himself a heartless parent, a pitiless judge of misfortune and often of innocence.

(a) Burnet.—Lingard.
(b) Lingard.
(c) Hume.
(d) Turner.—The names are in the MSS. Harl., No. 542.
(e) Hume.
(f) Journals House of Lords, 285, 286, 287, 289.—Cranmer, it appears, was present in the House of Lords when the Bill of Attainder passed through it."—Todd.
(g) Hume.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

DEATH OF HENRY VIII.—1547.

Henry makes his Will.—Dispositions of the Monarch.—Account of his last moments.—Edward VI. forbids any kind of mourning for his Father.—The King's body exposed at Sion House and interred at Windsor.—A glance at the Monarch's reign.—The Parliament.—The Reformation in England.

On the 26th of December, 1546, Henry, during one of the few intervals of repose that he experienced, ordered his will to be brought to him. It had originally been drawn up under the eyes of the Chancellor, but Henry wanted to make some alterations. Around his bed stood the Earl of Hertford and fifty witnesses. The king took the parchment and erased the names of several Catholics whom he had at first selected as his testamentary executors. Gardiner, said he, was a perturbator;(a) the Duke of Norfolk a traitor; Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster, a disciple of the Bishop of Winchester.(b) He confirmed the disposition made by Parliament leaving the crown to Prince Edward; in case of his son's death, it was to descend to the Princess Mary, and from her to the Princess Elizabeth. His two daughters could not, under pain of forfeiting their right to the crown, marry without the consent of the Council of Regency whom he nominated. This council was composed of sixteen noblemen, six of whom were peers or bishops; Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor; Lord St. John, the Grand Master; the Earl of Hertford, Lord Chamberlain, and uncle to the young king; Lord Russell, Keeper of the Privy Seal; Viscount Lisle, Lord High Admiral; Tonstall, Bishop of Durham; Sir Anthony Brown, Master of the Horse; Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Bromley, the judge; Sir Edward North, Chancellor at the Court of Augmentation; Sir William Paget, Chief Secretary; Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Herbert, First Gentlemen of the Bedchamber; Sir Edward Wotton, Treasurer of Calais, and Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York. They were almost all advocates of the new doctrines. In one of the clauses of his will, the king ordained that a certain number of Masses should be offered up for the deliverance of his soul from purgatory, although he had destroyed all foundations of a similar nature instituted by his ancestors, and had even left the belief in purgatory a doubtful matter in the formulary of faith which he published in the latter part of his reign.(c)

The physicians, perceiving that the fatal crisis was at hand, felt anxious that some friendly voice should whisper into the king's ear that his last hour was approaching; but no one dared undertake so dangerous a mission, for all persons were aware that there was an act of Parliament which condemned to the block any one who should predict the king's death.(d) In a paroxysm of fever, Henry might raise himself up on his seat, and point out to the sheriff with his finger, the servant who should have been bold enough to warn his master of his approaching end.(e) The

(a) Burnet.
(b) Fox's Acts, &c.

(c) Hume.—Lingard.
(d) Rapin de Thoyras.
(e) The hope of human help was vain.—Godwin's Annals.

dying monarch's room was deserted and silent. At length, Sir Anthony Denny, less cowardly, or more religious than the other courtiers, approached the king, and with a faltering but intelligible voice, informed his majesty that all human hope was at an end, and that he had better turn his thoughts towards his salvation, lift up his eyes to heaven, and implore the Divine mercy. The king listened to his final doom with great resignation, appeared to repent of his faults towards his Creator, protested by mute signs and inarticulate words his hope in the goodness of God, and murmured the name of Anne Boleyn. Denny asked him if he wished to see a priest. "Yes," replied Henry; "the Archbishop Cranmer;(a) but not yet; I want to sleep a little." After sleeping for an hour, he awoke, and feeling the shiverings of death, he desired them to send in all haste for Cranmer, who was then at Croydon. The primate, on his arrival, found the king speechless; but he had still sufficient strength to raise his hand, which he offered to the archbishop. Cranmer entreated him to show by some visible sign that he died in the Christian faith; the fingers of the dying man contracted, and he expired. He was in his fifty-sixth year, and had reigned nearly thirty-eight; his death took place on Friday, the 28th of of January, 1547, at two o'clock in the morning.(b)

Such is the history of Henry's last moments, as related by an historian whose veracity has never been called in question. According to the Anglican Bishop Godwin, the king refused the last consolations of religion until his tongue could no longer give utterance to the answers to the archbishop's questions. Should any of our readers feel astonished at a tyrant like Henry dying so calmly, we would, in the language of Bossuet tell them, that they are not acquainted with all the ways of God, and that they do not sufficiently reflect on the mortal supineness and false peace in which He sometimes leaves his greatest enemies.(c) Observe what Saunders relates: "At the approach of death, Henry once more thought of a reconciliation with the Church, and here we may remark the severity which the Eternal exercises towards those who wilfully and premeditatedly offend him, or who have lost all consciousness of crime. The cruelties which he had practised on his subjects prevented any of his courtiers from telling him the truth. One of the bishops whom he consulted, fearing that he might be led into some snare, replied that his majesty's wisdom was the admiration of the whole world; that he had been induced to throw off the yoke of Rome through Divine inspiration; that his conscience might be perfectly at ease, since Parliament and the laws of the country had authorised the schism." Gardiner, however, on being consulted, advised him to assemble his Parliament and communicate to its members this project of a reconciliation; observing, that if death should cut him off before he had completed this great work, God, who is the Searcher of hearts, would give him the merit of so pious an intention, if any insurmountable obstacle should prevent its accomplishment. Saunders adds, that after the bishop's departure, the courtiers, who were trembling in anticipation of the loss of their ecclesiastical spoils, the reward of their servility to the king, and of which they must have been deprived had the kingdom been reconciled with Rome, persuaded Henry not to allow himself to be alarmed at so vain a scruple.(d)

Harpsfield, as well as Saunders, mentions the desire which the dying monarch evinced to be reconciled with the Church of Rome which he had so cruelly persecuted, and Gardiner refers to it in a sermon, preached by him in London.(e) But Bossuet says, with reason: "Although it may be true that Henry consulted his bishops on this subject, what could be expected from a man who had placed the Church and truth itself under the yoke? However desirous Henry may have felt on this occasion of receiving sincere advice,

(a) With no other but the Archbishop Cranmer, and not with him yet; I will first repose myself a little.—Todd.—Burnet.
(b) Ellis II., 137.

(c) Bossuet Hist. des Variations.
(d) Saunders, de Schismate Angliæ.
(e) Le Grand.

he could not restore to the bishops that liberty of which his cruelty had previously deprived them; they were overawed by the dread of the return of those fits of anger to which the king was subject; and he who had refused to listen to the truth from Thomas More, his Chancellor, and to that of the holy Bishop of Rochester, both of whom he put to death for having expressed their opinions candidly, certainly deserved never again to hear it."(a)

The king's death was kept secret for several days. The Earl of Hertford had lost no time in securing the person of his young ward at Enfield; the Seymours had taken every necessary precaution to insure their future aggrandizement. On the 31st of January, the Chancellor came to Parliament to announce the death of Henry VIII., and on the same day Edward was conducted to the Tower and proclaimed under the title of Edward VI., King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland.(b) By the orders of the newly proclaimed monarch, the tears which the people might be "shedding for the death of his well-beloved father" were to cease, and the prayers that were being offered up in the churches for the repose of his soul were thenceforward to be discontinued; for, wrote Edward to the queen dowager, Katharine Parr: "Though nature commands us to sorrow, the Scripture and prudence require that we should moderate our grief, otherwise we should appear not to have faith in the resurrection of the dead. Henry is saved; a prince who led so holy a life, who governed his people with such justice, so pious a king as my father is sure of going straight to heaven."(c) "No;" wrote he to his sister Elizabeth, "let us shed no more tears for our dear father who is now in heaven; let us cease to lament for a death which for our father has been a change from a life of misery to a state of eternal rest; those who continue to give way to the emotions of nature are unworthy of the name of Christians."(d)

(a) Hist. des Variations.
(b) Lingard.
(c) MSS. Harl., 5087, XXXIV.
(d) Ib., XXXVI.

Mary, the daughter of Katherine of Arragon, bewailed the death of a father who had caused her to suffer the deepest affliction. Edward thus censured her filial grief: "It is an error of nature, said he, we have not lost our father; he who lived with God is now enjoying the repose of everlasting happiness; to continue to mourn for him, would be to offend that God whose will has been accomplished."(e) Could Edward before writing thus, under the direction of Cranmer, his Metropolitan, or Cox, his Latin tutor, have mingled among the crowd assembled around Whitehall, hung round with black, and where the monarch's remains were reposing, he would have witnessed none of those tears the effusion of which he appeared so anxious to restrain. The death of the tyrant, after such cruel sufferings, was regarded by the whole nation both as a punishment and a mercy of Providence.(f) In Pagan Rome, offerings would have been suspended on the statute of the god of deliverance.(g)

On the 14th of February, 1547, the body of Henry was deposited at Sion House, on the road to Windsor, with all the pomp imaginable; the car in which it was conveyed proceeded at a slow funereal pace. Sion House had formerly been a convent, which had experienced the same fate as most of the other religious houses; it had been despoiled of all its riches, and its peaceable occupants driven into exile. It was in a half-ruined chapel of this deserted convent that Henry's body was destined to pass the night. On the following morning, when the funeral *cortège* resumed its melancholy route, a few drops of blood, floating in a viscious liquid, were perceived upon the flags, and were licked away by a dog;(h) thus fulfilling, as some of the

(e) MSS. Harl., XXXV.
(f) By thousands of his subjects his death must have been considered as a merciful release for themselves.
(g) Ellis's Letters, II., 141.
(h) Burnet. This circumstance related by Burnet is taken from a MS. narrative of the divorce of Henry VIII. The author heard it from Sir William Greville, an eye-witness. "The king being carried 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 wagon, the pavement of the church was wetted

Catholics observed, the prophecy of the monk Payton, who, addressing himself to Henry had said: "The dogs will one day lick the blood of the new Achab." On the following day the *cortége* entered Windsor. Henry had bequeathed to St. George's Chapel, dependant on the Castle, nearly £8,000 per annum, as well for the maintenance of two priests who were daily to offer up the sacrifice of the Mass on his tomb, as for four annual obits for the repose of his soul. Eighty wax tapers were burning around his tomb; twelve noblemen dressed in black, some of whom would most probably not have died in their beds had Henry lived a little longer, sat around mourning within an enclosure. At the commencement of the service, Norris, the King-at-Arms cried aloud: "Of your charity pray, good people, for the soul of the high and mighty prince our late sovereign Henry VIII." Gardiner pronounced the funeral oration. When he cast the mould into the grave, saying: *pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri*, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, the Lord Chamberlain, the Treasurer, the Comptroller, and the Gentlemen Ushers, broke their staves into three parts above their heads and threw the pieces upon the coffin. The Psalm De Profundis was then entoned, and the king descended into the vault in which reposed the remains of Jane Seymour.(a)

Lord Herbert has observed that Henry's reign presents so many different phases, that it is extremely difficult to give a just idea of his character; his history alone can describe him.(b) Bartoli expresses the same opinion when he compares the Tudor to one of those volcanic mountains whose base is covered with flowers and verdure, and the summit with lava and scoria.(c) This monarch was endued, as it were, with a double individuality, the one guided by the counsels of Wolsey, but devoid of every thing free or spontaneous; the other, mistress of itself, obeyed only its own caprice and passions; the slave had a few redeeming qualities; the master had none. Wolsey was particularly careful in nourishing the king's veneration for St. Thomas, which had rendered him so great service in his contest with Luther. Had any one then told the royal theologian that between the inhabitant of heaven and the sojourner on this earth, there existed none of that mysterious harmony admitted by Catholicism, he would doubtless have been regarded by him as an infidel; for the royal disputant attributed his success over Luther to his intimate connexion with St. Thomas. The minister should at least have regulated, if not interrupted, these theological studies to which the prince applied with so much fervour, for such a course was sure to give him the tastes of a clerk, and the clerk would soon be metamorphosed into a sophist. Woe to a nation that falls under the rule of a controversial sovereign; if, like Henry, he shake off the yoke of authority, bind down his subjects' consciences, and impose his capricious symbols as a rule of faith; for should argument fail him, the despot will not hesitate to make use of the scaffold to secure the triumph of his doctrines.

After theology, the study of music held the next place in Henry's affections; as a child, we have seen him singing in the choir and composing motets, the notation of which bears evidence of his having studied profoundly the science of melody. But as he advanced in age, he imitated Luther, and neglected an art to which they

with his blood. In the morning came the plumber to mend the chest, under whose feet, 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, Wm. Greville, who could seam drive away the dog, told me, and so did the plumber also.—MSS., p. 15.

(a) Strype.—Sandford.—In 1813, during the reign of George III., while restoring St. George's Chapel at Windsor, an accidental stroke from the pickaxe of a mason laid open the cover of Henry VIII.'s tomb, and the king's skeleton was exposed to view. Sir Henry Halford was frightened at the sight of this Colossus of nearly six feet in length.

(b) Hume,

(c) L'ultima parte della vita d'Arrigo VIII. chi volesse unire in tutto d'istoria coll' altra mezza parte antecedente, parebbe, pare a me, quello che fa natura in sassi delle montague che gittan fuoco ed hanno al piè falde amenissime, come di paradiso in terra; e per su le prime costiere e fianchi, ogni coso colto e fruttifero; indi foreste e diserti; e col più salire, peggiorando, balzi, e scogli, e voragini, sino a terminare in quella orribile bocca di fuoco, che se non è bocca d'inferno, almen non le manca nulla a parerlo.

were both indebted for so much enjoyment. There is in the British Museum a list of the numerous instruments which Henry left at his death at Westminster; a sad legacy for the royal treasury, for they were nearly all spoiled by the damp or heat, covered with dust, or half broken. The king had not used them for a long time, for a lute, in the hands of a man who was continually signing warrants of death, would have excited a laugh among his people, and Henry was in great dread of ridicule.

It may be asked, how it was that the fine qualities which Heaven had bestowed on this prince disappeared to give place to vices which we seldom find united in the same individual, and which, according to Shakespeare, were enough to make angels weep? (a) Henry was ruined in the first instance by the immense amount of gold which he found, on his accession, in the state coffers, and which his father had amassed during a reign of fifteen years; this wealth, which a more prudent minister would only have allowed him to spend for the wants of the state, caused him to acquire expensive habits, which the ordinary revenues of the crown were sure one day to be unable to meet. Fond of tournaments, festivals, and balls, at which the ladies vied with one another in praising him, he spent upon these the savings of his old father. It was Wolsey's interest to allow the king to run into every possible extravagance; at first, because Henry, absorbed in these theatrical representations, of which he alone seemed to be the hero, was kept away from the affairs of the state, and the administration, we do not say the responsibility, of these affairs was left to the management of the favourite; and at a later period, because the sight of those magnificent festivals, at which the ambassadors of foreign courts were always present, served to throw an eclat, false though it might be, over the national royalty, which was generally considered more rich than it was in reality, and caused the rival monarchs to seek Henry's alliance, because they were afraid of his strength and his wealth. This was a fiction which Wolsey kept up with admirable skill during the whole time of his administration.

But it was a fiction that was destined to cost as dear to the nation as to the monarch; to the nation, by deceiving it with regard to the real state of the revenue to the monarch, by leading him into expenses incommensurate with the revenue. No sooner was the country engaged in a war, excited by the vanity of the king and the ambition of the minister, than an appeal was obliged to be made to Parliament for subsidies. At this unexpected cry of distress on the part of royalty, the conscience of Parliament was naturally moved, and it hesitated to grant supplies to a prince who, on the previous day, had displayed such scandalous pomp before the eyes of all Europe. The country had a right to depend upon Parliament, which had, at first, passed some very popular acts, such as the abolition of the law which conferred on the judges of assize courts the right of examining into every crime, except that of treason, without consulting a jury, and merely on information laid in the king's name, (b) and the introduction of considerable amendments in the exercise of the right of disinheritance for the profit of the crown. (c)

If, in the struggles of the first parliaments against Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., a great number of the peers zealously encouraged the resistance of the Commons to the fiscal measures of the crown, it was owing to the Upper House being at that period composed of lords spiritual and temporal belonging to the great families of the kingdom; their riches and their credit enabled them to withstand all the encroachments of the royal prerogative. Urged by his insatiable avarice, Henry VII. imagined, that to deprive them of their wealth was to diminish their influence. Actions brought against persons for the usurpation of property, accusations for crimes of high treason, condemnations for contumacy, the restoration of feudal rights fallen into disuetude; such were the means employed by the Tudor to replenish his treasury. The Earl of Oxford was com-

(a) We play such fantastic tricks before high heaven, as make the angels weep.

(b) Henry VII., c. II.
(c) Ib.—Henry VIII. c. V.

pelled to pay to the crown £15,000 for having kept in his pay a band of armed men.(a) The clemency of Henry VII. even was a mercenary commodity; and these fines and confiscations, by impoverishing the nobility, had intimidated and enslaved them. When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the majority of the aristocratic families were extinct or ruined, and their spoils had been shared among the royal favourites and courtiers.(b) Henry VII., like an able politician, felt persuaded that to secure to himself a peaceful reign it was necessary that he should intimidate the nobility, who had been the cause of so much trouble to the House of York, whose representative he had dethroned at Bosworth; and Henry VIII., under the guidance of Wolsey, the son of a butcher, followed in the footsteps of his father.(c) The heir of the White Rose, the Earl of Suffolk, who, an exile in the Netherlands, was seeking to return to England, was accused of high treason, and delivered up to Henry VII. by the Archduke Philip, on condition that the prisoner's life should be spared. The old king kept his promise, but required from his successor that the sentence declared against the earl should be executed. Henry VIII. accepted this legacy of blood, and Suffolk perished on the scaffold.(d) Another nobleman, the representative of one of the most illustrious families in England, that of the Staffords, the Duke of Buckingham, by his rank, his name, his dignities, his riches, and his credit, might cause the king great uneasiness. On some futile pretext he was arrested and tried for high treason. He was accused of holding mysterious interviews with a monk, who predicted future events, and who, like Shakespeare's magician, had said to the new Macbeth, "Thou shalt be king." Buckingham was tried and condemned, and died by the hand of the executioner. The fall of these two heads showed the nobility that if they wished to live in security in the country, they must be careful not to give umbrage to the sovereign. The lesson was not lost; and it must be confessed, that the people were not the first to take refuge in servitude; but the aristocracy, actuated by fear or ambition, deserted the cause of liberty. The degenerate aristocracy were alone accountable for so many illegal trials, so many odious bills, sanguinary statutes and impious measures, so many foolish acts of tyranny, which tarnished the reign of Henry VIII.; the Norfolks, the Suffolks, the Howards, the Buckinghams, and so many other representatives of ancient families, yielded in every thing to the royal power, sold their consciences, and through their cowardice sacrificed public liberty to the caprice of their master. The House of Commons ceased to defend private interests, because the House of Lords had voluntarily refused its co-operation in the exercise of power.

Cardinal Pole, witness of this shameful pact, by which the whole nation was enslaved, exclaims, with sorrow: "Was there ever before seen, I do not say in England, where the people have always enjoyed extensive privileges; but in any Christian kingdom, a despot, whose smallest caprice was regarded as a sovereign law." At the time that the cardinal was uttering these complaints, he had under his eyes the annals of his country, and in perusing their pages he saw through the past that independence of spirit with which his countrymen had always been animated, aroused with indignation against the excess of power. He delighted in referring to those struggles on the part of the Parliament, under the Plantagenets, against the encroachments of power; he saw the ancient representatives of the British aristocracy, a few drops of whose blood flowed in his veins, refusing subsidies to the crown, exiling a prevaricating minister, branding professors of colleges, expelling a king's son, and even annulling royal sentences. In a few years this zeal for the defence of liberty and justice had become extinct, and Pole covered his face and wept.

A few gleams of independence now and then fell upon this atmosphere of servitude which was oppressing the nation, but they were immediately stifled. A citizen perhaps

(a) Hallam.
(b) Lingard.
(c) Hallam.
(d) Id.—See Chap. IV.

was thrown into prison for murmuring against the docility of Parliament; the city merchants, in order to escape the voluntary tax, invoked the statute of Richard III.; but they were silenced by being told that Richard III. was a usurper;[a] a parish priest was, perhaps, imprisoned for attempting to preserve a few crumbs of bread for the poor of his parish: but Wolsey pretended that the First Commandment of God was to contribute to the aid of royalty in distress. Everything therefore was obliged to be silent and bow to the royal will, soul and body, spirit and matter. Like the slaves of the east, the inhabitants of that land where liberty once flourished, admired the very strokes of tyrannical authority, and hugged the chains by which they were retained in slavery.[b] Liberty is a gift of Heaven; woe, therefore, to the people who allow themselves to be deprived of this treasure. As the reward of their cowardice they will be chastised sometimes even to the very blood, and such was the chastisement which God in his anger had reserved for England.

England had therefore submitted; the king had assumed all the habits of despotism, and the nation all those of slavery. This twofold prodigy Wolsey had effected in the course of two years. In any other civilized country, the cardinal would most certainly have been punished for his attempts against the liberties of the people, but in England he was rewarded by the favours of the king and the adulation of Parliament, which even went so far as to search the Scriptures for oriental terms in which to express the minister's wisdom, and the king bestowed on his favourite the gold and splendours of an Asiatic satrap. From the moment that slavery had become, through the genius of the statesman, a social form, a legal institution, a sort of contract between the master and the slave, the transgression of which was punished by Parliamentary statutes, the king no longer required the aid of a tutor; and hence, Wolsey's fate from that time depended on a simple caprice of the monarch, a fit of anger or ill humour; and as it is invariably the lot of a tyrant to be blinded, a young girl supplanted the minister in Henry's good graces. We have seen with what art Anne Boleyn triumphed over the cardinal. Wolsey paid by the loss of his wealth, his power, and perhaps his life, for the causes of his sudden death are enveloped in an impenetrable mystery, for the obstacles which he opposed to the triumph of Katharine's rival.

Wolsey's pupil was neither devoid of virtue nor fine qualities; during the long term of the cardinal's administration, Henry continued to cultivate literature. England was at that time represented at foreign courts by distinguished characters; but on reading their dispatches, we find that Wolsey's diplomatic agents were men of deplorable immorality, supple, obsequious, faithless and heartless, corrupted, and corrupters. If a crucifix were within their reach, they would detach it from the wall and present it to the Duke of Bourbon, who would take it and swear fidelity to the king of England. Perverted agents, who advised the Pope to defend Rome when they knew that Rome could not hold out twenty-four hours before the forces of the Constable; of what consequence was the sacking of the Eternal City? There were numerous churches in England in which false prayers would be offered up to the throne of the God of mercy, for the captive whom they had betrayed. Imprisoned in the Castle of Saint Angelo, Clement would be at last obliged to appeal to the generosity of the English monarch, and it was on that last appeal from the Vicar of Jesus Christ that the court of Greenwich so much depended. At Rome, Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, the policy of England was as disloyal as it was hypocritical. She had tears and lies constantly in her service; tears and lies for the purpose of plundering the victims whom she called her allies.

It may appear strange that after so many extortions, acts of rapine, and brutal acts of despotism; after the immolation of popular liberty, Henry could appear in public without being cursed. But under Wolsey, and long after that minister's fall, Henry still preserved those exterior gifts that are calculated to seduce the multitude. The fascination which beauty of form is

(a) Hallam.
(b) Hume.

capable of exercising over the people is not sufficiently taken into account; and Henry, for fifteen years, had been the most accomplished knight in the kingdom. Skelton, on seeing him pass by saluted with his murmurs or his adulatory verses, the monarch whom he calls the noblest of the children of men. In the field of battle, the English archer was proud of his sovereign. The first to fire on the foe, the last to quit the battle-field, Henry neither feared the enemy's bullets nor those fevers which accompanied the armies at that period. If he did not mount at the breach, it was not for want of good will, but because he was detained by the superior counsel of his officers. He was fond of his soldiers, and knew how to recompense them for the services which they rendered to their country. The national pride was flattered by that title of King of France, which, although vanquished, he still continued to use in his proclamations. He it was who raised the English navy from its depressed state by fitting out the largest vessels that had ever been launched. No one could be less cautious than the prince in a tournament; he never quitted the lists without having disarmed two or three of his adversaries, and blunted several lances against their corslets. In order to keep up the military spirit of the nation, Henry revived a few of the ancient statutes on archery, a mode of warfare on which he relied for the defence of the kingdom, in case of invasion. Every citizen was bound to have a bow, and every parish a public archery. In large towns vast manufactories were built, in which numerous workmen were employed in preparing bows from all kinds of wood, destined for the different grades of society; the crossbow and gun were laid aside as useless. Henry was long considered as the most expert archer in the kingdom; no Scottish huntsman could use his bow so well, or had a better sight, or could take a more certain aim.(a)

In the midst of all these pleasures with which Wolsey, like a skilful minister, always filled his master surrounded, Henry did not neglect his studies. The literati of the day were all objects of his affection and munificence. More, at the solicitation of the king, consented to enter the administration, and was appointed Speaker of the House of Commons; Fisher, had he wished, might have been appointed to one of the highest sees in England; Gardiner, the theologian, whose talents had been recommended to the king by Fox, the Bishop of Durham, was sent on a mission to Rome; Wyatt, the poet, was appointed to represent the court of Greenwich in Germany; Pace was ambassador in France; Skelton, the satirist, thanks to the prince's protection, could brave in Westminster Abbey the anger of the Chancellor; Lord Berners, translated at Henry's request in 1532, the Chronicle of Froissart, which was printed by Pynson, at the expense of the treasury; Leland was at first nominated private librarian, and afterwards went on the continent, where he bought a great number of manuscripts on the king's account;(b) John Heywood, encouraged by Henry, went to seek out in real life scenes that until then were only to be found in the Bible. At these honours conferred on the literati of England Erasmus was overjoyed. At the instigation of Wolsey, Henry had long been seeking to entice him into England. Erasmus, however, resisted all the royal solicitations, so much was he in dread of the fogs of the Thames. He was known to be suffering; he required the sun, warmth, and good wine, none of which he could expect to find at London; but the royal advances received their reward, for wherever Erasmus went in his philosophical peregrinations he proclaimed the praises of the patron of letters. On the continent, the despot's folly passed for caprice which more mature age could be sure to correct.

Whilst England was groaning under the loss of her liberties, the oppressor was compared in France, and in Germany, in Italy, and in Spain, for his wisdom, courage, and virtue, to the greatest princes that ever reigned in Christendom. In 1519, a Venetian, named Giustiniani, seriously informed the world that Henry was both an excellent

(a) Henry VIII., c. III.

(b) Wood.—Strype.—Mrs. Thomson.

musician and an admirable horseman.(a) These ordinary attainments were received in England and on the continent as an apology for his despotism; and the representative of brute force, this crowned Nimrod, who led his people like a herd, found men, distinguished for their learning, ready to sanction his violation of the eternal laws of justice, by the expression of their love and gratitude. It is true, that as yet the body alone had suffered from the royal injustice, but the soul was also about to be enslaved.

Wolsey's fall will not be looked upon as a mystery by our readers. The favourite refused to replace in the royal bed a descendant of the kings of Arragon by a young woman of obscure family and doubtful morals, whom the king was at liberty to make his mistress, but not his queen. His opposition to the king's will was not founded on any religious principle; his motive in thus acting was not to promote the interests of the Papacy, but those of the state, and the dignity of his master. Wolsey would have consented to the divorce, if Henry had been desirous of forming a matrimonial alliance with some of the great continental powers; he wanted his pupil to marry a princess of France, and until his last hour, he entertained the hope of being able to make Henry renounce his foolish passion; but he was deceived. It has been observed by a German philosopher, that man has three idols in his heart: glory, money, and women; and the Tudor worshipped each of these in succession; glory until he was twenty-one, money until he was forty, and women till the end of his mortal career; the last of these passions was in Henry by far the most violent. In order to obtain certain favours from Anne Boleyn, he was compelled to promise his mistress the title of Queen, which Katharine of Arragon had borne as his lawful wife for fifteen years; but to concede to her the crown, would cause a rupture with Rome, of which Wolsey would not admit; the exile of a legitimate princess, a perfect model of conjugal fidelity; the illegitimacy of Mary, a cause of rebellion in the kingdom; the coercion of consciences; the abolition of Catholicism; imprisonment; the stake; and the scaffold. Religious unity was broken, and the reader will not have forgotten the scenes of bloodshed that the schism occasioned. No sooner had the nation had time to repose from the disturbances created by the contests between the two Roses, than the amorous whim of the sovereign brought about a divorce which, by stamping the heir to the throne with illegitimacy, paved the way to new calamities. The Parliament, composed of the king's creatures, transferred the crown to the children born, or that should be born, of Anne Boleyn; and one of these children, Elizabeth, had been conceived before the dissolution of the marriage with Katharine, and an archbishop was found base enough to acknowledge and bless the fruit of this adultery! By virtue of one of the parliamentary statutes, it was declared an act of high treason to contest the legitimacy of the royal progeniture, and three years afterwards, Elizabeth was a child born in sin, the fruit of an act of adultery, a bastard, as well as her sister Mary, who was the fruit of an act of incest.(b)

The laws of logic were no more respected than those of nature. Parliament, as we have seen, granted to the king the power of annulling, as soon as he should have attained his twenty-fourth year, all the acts passed since the time of his accession to the throne;(c) and as if this iniquitous act were not sufficiently monstrous, it decided that all proclamations issued by the king or his Privy Council, and which contained a sentence of fine or confiscation, should have the force of legal statutes; annulling thus, in a few lines, the constitutional rights of the kingdom.(d) Under Wolsey the form of the bills was almost always soothing and obsequious, but it was changed after the death of that minister, and became menacing and angry as the decrees of Tiberius. In the preamble of one of these edicts, Parliament expressed its indignation at the contempt which certain individuals

(a) He is an excellent musician, an admirable horseman.

(b) Statute XXVI., Henry VIII., c. XIII.
(c) XXVIII., Henry VIII., c. XVII
(d) XXXI., Henry VIII., c. VIII.

evinced towards the will of the monarch, arising, no doubt, from their not having formed a just estimate of the royal prerogative, a violation of the divine laws which the king was well aware how he could avenge; death, therefore, to any one who should revolt against an edict issued by the king, by his heirs, or by his successors in matters of heresy.(a) Blood flowed; it flowed, whether his victims were silent or not; the executioner had no time for repose, and when there was not a sufficiency of wood to burn the wretch who had presumed to refuse the oath of supremacy, indulgences were offered to all who should furnish a supply of faggots to the flames.

After the lapse of three centuries, we are enabled, thanks to historians and poets of the period, to cast a retrospective view on the scene of the opening of Parliament. The king is seated on his throne; on his right stands the Chancellor; on his left the treasurer; the peers occupy the benches; the members of the House of Commons are arranged around the bar; the chancellor or the president is haranguing the demi-god, seated on the throne, with his feet resting on a velvet cushion, and wearing on his head a cap, with a plume of ostrich feathers. The speech is as long as it is emphatic; it lasts a full hour, and the sultan is the constant theme of the official discourse. It is no extemporaneous address, for the author has prepared himself for several days before, and has taxed his brain and searched through his dictionary, for epithets the most pompous in which to express his majesty's praises. Cromwell, at the sight of the royal countenance, is seized with a kind of vertigo, and with downcast eyes and panting breast, declares that it would be impossible for any human tongue to celebrate worthily the attainments and virtues of his master. Rich has three Biblical characters to whom he invariably compares Henry; the king, is a Solomon in his wisdom, a Samson in his strength, an Absalom in his beauty. Audley found means of outdoing his successors in the expression of his praises. This drop of oil with which God had anointed his servant raised Henry, according to the Chancellor, above all the princes of the earth in wisdom, above all sovereigns living or dead, above all that had worn the diadem since the institution of royalty; that drop of oil had "infused into Henry the science of the Scriptures;" it had been the instrument of his victory over the Roman Goliah; that drop of oil had made him a formidable warrior, a Father of the Church, a lawyer and a jurist. The orator designedly introduces into his harangue the epithets of "most sacred majesty;" and at those words the whole assembly bow in respect. The demi-god shortly breaks through his silence, and his reply is invariably the same; wisdom, prudence, beauty, infallibility, he disclaims all these gifts that the orator would attribute to him; if he has received them from God, to God alone is due all the praise; the king bows his head, the Parliament imitating the royal mimicry.

On the following day, or a few days later, Solomon gives an important office to one of his attendants who had served him up a roasted pig cooked exactly to his taste;(b) Absalom was obliged to call his wife and his physician to wash the ulcer that was eating away his left thigh; Samson was obliged to be drawn about in an arm chair; the Lord's anointed amused himself with cutting off the heads of his subjects; the Father of the Church wrote the *statutes of blood*; the great justiciary alloyed the coinage,(c) despoiled the monasteries, and

(a) Statute XXXI., Henry VIII., c. VIII.

(b) Le Grand.

(c) On his accession to the throne the ounce of gold and the pound of silver were each of the value of forty shillings. But the king decided that they should represent forty-four and forty-five shillings. Numerous workmen were employed in debasing the coinage, by mixing with the gold or silver a certain quantity of alloy; the operation being terminated, the king had but one care, and that was to obtain possession of all the pieces of good alloy, which he sent to the Mint, and afterwards brought into circulation, gaining by this fraud several thousands sterling. A royal proclamation decreed that every citizen should be bound to accept these pieces thus altered at their real value, and the decree was obeyed with so much docility, that at the conclusion of the last war with France, a new coinage was issued, in which silver was combined with copper in equal weights; scarcely a year passed without there appearing pieces in which the lead and copper exceeded the

plundered his creditors of their money; the legist caused edicts to be issued, condemning to death any one who should assert the illegitimacy of Elizabeth, and afterwards any one who should assert her legitimacy. Every thing that was conceived in that royal brain was regarded as a Divine manifestation. The parasites, clothed in violet or black, theologians or legists, had all invented singular arguments to defend the supremacy that Henry had assumed. When, under pretence of seeking information, a Catholic asked what passage of Scripture conferred the government of the Church on a layman, he was told: "You surely forget that text which prescribes obedience to the powers that be. Now, to disobey the king is to disobey God; to limit the king's authority is to prescribe limits to that of God." If the Catholic happened to belong to one of the universities, and attempted to establish, in the manner of the schools, a distinction between the two powers, he was told: "Be careful; the Scripture does not recognize any such miserable distinction; it speaks and commands." Should the Catholic, feigning a doubt on the subject, inquire whether the king might not possibly be in error, he was told: "Doubtless he may, he is but a man; but to resist tyranny is a crime: have you not a prayer to God that it may please him to change the heart of the oppressor? Besides, the despot himself must one day appear before the Supreme tribunal; let this be your hope and your consolation."(a)

These theories, exceedingly flattering to the king, were inculcated in the doctrinal works of that period; they are fully exposed in the Institution and afterwards in the Erudition of the Christian man. Cranmer proclaimed them from the evangelical pulpit; he openly asserted, in one of his sermons, that entire obedience was due to a magistrate in civil matters, whatever attempts he might make against the community or the Christian religion.(b) By establishing the royal supremacy of Henry, Cranmer and the bishops who had abjured Catholicism, revived in England the German doctrines on royal omnipotence. If, in the writings of the Anglican reformed writers, these theories on the royal authority are not set forth with the same freedom as in the works of Bucer and Bugenhagen, it was because Cranmer and Sampson were living in a country in which Catholicism had, during several centuries, imposed narrow limits on the royal authority, and in which the people, more fortunate than their continental neighbours in the sixteenth century, had acquired a just renown for the wisdom of their laws, and the security that those laws afforded to the citizen against the oppressor.(c) But ever since their schism with Rome, every act of the clergy tended to legalise despotism in England. Parliament, by proclaiming that the king did not require the aid of the great constitutional powers of the state to secure obedience to his decrees, was only applying the consequences of that absolute principle acknowledged by the schismatic clergy. Enslaved to royalty, the two religious parties which divided the nation at the completion of the schism with Rome, contributed to fortify tyranny. When we consider them in their lengthened struggle, we might be led to believe that each was seeking to establish his own individual creed, whereas, in reality, they were only labouring for the absorption of power;(d) the service of God was a mere cloak, with which they concealed their ambitious designs. They were contending for a leper, and were prepared to purchase their conquest at the price of national liberty. If Gardiner had succeeded in ruining Cranmer, one or two dogmas, threatened by the primate, would have been saved; heresy would not have entered England; but the schism would have existed until

silver in the proportion of two to one. Such was the confusion that this scheme threw into commercial transactions, that the king's successors were obliged to diminish the nominal value of these shillings, in the first place from elevenpence to ninepence, and afterwards from ninepence to sixpence, and at last to withdraw them completely from circulation.—Saunders. —Lingard

(a) Lingard. This doctrine is taught in all the works of Sampson.

(b) Strype —Cranmer's Memorials.
(c) Hallam.
(d) Lingard.

the king's death, for Gardiner would not have ventured to attack Henry's spiritual supremacy, which he had defended in his *De veră obedientiâ*, and which he still continued to maintain, in the expectation of better days; so that the two prelates were only speculating on the chances of death.

In their impassioned struggle for the king's favour, they vied with each other in flattering his vanity, exalting his learning, in creating excuses for his crimes, and concealing his iniquities; neither of them ever once thought of that Power that witnesses from above crimes that He suffers to go unpunished, because He has an eternity in which to exercise His vengeance. If Cranmer delivered up the Catholics to the secular power, he must not imagine that Gardiner would have held up the iniquitous judge to the maledictions of the country, or that, seated at the door of the Chapel Royal, he would have waited the arrival of the prince in order to forbid him entrance; the crime was perpetrated without a voice being raised to commiserate the victim or brand the tyrant. Was there a single tear seen to fall from the eyes of those men who passed as the representatives of Catholicism in England, when More turned round on his way to the Tower to give his blessing to his daughter Margaret; when, at the foot of the scaffold, that sainted bishop was raising his hands to heaven, to seize the crown that angels were holding suspended over his head; or when the Carthusians, dragged on hurdles, were singing hymns of praise to God, who was about to receive their souls? Was there, among those apostates who put on the appearance of repentance, a single confessor of Christ possessed of sufficient courage to enable him to brave the order of the tyrant, and carry a morsel of bread to those poor monks who were confined in the prisons? No; fear had frozen their hands as well as their hearts. At a later period, they styled themselves Catholics; but they were not Catholics under Henry, and as they were deficient in courage, so they were wanting in faith. Such, at least, was Bossuet's opinion.

During the whole reign of Henry VIII., there was only one poor creature who had pity on oppressed innocence, and that was William Somers, his majesty's fool. Richard Farnmore, Esquire, of Eston Neston, in Northampton, and William's former master, was in prison for having given a penny and a shirt to a priest who had denied the supremacy; his property had been seized, and the unfortunate man, the victim of his charity, had been reduced almost to a state of mendicity. The fool felt himself moved with compassion, when he recalled to mind the old gentleman who had fed him, and took advantage of the first favourable moment to speak to the tyrant in Farnmore's favour. The reader must picture to himself this fool as represented by Delaram the painter, dressed in his long tunic, with the letters, H. R., embroidered on his vest, a gold chain about his neck, and a horn in his hand; he comes up to the king, who is asleep, awakes him, takes him by the hand, weeps, and having moved him to pity, makes him sign the pardon of Farnmore, who is reinstated in all his possessions. God must have blessed the poor fool, for the poor fool knew what he was about.(a)

Machiavelli, had he been a king, could not have displayed greater skill than the Tudor, covered with sores as he was. To see him sending to the scaffold, one day a sacramentarian, the next a Catholic; to see a Catholic and a sacramentarian dragged to Tyburn on the same hurdle, it had become impossible for any one to adopt any creed in safety. Whether in elevated or inferior ranks, Henry kept his subjects in a state of continual dependence on his power, and wearing out an insecure existence, never being able to reckon the morrow, and obliged to purchase their lives from the despot at the price of their servility. The king's caprice was the supreme law: when by any chance he resolved to act justly, the obsequious law was the expression of the royal will; when he decided that blood should be shed, the law, obedient to his desires, secured him more than he could expect; between the session of one Parliament and that of another he changed his opinions, and the docile law justified the royal whims. It took away the throne

(a) Granger.

from Mary to give it to Elizabeth, and then from Elizabeth to bestow it on the children of Jane Seymour, or to those of the next queen. Thanks to the law, the king, whenever he should feel inclined, could point out from his palace, as guilty of treason without fear of being mistaken, any one that happened to pass under his window; for it was an act of treason to call the Pontiff-king a heretic, or a schismatic, to speak ill of the monarch, or his wife, or of his posterity, of his child born or that should be born; to think evil of them, to expose them to scorn or ridicule, by writing, by word of mouth, on stone, on wood, on paper, in public, or at the domestic hearth. Nor was it less dangerous to be silent than to speak out; for the law had made provision for every case; it pronounced the sentence of high treason against any one who should refuse to reply to any question respecting the articles of the statutes; "so that," says Hume, "if his majesty had thought proper to interrogate one of his subjects on the validity of his double marriage, it would have been treason for him to say yes, treason to say no, and treason to say neither yes nor no."(a)

Next to treason, heresy held the most prominent place in the legislation, and, with Henry, any thing might be considered heresy; to deny God as well as the king's supremacy; the infallibility of the monarch in matters of dogma, as well as the necessity of baptism; the doctrines declared orthodox in the official books of the crown, as well as any others which the king might in future adopt and prescribe. If the criminal were an ecclesiastic, he was, on the third offence against the living symbol of the Divinity, to die at the stake; if he were a layman, he was to lose all his property, and be imprisoned for life, unless the theocrat, irritated by his obstinacy, decided on sending the culprit to the stake or to the scaffold. Thus, the king was invested by Parliament, and by virtue of his dignity even, as his flatterers, the priests and magistrates led him to believe, with the right of making an article of doctrine of every vain fancy that might pass through his brain on quitting the arms of one of his wives. Every one living in England was compelled, under the penalty of the law, to regulate both his belief and practice by the opinions of his sovereign, formed while fasting before sitting down to his dinner, or satiated with food, while amusing himself with drawing up cases of conscience. And yet, while the mind and the body of the sovereign were performing such functions, Cranmer was muttering in the Litany: "From the tyranny of Rome, deliver us, O Lord!" Cranmer and the other prelates, the peers and dignitaries, the public functionaries of the country, and even the very servants who had taken the first oath against the Pope, that tyrant who had never caused one dop of blood to flow, were considered bound beforehand by another, the formulary of which was not to be published till at a later period when the king should think proper to devote his attention to the subject.

Never was absolutism signalized by such atrocities as in England, under that scourge of Heaven, Henry VIII. Innocent or guilty, the accused parties were almost always condemned; a commission, formed of the members of the Privy Council, repaired to the cell, interrogated the prisoner, embarrassed and intimidated him, and returned with a real or pretended confession. These inquisitors performed all their acts in the name of the Lord; their deity, however, was the prince who fed them. Had they to deal with a woman bent down by age and sufferings, they "worked" her, according to the official term, night and day. Scarcely did they allow the aged Countess of Salisbury, Cardinal Pole's mother, a few hours repose. Souls, created in the image of God, were treated like horses trained for the circus, and rendered tractable by privations. The prisoner was buried alive in a low, narrow, damp, and badly-ventilated dungeon; no friend was allowed to visit him; he was refused pens, ink, and paper, and even his Prayer-book. The mercy of the crown even was an iniquitous calculation. Had the captive a well beloved daughter, as was the case with Sir Thomas More, she was allowed to enter his dun-

(a) Statute XXVIII., Henry VIII.

geon, in the hope of being able to tempt the faith and shake the courage of the prisoner by her caresses. Sometimes, as we have already seen, hurdles loaded with victims that were being dragged to the gibbet were designedly brought under the window of the prisoner, who approached to witness the spectacle; then there would arise a struggle between the angel and the demon; the flesh would yield, a tear would fall from the eye of the prisoner, whose actions were watched by the authorities, that they might turn them to account in due time.

As soon as the examination was concluded, it was submitted to a commission, who always came to the same conclusion: "We find a true bill." In these commissions of inquiry, generally intrusted to the peers of the realm, the father was present at the examination of his child, took his seat on the bench, and condemned her to the block. When the decision was laid before the petty jury, the same question was invariably asked: "Whether the prisoner protesting his innocence, or the royal commissioners declaring him guilty, were more deserving of credence?" The reply was, of course, ready. A few days after, a creature with a pale and livid countenance might be seen ascending the scaffold, and, like the slave abandoned to the wild beasts of the circus, saluting, with a convulsive smile and stifled voice, his merciful master, for the prisoner at his death felt anxious to leave a morsel of bread to his wife or his poor little children. In the evening his wife and those poor little children, while praying for the repose of his soul, heard the priests chanting in the litany: "From the tyranny of Rome, deliver us, O Lord!"

And yet this Papacy, which they have sworn to hate, and the disciples of which were pursued with fire and sword, cursed by the Tudor's orders from morning till night in the Litanies, armed as it was with the weapons of the Inquisition, sent not one heretic to the scaffold. When, in Denmark, in Sweden, in Switzerland, in England especially, the reformed power was daily condemning poor souls for revolting against a creed invented by man, the Holy See, which does not even preach up toleration, did not pronounce one single capital sentence for religious offences.[a] Leo X. protected Pomponatius, who would have been burnt at Smithfield; Adrian of Utrecht conceived the project of bestowing the cardinal's hat upon Erasmus, who would have been hanged at Tyburn; Clement VII. consoled the old age of Machiavelli,[b] who would have fallen under the axe of the executioner of Paris or London; for not one of these humanists would have acknowledged Henry's spiritual supremacy.

One word more. The religious revolution, which took place about the beginning of the sixteenth century, would not have been so speedily accomplished, had it not offered to give up to the kings in recompense for his interest in promoting it, the souls and bodies of those whom it had seduced. The hierarchy being destroyed, it delivered up to the secular power, which aided it in its work of destruction, the sceptre and the tiara; that is, instead of opening new avenues to liberty, it conduced to Paganism, in which we find united the sceptre and the mitre. Its monarch, like Henry VIII., possessed at the same time the infallibility of the Pope and the authority of an oriental satrap; the great work of the Reformation was to have been to separate these two attributions, and conformably to the precepts of the gospel, which it pretended to have restored, to have rendered to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's, and to God the things that were God's, in order to save society from being subjugated by a sole and unlimited power. This absorption of the two elements, civil and sacerdotal, was sure to end in the most hideous despotism; and if England, at a later period, succeeded in throwing off the yoke imposed by the Reformation, it was not certainly through the means of that politico-religious investiture placed in the hands of the chief of the state, as a Spanish author justly observes;[c] but owing to the gradual diminution of civil authority in religious matters, and in consequence of the develop-

(a) Balmes.
(b) See Audin's History of Leo X.
(c) Balmes.

ment of the Catholic principle, opposed in its very nature to this monstrous supremacy. In every other country, as in Prussia, where this principle could not prevail, the civil authority, for want of some counterpoise, fell into absolutism.

It may not be unworthy of notice, that these exaggerated theories on the royal power date, in Europe, exactly from the introduction of the Reformation. It would appear that the introduction of Protestantism was to have been a transition to representative forms; but in this it did not succeed. Witness Germany, where the democratical institutions are falling and making place for the monarchical; Sweden also, where, after the extinction of Catholicism, Gustavus, on his accession to the throne, destroyed all communal liberty; Denmark, where, under Christiern, the people have ceased to form a part of the national representation: England, in fine, which, violently separated from the centre of unity, fell under the degrading yoke of Henry VIII. It may be asked, whether this singular coincidence is a simple accident in the history of mankind, or a secret connexion between Protestantism and absolutism; the historian need not hesitate to declare, that if Catholicism had retained its exclusive empire over Europe, monarchy would have been limited, and the representative forms, under the safeguard of Catholicism, would not have completely disappeared.(a)

(a) Balmes.

FINIS.

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APPENDIX.

[A.]

BULL OF JULIUS II.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES WITH KATHARINE.

(p. 19.)

JULIUS episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Henrico charissimi in Christo filii Henrici Angliæ regis illustris nato et dilectæ in Christo filiæ Catharinæ charissimi in Christo filii nostri Ferdinandi Regis ac charissimæ in Christo filiæ nostræ Elisabeth, reginæ Hispaniarum et Siciliæ catholicorum natæ illustribus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Romani pontificis præcellens authoritas concessâ sibi desuper utitur potestate, prout personarum, negotiorum, et temporum qualitate pensatâ id in domino conspicit salubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte vestrâ petitionis series continebat, quòd cùm alias tu filia Catharina, et tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus charissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici Angliæ regis illustrissimi primogenitus, prò conservandis pacis et amicitiæ nexibus et fœderibus inter charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Ferdinandum, et charissimum in Christo filiam nostram Elis., Hispaniarum et Siciliæ catholicos ac præfatum Angliæ regem et reginam, matrimonium per verba legitimè de presenti contraxissetis illudque carnali copulâ forsan consummavissetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujus modi matrimonio non susceptâ decessit. Cum autem sicut eadem petitio subjungebat, ad hoc ut hujusmodi vinculum pacis et amicitiæ inter præfatos reges et reginam diutiùs permaneat, cupiatis matrimonium inter vos per verba legitimè de præsenti contrahere, supplicari nobis fecistis, ut vobis in præmissis de opportunæ dispensationis gratiâ providere de benignitate apostolicâ dignaremur. Nos igitur, qui inter singulos Christi fideles præsertim, catholicos reges et principes, pacis et concordiæ amœnitatem vigere intensis desideriis affectamus, vosque, et quemlibet vestrum à quibuscunque excommunicationis, suspensionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et pœnis, à jure vel ab homine, quâvis occasione vel causâ, latis, si quibus quomodolibet innodati existitis, ad effectum præsentium duntaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes, et absolutos fortè censentes, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, vobiscum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujusmodi ex præmissis proveniente, ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis cæterisque contrariis nequaquam obstantibus, matrimonium per verba legitimè de præsenti inter vos contrahere, et in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, etiam si jàm forsan hactenùs de facto publicè vel clandestinè contraxeritis, ac illud carnali copulâ consummaveritis, licitè remanere valeatis, auctoritate apostolicâ, tenore præsentium de specialis dono gratiæ dispensamus, ac vos et quemlibet vestrûm, si contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab excessu hujusmodi ac excommunicationis sententiâ quam propterea incuristis, eâdem auctoritate absolvimus, prolem ex hujusmodi matrimonio sive contrahendo susceptam forsan vel suscipiendam legitimam decernendo; provisò quòd tu (filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quòd si hujusmodi matrimonium de facto contraxistis, confessor, per vos et quemlibet vestrûm eligendo, pœnitentiam salutarem propterea

vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nihil ergo omninò hominum liceat hanc paginam nostræ absolutionis, dispensationis et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contrahere. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus se noverit incursurum. Dat. Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis dominicæ millesimo quingentesimo tertio. Septim. Cal. januarii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.—Herbert, p. 264-266.

[B]

Deposition of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, relative to the protest of Henry VII. against the marriage of his son Henry with Katharine of Arragon.

(p. 19.)

WILLIAM WARHAM, Archbishop of Canterbury, being examined, protests not to reveale any secrets of the Queen, as being her sworn counsellor. Fort the rest, as he answered warily to the questions propounded him concerning the validity of the match, insomuch that he refer'd himselfe therein to the judges; who were to determine it; so yet he made no difficulty to confesse that he approuv'd it not at first; which also he declar'd, not only in a contestation which he had with Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, who persuaded it, but in certain words to King Henry the seventh himself, whom he told plaintly, that the marriage seem'd to him neither honourable, nor well pleasing to God. Adding further, that because the said King Henri VII, appear'd not much inclin'd to the marriage, that he the said deponent intreated him to persuade his son prince Henry, to protest that he would not take the Lady Katharine to wife, and that he sould renew this protestation when he came to the crown; which also he the said deponent believeth was made. Notwithstanding that when the Bull of dispensation was granted, that he the said deponent contradicted it no more: and that the murmuring of the people on that occasion was quieted, till the King's conscience, being troubled, revived it again.

[C.]

Deposition of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, relative to the protest of Henry, Prince of Wales.

(p. 20.)

THE most substantiall part whereof was, that he conceiv'd, doctor Puebla did first motion this match, and that more than one Bull was impetrated for dispensing therewith, whereof two remain'd in England, one or two were extant in Spaine, but all of the same tenor, and gotten without asking the consent of Henry the eighth. Furthermore, that he did not remember that Henry the eighth when he came to age, did expresly consent to, or dissent from the intended marriage, yet that he believed that a protestation was made in the name of Henry the eighth to this effect; that notwithstanding any contract or tokens mutually sent, or cohabitation in the houre of king Henry VII, he would not hold himself bound to ratifie this act done in his non age. And that this protestation is to be found inter protocolla Magistri Ryden, then clerke of the Council, before whom it was made. As for the personne by whom this protestation was made, *Coram magistro Ryden notario publico, credit quod vel ipsemet, vel magister Thomas Rut[illegible] tunc secretarius domini regis, et postea episcopus Dunelmensis, vel magister doctor West tunc consiliarius ejusdem Domini Regis et nunc episcopus Eliensis, fecit eamdem protestationem nomine domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi moderni; præsentibus tunc ibidem comite de Surrey tunc thesaurario Angliæ et postea duce Norfolciæ ac Domino doctore Puebla, et coram sæpe dictâ clarissimâ Dominâ Catharinâ, ut recolit, ac infrâ ædes episcopi Dunelmensis vulgariter nuncupatas Duresme place.* Adding further, that our king was not present there, that he remembers. Furthermore that upon conference had betwixt Henry the seventh and himself, he found it was the intention of that King, that his sonne Henry should marry the said lad Katharine, although he deferred the solemnization of this intended matrimony, by reason of some discord which was at that time betwixt him and the King of Spain, for the calling back of the dowry

[D]

Anthem, composed by Henry VIII.

TO GOD THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS.

O LORD, the Maker of all things, we pray Thee now in this evening us to defend, through thy mercy, from all deceit of our enemies. Let neither us deluded be, good Lord, with dream or phantasy. Our hearts waking in Thee, Thou keep, that we in sin fall not on sleep, O Father! through thy blessed Son, grant us this our petition; to whom with the Holy Ghost, always in heaven and earth, be laud and praise. Amen.

The words were set to music by Henry when Duke of York.

[E]

Original oath taken at the king's coronation, and the oath altered by the hand of Henry VIII.

(p. 28.)

The othe of the kings highness.

THIS is the othe that the king shall swere at his coronation; that he shall kepe and mayntene the right and the liberties of holie Churche of old tyme graunted by the rightuous christen kings of England, and that he shall kepe all the londs, honours and dignytees rightuous and fre of the crowne of England in all manner hole, without any maner of mynysshemend; and the rights of the crowne, hurte, decayed, or lost, to his power shall call agayn into the auncyent astate; and that he shall kepe the peax of the holie churche, and of the clergie, and of the people with good accorde, and that he shall do in his judgements equytee and right justice, with discretion and mercye; and that he shall graunte to holde the lawes and customes of the realme, and to his power kepe them and affirme them which the folk and people hawe made and chosen; and the evill lawes and customes hollie to put out; and stedfaste and stable peax to people of this realme, kepe and cause to be kept to his power.

The oath, altered.

The othe of the kings highness *at every coronation*.

The king shall *then* swere that he shall kepe and mayntene the lawfull right and the libertees of old tyme graunted by the ryghtuous cristen kings of Englond *to the* HOLY CHURCHE off INGLAND nott *prejudyciall to hys jurysdiction and dignite ryall and that he shall* kepe all the londs, honours and dignytees rightuous, and fredommes of the crowne of Englond in all manner hole without any manner of mynyschement, and the rights of the crowne, hurte, decayed, or lost, to his power shall call agayn into the auncyent astate; and that he shall *indevore himselfe* to kepe UNITE *in his* CLERGYE *and temporall subjects*; and that he *shall accordyng to his consiens* in *all* his judgements *mynystere* equytie, right *and* justice, *shewing wer is to be shewyd mercy*; and that he shall graunte to hold the lawes, *and approvyd* customes of the realme, and *lawfull and not prejudiciall to hys crowne or Imperiall duty*, to his power kepe them and affirme them which the *noblys* and people have made and chosen *with his consent*; and the evill lawes and customes hollie to put out; and stedfaste and stable peax to the people of his realme kepe and cause to be kept to his power, *in that whych* honour and equite do require.

E. [bis.]

Description of the Bas-Reliefs sculptured in the Gallery of the Hotel de Bourgtheroulde, at Rouen, relating to the Interview on the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

(p. 80.)

THE bas-relief in the middle is a representation of the actual scene of the interview. The two on the left represent the *cortège* of Henry VIII., as far as the sally out of the town of Guines; the two on the right the suite of Francis and the town of Ardres.

"1. The town and castle of Guines, whence the King of England and his suite have come out, except a few of the last of the troop, who are still in the act of leaving the town. In the castle, a gallery, whence the ladies and gentlemen are looking down; and below two pieces of cannon, mounted on wheels, almost destroyed by time. The English troop, which is in the act of marching, and the end of which may be seen in the field, is composed of knights and some

on foot. The knights have many of them large plumes in their hats; the horses have them also on their heads. The men on foot have all their hats surrounded with feathers, spread so as to resemble very much the tail of a peacock.

"2. In the foreground an ecclesiastic on horseback, bearing a simple cross, preceded by two mace-bearers, also on horseback, and followed by a troop of knights, at the head of whom is the Archbishop of York, that famous Cardinal Wolsey, the Pope's legate. He marches between the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. These figures are very much injured; they were in a very bad state of preservation a century ago, but there was distinctly to be seen on one of the knights the device of the Order of the Garter, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense,' which is now entirely effaced.

"3. The two monarchs salute each other, and hold their hats up in their right hands. They have each a footman by their side, who has his cap encircled with feathers and thrown over his shoulders. These two princes have very little beards, and most of those in their suites have none at all, neither have the cardinals any. The housing of the King of France's horse is interspersed with fleur de lis; that of the King of England's is covered with the figures of two leopards and rosettes, alternately disposed. The head of each king's horse is adorned with large plumes. Except among the English, there are no archers on horseback. The last knight on the right is a guard of King Francis, upon the back of whom may be observed a crowned salamander. This bas-relief has suffered the least.

"4. Four mace-bearers, of whom there remain but some few vestiges. At the head of the *cortège*, an ecclesiastic on horseback, bearing a double cross. Formerly, a radiant dove was flying around him; but the stone has so decayed that this accessory is now no longer visible. After him comes Cardinal de Boisi, the Pope's legate, on horseback, between two noblemen, or princes, wearing the collar of the order of St. Michael, and several other lords. Among these latter are to be seen four cardinals, three of whom are, Bourbon, d'Albret, and de Lorraine. This panel is in a very bad state; the bottom is entirely destroyed.

"5. The rest of the suite of the King of France.

"The town or the castle of Ardres, whence this suite is coming out, is seen at the end. On the walls, and in a sort of gallery, are several persons looking on. Below the castle were to be seen, as at Guines, two small pieces of cannon, but they have disappeared with the stone.

"These bas-reliefs are two feet and a half high by seven feet wide. The mutilations to which they are daily exposed, the state of degradation of the stone, and the constant action of time, threaten them with complete ruin."—Ducarel's Anglo-Norman Antiquities. London.—Langlois, Description des Maison de Rouen. Paris.

[F.]

Preface to the "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum," *by Henry VIII.*

(p. 90.)

Ad lectores.

Motus quidem fidelitate ac pietate, quamquam mihi nec eloquentia sit, nec scientiæcopia; cogor tamen, ne ingratitudine maculer, matrem meam. Christi sponsam, utinàm tantâ facultate, quantâ cum voluntate defendere. Quod licet alii præstare possint uberiùs, ac copiosiùs, mei tamen officii esse duxi, ut ipse quoque quantumvis tenuiter eruditus, quibus rationibus possem, Ecclesiam tuerer: meque adversùs venenata jacula hostis eam oppugnantis objicerem. Quod ut faciam, tempus ipsum, et præsens rerum status efflagitat: nam anteà cùm nemo oppugnaret, nemini propugnare necesse erat. At quùm jàm hostis exortus sit, quo nullus potuit exoriri malgnior, qui dæmonis instinctu charitatem prætextens, irâ, atque odio stimulatus, et contrà Ecclesiam, et contrà catholicam fidem vipereum virus evomit; necesse est adversùs hostem communem Christianæ fidei, omnis Christi servus, omnis ætas, omnis sexus, omnis ordo consurgat; ut qui viribus non valent, officium saltem alacri testentur effectu. Nunc itaque convenit, ut duplici armaturâ muniamur, cœlesti scilicet, ac terrestri.

Cœlesti, ut qui fictâ charitate et alios perdit, et perit ipse, verè charitate lucrifactus, alios lucrifaciat, et qui falsâ doctrinâ depugnat, doctrinâ verâ vincatur. Terrestri verò ut si tàm obstinatæ malitiæ sit, ut consilia sancta spernat, et correptionem piam contemnat, merito coerceatur supplicio; ut qui benè facere non vult, desinat malè facere; ut qui nocuit verbo malitiæ, supplicii prosit exemplo. Quæ pestis unquàm tàm perniciosa invasit gregem Christi? Qui serpens unquàm tàm venenatus irrepsit, quam is, qui de Babylonicâ captivitate Ecclesiæ scripsit, qui scripturam sacram ex suo sensu contrà Christi sacramenta detorquet, traditos ab antiquis patribus Ecclesiasticos ritus eludit, sanctissimos viros, vetustissimos sacrarum literarum interpretes, nisi quatenùs ipsius sensui conveniunt, et consentiunt, nihili pendit, sacrosanctam sedem Romanum Babylonem appellat, summum Pontificem vocat tyrannidem, totius Ecclesiæ decreta saluberrima captivitatem censet, sanctissimi pontificis nomen in antechristum convertit? O detestabilis arrogantiæ, contumeliæ, ac schismatis buccinator! Quantus inferorum lupus est iste, qui Christi gregem dispergere quærit? Quantum diaboli membrum, qui Christianos Christi membra quærit à capite suo decerpere? Quàm putris hujus animus, quàm execrabile propositum, qui et sepulta resuscitat schismata, et vetustis adjicit nova et hæreses æternis abdendas tenebris, velut Cerberum ex inferis producit in lucem, dignumque ducit se, cujus unius verbo (posthabitis antiquis omnibus) universa regatur, immò subvertatur Ecclesia? De cujus ego malitiâ quid dicam nescio: quam tantam censeo, quantam neque lingua cujusquam, neque calamus exprimere possit. Quamobrem vos omnes Christi fideles hortor, oro, et per Christi nomen (quod professi sumus) obtestor, at qui Lutheri opera (si modò is Babylonicæ Captivitatis) sit auctor) omninò velint inspicere, cautè illud et cum judicio faciant, ut quemadmodum Virgilius aurum se colligere dixit è stercore Ennii, sic è mediis malis coligant bona. Nec ità (si quid arridet ipsis) afficiantur, ut cùm melle simul imbibant venenum. Multò enim satiùs fuerit utroque carere, quàm utrumque glutire. Quod ne accidat, utinam auctor aliquandò resipiscat, ut convertatur, et vivat; ac suos libros omni malitiâ refertos, exemplo Augustini (cujus regulam profitetur) retractet erroresque revocet. Quod si recuset Lutherus, brevi certè fiet, si Christiani principes suum officium fecerint, ut errores ejus, eumque ipsum (si in errore perstiterit) ignis exurat. Interea nobis visum est in Captivitate Babylonicâ quædam loca commonstrare lectoribus, in quibus præcipuum latet venenum. Ex quibus apertè satis constabit, quàm exulcerato animo aggressus sit opus, qui cùm publicum bonum prætendat, nihil præter malitiam ad scribendum afferat.

Ut hæc doceamus, quæ diximus, haud longè nobis petendæ probationes sunt: nam ne quis ob eam rem sursùm, deorsùm cursitet, Lutherus ultrò se se, atque animum suum primo statim principio prodit. Quis enim dubitet quò tendat, quò se proripiat is, cujus vel hunc unum versum legerit?

[G.]

Letter from Leo X. to Henry VIII., respecting the "Assertio Septem Sacramentorum."

(p. 94.)

De gratiis pro libro per regem contrà Lutherum scripto.

Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. His præteritis diebus, cùm tuæ serenitatis Orator dilectus Filius Johannes Clerke Capellæ regiæ Decanus in Consistorio nostro palàm librum eum nobis obtulisset, quem serenitas tua contra impiam Martini Lutheri et mentem et sectam edidit, atque ipse luculentâ maximèque tempori et loco accommodatâ oratione, præsentibus etiàm pluribus romanæ Curiæ Prælatis promptum animum tuum ad nos sanctamque sedem hanc armis pariter et literis juvandam exposuisset, summâ animæ lætitiâ fuimus affecti; neque nos solùm sed omnes venerabiles fratres nostri, quasi reputantes non sine permissu divino erupisse adversùs Christi Ecclesiam Lutherianam hanc impietatam, ut ipsâ majore suo eum gloriâ talem propugnatorem ac defensorem sortiri possit.

Visum itaque fuit cunctis, nobisque ità

decernentibus ab omnibus est assensum singularem hanc tuam et virtutem et pietatem aliquo et amoris nostri et grati animi monumento esse illustrandam. Etenim, charissime fili noster, si arma sumere ut sanctæ sedis apostolicæ status in suâ libertate et tranquilitate permaneret tùtus, magnis sæpè Principibus honori summo fuit quantò magis arma spiritus Dei cœlestisque scientiæ capere, ut eâ fide Christi tanta labes depellatur, sacramentaque ea quibus animarum salus, inviolata serventur, et laudem afferre debet et celebritatem.

Quamquàm hæc duo, quæ duximus anteà semper divisa in te uno maximo rege præstantissima fuerunt conjuncta; idem enim tu et libertatem ecclesiasticam tuis armis vindicasti, et tu idem fidem christianam thesauris tuæ et pietatis et scientiæ adversùs impias hæreses munitam esse voluisti, quorum alterum invictæ et excelsæ animi fortitudinis, alterum piæ et sanctæ et veræ mentis ac religionis fuit; sed nos quibus tandem verbis, quo laudum genere, vel hanc pietatem tuam, hanc uberrimam velut ex cœlesti fonte doctrinæ copiam commendabimus; vel tuæ ergà nos voluntati, qui nobis ipsis tam nobilem partum ingenii tui dicasti, gratias agemus? superat hoc utrumque non solùm verba sed etiàm cogitationes nostras nec verò de tuis officiis ac meritis tantùm possumus animo concipere, quin à re vincamur ipsâ. Qui enim in te amor, quod studium defendendæ christianæ fidei? Quanta ergà nos ipsos benevolentia? quæ denique operis ipsius gravitas? qui ordo? quanta vis eloquentiæ ut sanctum affuisse spiritum appareat; omnia plena judicii, plena sapientiæ, plena pietatis; in docendo charitas, in admonendo mansuetudo, in redarguendo veritas; ut si homines sint qui à te refelluntur, ac non omninò in pessimi Dæmonis potestatem abierunt, tuis scriptis ad sanitatem debeant reduci, si modò ullus relictus est sanitatis locus.

Sunt hæc præclara omninò et admirabilia, quæ quoniam à te novâ ratione, magnifico munere, Deo maximo et huic sanctæ sedi elaborata sunt, agimus Majestati tuæ infinitas gratias, o fidei defensor! Agit sedes apostolica, agunt omnes qui Christum colunt et in ejus fide consentur, Christiani...

Et sios quidem titulum hunc defensoris fidei, de eorundem venerabilium fratrum nostrorum assensu, tibi per alias nostras sub plumbo literas contulimus ut ex ipsis potuisti cognoscere; sed tu, charissime fili, ita hos honores quos tibi in præmium tuæ præcharissimæ virtutis, in signum suæ ergà te gratæ voluntatis, sancta sedes defert apostolica, et magnos et expetendos esse puta, ut tamen illis longè majora et præstantiora arbitrere tibi in cœlo à Domino et Salvatore nostro parata præmia, ejus tu causam et sponsam defendendo omni genere tutulæ et animum et virtutem tuam adhibuisti; ut dùm hos in terris quos adeptus es, titulos recusebis, et cœlestia illa cogitabis, tecum ipse recordere quibus es meritis ista consecutus, talemque te imposterùm qualem anteà præstes, ac principis sublimibus et gloriosis pares sint exitus, ipsaque sedes apostolica quæ olim tuis defensa armis, fides quoque christiana quæ nunc doctrinæ tuæ clypeo adversùs sceleratas hæreticorum insanias communita est, sentiant te fecundem semper experianturque adjutorem in periculis suis omnibus, ud istam singularem et inenarrabilem gloriam quam majestas tua, maximis suis operibus jure optimo promerita est ad extremum usque hujus vitæ diem et producere possis, et eam in omni posteritate prædicandam relinquere.

Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris, die quartâ novembris, millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo primo, pontificatus nostri anno nono.

Dorso: SADOLETUS.

Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ regi, illustri fidei defensori.

[H.]

Bulla Clementis Papæ VII., concessa Regi Henrico VIII. de secundis nuptiis contrahendis.—Ex. MS. Cott. Titus, C. X., fol. 72.

(p. 159.)

CHARISSIMO in Christo filio Henrico, Angliæ, etc. Exponi nobis nuper fecisti, quod alias tu et dilecta in Christo filia Catharina, relicta quondam fratris tui germani, non ignorantes, vos primo affinitatis gradu invicem fore conjunctos, matrimonium per verba "aliàs legitis de præsenti," non saltem canonicâ seu validâ dispensatione desuper obtentâ, quamvis de facto

contraxistis, illudque carnali copulâ consummavistis, ac putes ex hoc matrimonio absque peccato remanere non posse; et ne diutiùs in hoc peccato ex excommunicationis sententiâ remaneas, desideras ab hâc excommunicationis sententiâ et judice ecclesiastico competente absolutionis beneficium obtinere; ac matrimonium ipsum nullum et invalidum fuisse, tibique licere cum quâcumque aliâ muliere, et si illa talis sit, quæ aliàs cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodò illud carnali copulâ non consummaverit, etiamsi tibi aliàs secundo vel remotiori gradu consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis ex quocumque licito tuiseu illicito coitu conjuncta, dummodo relicta dicti fratris non fuerit; ac etiam si cognatione spirituali aut legali tibi conjuncta extiterit, et impedimentum publicæ honestatis justitiæ subsistat, matrimonium licèat contrahere, et in eo liberè remanere, et ex eo prolem legitimam suscipere possis. Quare pro parte tuâ asserentis ex antiquis chronicis regni constare, in ipso regno quàm plurima gravissima bella sæpè exorta, et christianam pacem et concordiam violatem fuisse propter impios homines, seu detestandâ regnandi et dominandi libidine excæcatos, confingentes ex justis et legitimis quorundam progenitorum tuorum Angliæ regum nuptiis procreatos illegitimos fore, propter aliquod consanguinitatis vel affinitatis confictum impedimentum, et propterea inhabiles esse ad regni successionem, indeque miserandam principum ac procerum et populorum subditorum stragem fuisse secutam; nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut regni tui, tuorumque subditorum tranquillitati et paci in primis consulere, et tantis malis obviare, ac aliàs in præmissis opportuna remedia adhibere de benignitate apostolicâ dignaremur. Nos, qui omnium regum, præsertim Majestatis tuæ, ob ejus quàm plurima et immensa in nos et sanctam sedem, in quâ permissione divinâ sedemus collocata beneficia, dùm ab iniquissimis pestilentissimorum hominum conatibus, qui eam partìm viribus et sceleratâ audaciâ partìm perversâ doctrina labefactare molièbantur, strenuissimè cum viribus et gladio, tùm calamo etiam et eruditione tuâ vindicare in dies non cessas; petitiones præsertim salutem animarum concernentes, quantùm cum Deo possumus, ad exauditionis gratiam libenter admittimus, eorumque honestis votis favenis annuimus, ex præmissis et nullis aliis nobis notis causis hujusmodi inclinati, tecum, ut si contingat matrimonium cum præfatâ Catharinâ, aliàs contractum nullum fuisse et esse declarari, teque ab illo vinculo legitimè absolvi, unâ quacumque muliere, ipsaque mulier tecum, dummodo propter hoc rapta non fuerit, etiamsi mulier ipsa talis sit, quæ priùs cum alio matrimonium contraxerit, dummodò illud carnali copulâ non fuerit consummatum; etiamsi illa tibi aliàs secundo aut remotiori consanguinitatis, aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiàm ex quocumque licito vel illicito coitu proveniente invicem conjuncta, dummodò relicta dicti fratris tui non fuerit, ut præfertur, etiamsi cognationis spiritualis, aut legalis et publicæ honestatis justitiæ impedimentum subsistat, et tibi conjuncta existat, matrimonium licitè contrahere, et postquàm contractum, fuerit, in eo sic contracto, etiamsi illud inter te et ipsam mulierem jam de facto publicè vel clandestinè contractum, et carnali copulâ consummatum fuerit, licitè remanere valeatis; auctoritate apostolicâ, et ex certâ nostrâ scientiâ, et de apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, tenore præsentium dispensamus, prolem indè forsàn susceptam et suscipiendam, legitimam fore decernentes; non obstantibus prohibitionibus juris divini, et constitutionibus et ordinibus aliis quibuscumque in contrarium editis, quibus, quàntùm apostolica auctoritas se extendit, illis aliter in suo robore permansuris, quoad hoc specialiter et expressè derogamus; districtiùs inhibentes, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ expressè mandamus sub interminatione divini judicii, ac sub pœnâ anathematis, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et pœnis, quas ex nunc prout ex tunc, et è converso ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis, ne quisquam in posterùm ullum impedimentum præcontractûs matrimonialis non consummati, consanguinitatis in secundo aut remotiori, affinitatis primo gradu, ut præfertur cognationis spiritualis aut legalis, seu justitiæ publicæ honestatis impedimentis prædictis adversùm liberos tuos, quos ex quocumque matrimonio, rigore

præsentium contrahendo, Dei benignitate susceperis, palàm vel occultè, in judicio vel extrà, illud allegare, proponere, aut objicere, seu verbo vel facto diffamare præsumat, aut quocumque modo attemptet. Nulli ergo homini, etc. Datum in urbe veteri 10 calend. januarii MDXXVII.

Papæ Rom.	Archiep. Cant.
Clement VII. 4.	Guiliel. Warham, 25.
Anno Christi	Reg. Angliæ.
1527.	Henric. VIII., 19.

[I]

Primum breve Clementis VII.

(p. 200)

Universis et singulis ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem, Exponi nobis nuper fecit charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina Angliæ Regina illustriss., quòd aliàs postquàm validitatis seu invaliditatis matrimonii ex dispensatione Apostolicâ, inter Reginam ipsam, et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum, Henricum Angliæ Regem illustris. et fidei defensorem multis jàm decursis annis prole susceptâ contracti, et pacificè continuati, ipsiùsque dispensationis, ac inter eos divortii causis, ex nostro pastorali officio, dilectis filiis Thomæ sanctæ Ceciliæ, et Laurentio sanctæ Mariæ in trans Tiberim Presbiteris Cardinalibus, in Regno Angliæ, nostris, et Apostolicæ sedis Legatis de Latere, omni recusatione, et appellatione remotis, per eos in eodem Regno cognoscendis, et decidendis per nos commissis, dictisque Rege, et Reginâ ex eorumdem Cardinalium officio, et mandato, certis die et loco in jus vocatis eadem Regina coràm eisdem Cardinalibus, et legatis comparentes, ipsos ex loco, et personis, ac aliàs suspectos recusaverat, et ab eorum citacione, et cominato processu, ad nos et sedem Apostolicam pluries appellaverat, cùm ipsi Cardinales, et Legati, omnibus his rejectis, se judices competentes et ad ulteriora in causis ipsis per eos procedi posse, et debere declarassent, ipsa Regina ab hujusmodi declaratione appellans, illicentiata recesserat, ipsique Cardinales, et Legati contrà eam ut contumacem à jurium et testium receptione procuratore ipsius Regis præsente ac aliàs præcesserant. Nos ut dictæ causæ sine suspicione procederent, illas et prædictarum appellationum, ad ipsius Reginæ supplicationem, delecto filio Magistro Paula Capisucio Capellano nostro et causarum Palatii Apostolici auditori, per eum audiendas, et nobis referendas, etiam cum potestate Regem ipsum, et alios citandi, ac eis et dictis Cardinalibus inhibendi etiàm sub censuris et pœnis, etiàm pecuniariis, etiàm per edictum publicum, constito summariè et extrajudicialiter de nostro tuto accessu, et aliàs commisimus, ipseque Paulus auditur, constito sibi de non tuto accessu citationem ipsam cum inhibitione sub censuris ac decem millium ducatorum, auri, pœnis per edictum publicum, in certis locis almæ Urbis nostræ, et in partibus, in Collegiatæ beatæ Mariæ Brugensis, Tornacensis, et parrochialis de Dumbrech, oppidorum Morinensis diœcesium Ecclesiarum valvis affigendum decrevit, et in eis præmissa legitime executa fuerint, ac dicto Regi et aliis omnibus, ne in præjudicium litis ac jurium dictæ Reginæ interim aliquid innovarent, mandatum fuit, revocatis postèà, quoad ipsum Regem, pœnis et censuris, in citatione, et inhibitione appositis. Cùm autum pro parte ejusdem Reginæ nobis denuò expositum fuerit, ad ejus aures pervenisse, Regem ipsum lite hujusmodi ac inhibitione et mandato sibi factis non obstantibus, se jactare ad secundas nuptias de facto devenire velle, in non modicum ipsius Reginæ præjudicium, ac in ipsius Regis animæ perniciem; quare pro parte ipsius Reginæ nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut ejus honori ac ipsius Regis animæ saluti consulere, aliàsque in præmissis oportunè providere, de benignitate Apostolicâ dignaremur. Nos itaque attendentes, justis et honestis petitionibus, nostrum assensum denegari non posse, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati auctoritate Apostolicâ pro hoc nostrum edictum publicum, in audientiâ nostrâ contradictarum publicandum, ac earundem Ecclesiarum valvis adfigendum, cùm aliàs præfato Paulo auditori constiterit, ad illud eidem Regi intimandum, non patere accessum, prout etiàm de præsenti non pateat, eidem Regi ac quibusvis utriusque sexus, etiàm ejus domesticis, ac etiam

Consiliariis, Secretariis, et aliis quibuscumque status, gradus, dignitatis, et excellentiæ personis, districtè interdicimus, prohibemus, et districtiùs inhibemus, omnem omninò licentiam, potestatem et facultatem ab eis auferentes; ne sub majoris excommunicationis, et suspensionis, ac etiàm omnium Cathedralium, et Metropolitanarum Ecclesiarum, et locorum secularium, et quorumvis ordinum regularium dicti Regni interdicti inviolabiliter observandi, et quorumvis Ecclesiasticarum dignitatum, feudorum, beneficiorum, et bonorum secularium, et Ecclesiasticorum, ac inhabilitatis ad ea, et quæcumque alia in posterùm obtinenda, latæ sententiæ, pœnis, eo ipso si contrà fecerint, vel eorum aliquis contrà fecerit incurrendis, ipse Rex antequàm per debitam, et finalem litis et causæ hujusmodi expeditionem claré liqueat id sibi licere de jure, cum aliquà muliere cujuscumque dignitatis et excellentiæ etiam vigore cujusvis desuper forsan sibi aut tali mulieri, aut aliàs quomodolibet etiàm per nos aut sedem prædictam concessæ, vel concedendæ contrahendi licentiæ, aut contracti approbatione, nec aliqua mulier cum eodem Rege matrimonium vel sponsalia contrahere, nec forsan contracta, et consummata, etiàm prole susceptâ continuare, nec Secretarii, Consiliarii, Prælati aut quæcumque alii interesse ne de eis se intromittere quoquo modo præsumant, nec eorum aliquis præsumat, inhibendo etiam prædictis Cardinalibus et Legatis, ac aliis quibuscumque ne de causis prædictis aut dicti matrimonio comminato, etiàm nomine Legatorum, aut privatim, aut alio quocumque modo se intromittant. Sed cùm etiàm lite pendente, nullus debeat possessione conjugii, aut debiti conjugalis spoliari, idem Rex ut principem, et Christianum Catholicum decet, dictam Reginam complectendo illam sub dictis pœnis affectione maritali tractet in omnibus et per omnia prout idem Regi convenit, et finem litis suâ solitâ prudentiâ patienter expectet. Cùm juri conveniat litem prosequi et maritales affectus præstare, nec ante finem litis Rex ipse alicujus suasione aut consilio, conscientiam læsam habere allegare, aut affirmare valeat, cùm de his judicare ad eum non pertineat, præsertim cùm Reginam ipsam, pro vera conjuge habuerit, et tractaverit, et in pacificâ possessione hujusmodi matrimonii, cùm prolis susceptione fuerit, et propterea si Rex præfatus, vel alii, inhibitioni ac prohibitioni et interdicto hujusmodi contravenerint, Regem ipsum ac alios omnes supradictos sententias, censuras, et pœnas prædictas, ex nunc prout ex tunc incurrisse declaramus, et ut tales publicari ac publicè nunciari et evitari, ac interdictum per totum Regnum Angliæ, sub dictis pœnis observari debere, volumus, atque mandamus. Quocircà vobis, et singulis vestrum etiàm in dignitate constitutis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœnâ districtè præcipiendo mandamus, quatenùs postquàm præsentes ad vos pervenerint, seu vobis præsentatæ fuerint, et commodè poteritis, easdem præsentes Litteras in dictâ auditentiâ contradictarum publicari, et valvis earumdem Ecclesiarum affigi, ac paulisper inde amoveri, et earum copiam collationatam eisdem valvis affixam dimittere, et demùm super publicatione, et affixione præsentium litterarum et illarum copiæ affixæ dimissione, publica et authentica instrumenta, manu publici Notarii, coràm testibus fieri faciatis, et de his omnibus ac aliis quæ in præmissis per vos gesta fuerint, nos seu Paulum ipsum auditorem certiores reddere curabitis. Nos enim præsentium litterarum publicationem, affixionem, et copiæ dimissionem per vos faciendas, postquàm factæ fuerint, eosdem Regem et alios prædictos et eorum quemlibet, contrà primum interdictum et alia præmissa factum vel attentatum fuerit, nullum penitùs et invalidum, nulliusqui roboris, vel momenti esse, ac interdictum nostrum hujusmodi, et alia præmissa præsentesque nostras litteras, et quæ ex eis forsan sequerentur, etiàm cum totali earum insertione nullatenus revocari, suspendi, derogari, limitari, restringi, modificari, aut declarari posse, etiàm motu et ex certâ scientiâ ac de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine fiet, nullius momenti existere, nisi ad ipsius præfatæ Reginæ specialis et expressius accedat assensus, decernimus, etc. Datum Bononiæ sub Annulo Piscatoris, die VII Martii M. D. XXX. Pontificatus nostri anno septimo.

Sic subscriptum. EVANGELISTA.

[K.]

Secundem breve Clementis VII.

(p. 213.)

UNIVERSIS et singulis præsentes Litteras inspecturis, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Exponi nobis nuper fecit charissima in Christo filia nostra Catharina Regina Angliæ Illustr., quòd licet aliàs nos postquàm causam et causas recusationis ac appellationis et appellationum ac validitatis seu invaliditatis Matrimonii, ex dispensatione Apostolicâ inter Reginam ipsam et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum Anglicæ Regem illustriss. et fidei defensorem, multis jam decursis annis prole susceptâ contracti et pacificé continuati, ipsiusque dispensationis, ac inter eos divortii dilecto filio nostro Laurentio sanctæ Mariæ in trans Tiberim et Bo. Me. Thomæ sanctæ Ciciliæ Presbyteris Cardinalibus, in Regno Angliæ, tunc nostris et Apostolicæ Sedis Legatis de Latere, omni recusatione et appellatione remotis, per eos in eodem regno cognoscendas, per nos commissas, ab ipsis Cardinalibus tunc Legatis, ad nos et Sedem Apostolicam, pro parte ipsius Reginæ interpositæ et interpositarum, ad ipsius Reginæ supplicationem, dilecto filio Magistro Paulo Capisucio Capellano notro et causarum Palatii Apostolici auditori, per eum audiendas, et coràm nobis in Consistorio nostro secreto referendas nobis, etiàm cum potestate Regum ipsium et alios citandi, ac eis et dictis Cardinalibus et Legatis inhibendi, etiàm sub censuris et pœnis etiàm pecuniariis, etiàm per edictum publicum, constito summariè, et extrajudicialiter de non tuto accessu, et aliàs commiseramus, ipseque Paulus auditor, constito sibi de non tuto accessu, citationem ipsam cum inhibitione, sub censuris ac decem millium ducatorum auri pœnis per edictum publicum in certis locis almæ Urbis nostræ, et in partibus, in Collegiatæ Beatæ Mariæ Brugensis, Tornacensis Diœcesis, Ecclesiarum valvis affigendum decreverat, et in eis præmissa legitimè executa, ac dictis Regi et aliis omnibus, ne in præjudicium litis et jurium dictæ Reginæ interim aliquid innovarent mandatum fuerat, licet revocatis posteà quoad ipsum Regem pœnis et censuris in inhibitione, ad conquestionem ipsius Reginæ nobis asserentis ad ejus aures pervenisse, Regem ipsum lite pendente ac inhibitione et mandato sibi factis prædictis non obstantibus, se jactare ad secundas nuptias de facto devenire velle, in ipsius Reginæ præjudicium non modicum, ac Regis prædicti animæ periculum: cupientes prout nostro pastorali incumbebat officio, præmissis providere, eidem Regi, ac quibusvis utriusque sexûs etiam illius domesticis ac etiam Consiliariis secretis, et alìs cujuscumque statûs, gradûs, dignitatis, et excellentiæ personis districtè per alias nostras in formâ brevis, sub datâ Bononiæ die septimâ Martii, Pontificatûs nostri anno septimo, interdixerimus, prohibuerimus, et districtùs inhibuerimus, omnem licentiam, potestatem, et facultatem ab eis auferentes, ne sub majoris excommunicationis, suspensionis et aliis sententiis et censuris, etiàm interdicti appositionis et ipsarum personarum inhabilitatis et aliis pœnis si contrà fecissent incurrendis, ipse Rex ne antequàm per debitam et finalem litis et causæ hujusmodi expeditionem claré liqueret, id sibi licere de jure, cum aliquâ muliere cujuscumque dignitatis et excellentiæ, etiàm vigore cujusvis dispensationis, etiàm Apostolicæ sibi vel eidem mulieri, etiàm per nos concessæ aut desuper quomodò libet obtentæ vel obtinendæ matrimonium vel sponsalia contrahere, vel forsàn contracta et consummata, etiàm prole susceptâ continuare, personæ verò prædicte ne illis interesse nec de eis se intromittere præsumerent, etiàm illis ac Cardinalibus, Legatis, ac aliis quibusque inhibendo, ne de prædictis aut dicto Matrimonio comminato, etiàm sub nomine Legatorum aut privatim, aut alio quocumque modo præsumerent, prout in eisdem litteris pleniùs continetur. Nihilominùs etiàm post earumdem litterarum nostrarum in locis prædictis publicationem, affixionem et executionem, quòd non absque animi nostri displicentiâ intelleximus, adhuc Regem ipsum lite et illius ad nos advocatione, inhibitione, interdicto, prohibitione et mandatis nostris prædictis non obstantibus, ad secundas nuptias de facto devenire, ac in causâ et causis prædictis etiàm per nonnullos prætensos judices seu personas in illis partibus procedi, et attentare velle, in non modicum ipsius Reginæ præjudicium

ac Regis prædicti animæ periculum, nostrique et Sedis Apostolicæ mandatorum contemptum: quare pro parte ipsius Reginæ nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut ejus honori ac ipsius Regis animæ saluti, totiusque Regni tranquillitati consulere, scandalisque quæ eximie oriri possent obviare, aliàque in præmissis opportunè providere de Apostolicâ dignitate dignaremur. Nos igitur attendentes justis et honestis petitionibus, nostrum assensum denegare non debere, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, auctoritate Apostolicâ, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium consilio pariter et assensu, sub irritantis decreti pœnâ, per hoc nostrum edictum publicum in audientiâ nostrâ contradictarum denuò publicandum, ac earumdem Ecclesiarum valvis affigendum, cum aliàs præfato Pario auditori constiterit, ad illud eidem Regi intimandum non patere accessum, prout de præsenti, non patet, eidem Regi, et quibusvis utriusque sexûs etiàm illius domesticis, et secretariis, ac ipsius Regni, etiàm Cantuariensi legato nato, et aliis primatibus, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, ac etiàm Consiliariis secretis, Consiliis, Parlamentis, Universitatibus, Collegiis etiàm judicum et aliàs quibuscumque, cujuscumque statûs, gradûs, ordinis, conditionis, dignitatis, et excellentiæ personis et justicibus, quocumque nomine nuncupatis, dignitate fulgentibus et auctoritate functuris, districtè, interdicimus, prohibemus, et districtùs inhibemus omnem omninò licentiam potestatem, et facultatem ab eis auferentes, ne sub majoris excommicationis et suspensionis, ac quorumvis Ecclesiarum, Dignitatum, Feudorum, Beneficiorum, Officiorum, et bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, et Secularium, ac inhabilitatis ad ea et quæcumque alia in posterùm obtinenda, latæ sententiæ pœnis eo ipso si contrà fecerint, vel eorum aliquis contrà fecerit incurrendis; ipse Rex ne antequàm per debitam et finalem litis et causæ hujusmodi expeditionem clarè liqueat id sibi licere de jure, cum aliquâ muliere cujuscumque dignitatis et excellentiæ, etiàm vigore cujusvis desuper forsan sibi aut tali mulieri, aut aliàs quemlibet etiàm per nos et sedem prædictam concessæ vel concedendæ, contrahendi licenciæ, aut contracti approbationis, nec aliqua mulier cum eodem Rege Matrimonium vel sponsalia contrahere, vel forsàn contracta et consummata, etiam prole suscepta continuare; inhibendo etiàm prædictis vel quibusvis aliis etiàm Parlamentis ne de lite et causâ hujusmodi et aliis prædictis ac dicto Matrimonio comminato, etiàm sub nomine legatorum aut privatim, aut alio quocumque modo se intromittat. Sed cum etiam lite pendente nullus debeat possessione conjugii et debiti conjugatis spoliari, idem Rex ut talem Principem et Christianum Catholicum decet dictam Reginam maritali tractet affectione, et litem ipsam coràm ipso Paulo legitimè prosequatur, et illius finem sua solitâ prudentiâ patienter expectet; propterea si Rex præfatus vel alii inhibitioni, prohibitioni, et interdicto hujusmodi contravenerit, tale Matrimonium seu sponsalia ac omnia et singula tàm per Regem quàm personas, Parlamenta, Universitates, Collegia, et Judices præfatos, et quoscumque alios gesta et facta præsumpta vel attentata, tanquàm nullo, irrita, et inania, de similibus consilio, et assensu irritamus et annullamus, ac prolem ex tali conjugio conceptam, genitam, susceptam, concipiendam, vel suscipiendam tanquàm in malâ fide et illegitimè ac ex adulterio natam, illegitimam fore et decernimus; Regemque ipsum ac alios omnes supradictos, sententias, censuras et pœnis prædictas, ex nunc prout ex tunc incurrisse declaramus, et ut tales publicari, ac publicè nunciari et evitari debere, volumus atque mandamus. Quocirca vobis et singulis vestrum etiàm in dignitate constitutis, sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœnâ, districtè, præcipiendo mandamus, quatenùs postquàm præsentes ad vos pervenerint, seu vobis præsentatæ fuerint, et commodè poteritis, easdem præsentes litteras in dictâ audientiâ contradictarum publicari, et valvis earumdem Ecclesiarum affigi, et paulisper inde amoveri, et earum copiam collationatam eisdem valvis affixam dimittere, et demùm super publicatione, et affixione et dimissione, publica et authentica instrumenta manu propriâ Notarii coràm testibus fieri faciatis, et de his omnibus ac aliis quæ in præmissis per vos gesta fuerint, nos seu Paulum auditorem præ-

dictum, certiores reddere curabitis; nos enim præsentium litterarum publicationem, affixionem et copiæ dimissionem per vos fasciendas, postquàm factæ fuerint eosdem Regem et alios supradictos perinde arctare, ac si præsentes omniaque in eis contenta, eis personaliter intimata, ac illarum copiæ eis datæ, traditæ et dimissæ fuissent, et nihilominus quicquid per Regem et alios prædictos, et eorum quemlibet, contrà præmissa factum vel actum fuerit, nullum penitùs et invalidum, nulliusque roboris vel momenti decernimus, non obstantibus, etc.

Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die quintâ Januarii MDXXXI, Pontificatus nostri anno octavo.

Sic subscritum. EVANGELISTA.

Item et sic deorsum die x Januarii MDXXXI.

K. (bis.)

Tertium Breve Clementis VII.

(p. 233.)

CHARISSIME in Christo fili noster, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Magno sumus in dolore, quod serenitatem tuam quam semper anteà pientissimum filium nostrum, et hujus sanctæ Sedis per speximus, et omni tempore de nobis benè meritum fuisse recordamur, ab hoc tantùm biennio proximo citrà, immutatam esse sine rationabili causâ videmus. Cùm tamen nos (id quod verissimè dicere possumus) nihil ergà eam neque in affectu, neque in respectu amantissimi Patris immutati fuerimus; multò autem majore angimur molestiâ, quòd Pastorali officio adducti, et justitiæ ratione astricti quicquam agere et decernere cogimur, quod serenitati tuæ displiceat, cui sanè semper placere et satisfacere desideramus. Verùm quid agemus? Negligemusne justitiam et animæ tuæ salutem? An potiùs privatos affectos tuos nostrosque publicis rationibus et divinæ voluntati anteferemus? Sic decet, fili, sic potiùs fiat à nobis, nec tàm quid in præsens te juvet, quàm quid tuo honori, officio, justitiæque conveniat perpendamus. Veniet enim tempus, veniet, nec longum erit, sicut in Domino confidimus, cùm tua serenitas, hoc nubilo erroris quo nunc obducitur depulso, restitutâque sibi luce veritatis, veterem nobis benevolentiam suam, quam maximi facimus restituet, fateberisque, id quod est, nos ex publicâ personâ nostrâ nihil aliud facere, quàm quod fecimus, potuisse. Imò etiam indulgentiores aliquando fuisse, quàm justitiæ severitas expostulat. Potes enim, fili in Christo charissime, meminisse, cùm tu ab hinc quadriennio à nobis studiosè contendisses, ut legatum nostrum in Regnum tuum mitteremus, eique et alteri legato tunc in tuo eodem Regno existenti, causam validitatis Matrimonii inter te et charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam, olim contracti, ac per viginti annos et ultrà continuati, committeremus, nos etsi id subiniquum videbatur causam ad preces tuas in tuo regno committere, tamen tuæ voluntati morem gessimus, ac tàm diù eamdem causam ibi manere permisimus, donec pro parte Reginæ appellato, juramentoque horrescentiæ præstito, causam eamdem, non in Regnis aut dominiis nepotum Reginæ, aut alius in quibus Regina potior favoribus esset, verum Romæ in communi orbis christiani patriâ, atque in nostro Rotæ auditorio commisimus, nobis posteà et sacro Collegio venerabilium Fratrum nostrorum, S. R. E. Cardinalium referendam, ac à nobis et dictis Cardinalibus decidendam; quo pendente judicio, cùm tu nihil innovare vel attentare in præjudicium litispendentiæ debuisses, ecce nobis non solùm ipsius Reginæ lamentabili querelâ, verùm etiàm multorum litteris et testimoniis affertur, te non expectatâ ulteriore nostrâ declaratione, ipsam Reginam à tuâ cohabitatione separâsse, et quamdam Annam in tuum contubernium et cohabitationem publicam recepisse. Quæ res cùm divinam justitiam, litispendentiam, et auctoritatem nostram, tuæque animæ salutem et honorem læderet, nos paterno affectu te charitate litteras ad te dedimus tenoris subsequentis. "CLEMENS Papa VII. Charissime in Christo fili noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quod pro nostrâ in te benevolentiâ, tuoque honore et salute, falsum esse cupimus, relatum nobis est, et à multis confirmatum serenitatem tuam, quæ non solùm anteà, verum etiàm post motam litem inter te et charissimam in Christo filiam nostram Catharinam Angliæ Reginam Illustriss. super validitate

Matrimonii inter vos contracti, eam apud se ut decebat in suâ regiâ curiâ tenuerat, atque ut Reginam et uxorem habuerat et tractaverat, à certo citrà tempore, eam non solùm à se et suâ curiâ, sed etiam à civitate seu loco suæ residentiæ separâsse, alióque misisse; loco autem ejus quamdam Annam in suum contubernium et cohabitationem publicè recepisse, eique maritalem affectum uxori tuæ debitum exhibere. Quæ res, fili charissime, si modò vera est, tuque parumper animum ab humanis affectibus collegeris, non dubitamus, quin etiàm tacentibus nobis perspecturus sis, quàm multis modis indigna te fuerit, vel ob contemptum litispendentiæ, et judicii nostri, vel ob scandalum Ecclesiæ, vel ob communis pacis perturbationem, quæ omnia ita à recto et religioso principe, qualem te semper habuimus, aliena sunt, ut tanquàm tuæ naturæ et consuetudini repugnantia, etsi nobis in dies magis confirmantur, difficiliùs tamen credamus. Quid enim minùs tibi et tuæ probitati convenit, quàm hinc apud nos, per oratores et literas super causâ istuc remittendâ instare, inde te ipsum tuo facto causam decidere? Quod simile tuis armis et scriptis olim Ecclesiam et sanctam fidem defendisse, nunc tali facto Ecclesiam videri contemnere? Jam verò communis salus et tranquillitas à nullo unquam nostri temporis Rege acriùs, quàm à te, custodita est, qui bellum pro Ecclesiâ olim susceptum, et gloriosè confectum pro communi quiete deposueris, semperque arbiter quidam pacis et communis concordiæ inter Christianos principes conciliandæ fueris existimatus, quò magis hæc nova de te audientes admiramur simul ac dolemus, unum hoc tuum factum, si modò verum est, ab omni vitæ tuæ gloriâ et consuetudine discrepare. Quamobrem cùm nec rem tantam non explorare certiùs, nec neglectam omittere debeamus, hanc ad te quasi amantis et solliciti patris vocem præcurrere voluimus, antequàm judicis ullas partes tecum sumamus; faciunt enim tuæ celsitudinis dignitas, vetera tua in nos merita, nostraque ex his ergà te benevolentia, ut tecum omni respectu et lenitate agere velimus, sumptâ parentis personâ, et judicis tantisper depositâ, donec ex tuis litteris consilium progrediendi capiamus. Cupimus quidem, fili, ut diximus, hæc penitùs falsa esse, aut non tam aspera, quæ nobis referuntur. Teque ipsum deinceps pro tuâ singulari sapientiâ providere, ne cuiquam de serenitate tuâ omni virtute conspicuâ, in hoc tantùm obloquendi detur occasio. Si quis enim vel ex catholicis dolens, vel ex hereticis gaudens, audiat te Reginam, Regumque filiam, Cæsarisque, et Regis Romanorum materteram, quam in uxorem accepisti, viginti amplius annis tecum commoratam, prolemque ex te susceptam habentem, nunc à tuo toro et contubernio procul amovisse, aliam quoque publicè apud te habere, non modò sine ullâ licentiâ nostrâ, verùm etiàm contrà nostram prohibitionem; is profectò necesse est, ut sententiam quodammodò de optimo principe ferat, tanquàm Ecclesiam, et publicam tranquillitatem parvi faciente, quod nos fecimus ab intentione et voluntate tuâ longissimè abesse. In tantùm, ut si quis alius, hoc idem in tuo Regno audeas, quod à tuâ serenitate factum dicitur, nullo modo te probaturum, sed etiàm severè vindicaturum, pro certo habeamus. Quamobrem, fili, etiam si tu rectissimè sentias, ut nos quidem constantes credimus, tamen causam præbere rumoribus et scandalis non debes hoc præsertim tempore tàm calumnioso, plenoque hæresum et aliarum perturbationum, ne tuum factum latiùs pateat ad exemplum. Sunt enim facta regum, præsertim illustrium, sicut tua serenitas est, proposita, quasi in specula hominibus cæteris ad imitandum. Nec præterea negligenda tibi est communis salus, et totius Christianitatis tranquillitas, quod semper fuit optimorum Regum; nec fili, debes serenissimos Cæsarem et Romanorum Regem dictæ Catharinæ Reginæ nepotes, nullâ te prosequutos contumeliâ, ac tam gravi injuriâ, indecisâ lite, afficere, et exinde pacem perturbare universalem; quâ solâ adversùs imminentem nobis Turcam tuti sumus; nec scandali in Ecclesiâ periculi in totâ Christianâ republicâ causam præbeas; propterea que Rex cœlestis à te irritatus, tantam suam ergà te benegnitatem aliquâ serenitatis amaritudine permisceat. Te igitur, fili, per eam quâ semper te sumus prosequuti benevolentiam, semperque si per te liceat prosequemur, omni studio et

amore hortamur, et paternâ charitate monemus, ut si hæc vera sint, quæ tuam veterem pietatem, et gloriam denigrant, tutè ea corrigere velis, ipsam Catharinam Reginam ad te humaniter revocando, atque in eo Reginæ honore, et uxoris quo decet affectus apud te habendo; ipsam verò Annam à publico tuo convictu et cohabitatione, propter scandalum removendo, donec nostra sententia inter vos subsequatur. Quod nos quidem, etsi est à te debitum, tibique est maximè futurum honorificum, beneficii loco recepisse à tuâ serenitate videbimur. Nàm quod te in pristinâ tuâ voluntate ergà nos, observantiâque ergà hanc sanctam. Sedem, cum qua mutuis officiis et beneficiis semper certâsti, conservare maximè cupimus, summo sanè cum dolore ad ea descenderemus juris remedia quorum necessitatem non nostra privata contumelia, quam tibi libenter condonaremus, sed Dei omnipotentis honor publicæque utilitatis, et tuæ animæ salutis ratio ad postremum nobis, quanquàm invitis, imponeres; sicut etiàm nuntius apud te noster hæc tuæ serenitati uberius explicabit. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die vigesimâ quintâ Januarii millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo secundo. Pontificatûs nostri anno nono."

Cùm autem, id quod dolentes referimus, in dies magis nobis confirmetur, et asseveretur, licet ipsæ litteræ tibi per nuntium nostrum repræsentatæ, ejusque conformis sermo, in idem tu nostro nomine hortatus fueris, ut à tanto scandalo et contemptu Ecclesiæ desisteres, nihilominùs te in separatione cohabitationis cum Catharinâ Reginâ, et continuatione cohabitationis cum Annâ prædictis, publicè perseverare; nos cûm neque Dei honorem, nec nostrum officium, nec tuæ animæ salutem negligere debeamus, te, fili, sine tamen tuorum jurium et causæ pendentis præjudicio, iterùm hortamur, ac sub excommunicationis pænâ monemus, ut si prædicta vera sint, eamdem Catharinam Reginam apud te in reginali honore, ac solitâ cohabitatione tuâ rejicere, intrà unum mensem à die præsentationis præsentium tibi factæ computandum debeas, donec nostra sententia et declaratio inter vos fuerit subsequuta. Aliter enim nos dicto termino elapso, te et ipsam Annam excommunicationis pœnâ innodatos, et ab omnibus publicè evitandos esse, ex nunc prout ex tunc, et è contra authoritate Apostolicâ declaramus, et nihilominùs tam etsi abhorret animus, talia de serenitate tua opinari, licetque id ipsum jàm serenitati tuæ à nobis nostroque Rotæ auditorio cui hujusmodi causa fuit commissa inhibitum fuerit, et ab omni tàm humano quàm divino jure etiàm prohibeatur, tamen permoti hominum fama, denuò serenitati tuæ inhibemus, ne lite hujusmodi coram nobis, et dicto Rotæ auditorio indecisâ pendente et sine sedis Apostolicæ licentiâ speciali, matrimonium cum dictâ Catharinâ Reginâ Apostolicâ authoritate contractum, et prole subsequutâ, tantoque temporis spatio confirmatum propriâ authoritate separare, aut divortium cum eâ facere; neve cum dicta Annâ, aut quavis aliâ matrimonium contrahere præsumas, irritum prout est denuò decernentes, si quid forsan attentari super hoc à tua serenitate aut quovis alio, quavis authoritate contigerit, vel forsan hactenùs fuerit attentatum, sicque à quibusvis judicibus tàm extrà Romanam Curiam, quàm in eâ, etiam S. R. E. Cardinalibus, et dicti Palatii auditoribus sententiari definiri, judicari, et interpretari debere; sublata eis omnibus aliter sententiandi, definiendi, judicandi, et interpretandi facultate. Non obstantibus, etc.

Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die decima quintâ Novembris MDXXXII, Pontificatûs nostri anno nono. Sic scriptum in calce partis interioris ejusdem brevis, die vigesima tertia Decembris MDXXXII.

Suprascriptio autem præfati brevis à parte exteriori talis erat: Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Henrico Angliæ Regi illustrissimo, fidei defensori.

[N.]

(Chap. 33.)

Epitaph on Sir Thomas More, written by himself, and found in Chelsea Church.

THOMAS MORUS, urbe Londinensi, familia non celebri, sed honesta natus, in literis utcumque versatus, quum et causas aliquot

juvenis egisset in foro, et in urbe suâ pro Shyreuo jus dixisset, ab invictissimo Rege Henrico octavo, (cui uni regum omnium gloria prius inaudita contigit, ut fidei defensor, qualem et gladio se et calamo verè præstit, meritò vocaretur) adscitus in Aulam est, delectusque in consilium, et creatus eques, proquæstor primum, pòst Cancellarius Lancastriæ, tande m Angliæ miro Principis favore factus est. Sed interim in publico regni Senatu lectus est orator populi; præterea legatus Regis nonnunquam fuit, alias alibi; postremò verò Cameraci, comes et collega junctus principi legationis Cuthberto Tonstallo, tum Londinensi, mox Dunelmensi Episcopo; quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditiùs, prudentius, melius. Ibi inter summos Christiani orbis Monarchas fursus refecta fœdera, redditamque mundo diu disideratum pacem, et lætissimus vidit, et legatus interfuit.

Quam Superi pacem firment, faxintque perennem.

In hoc officiorum vel honorum cursu quum ita versaretur, ut neque Princeps optimus operam ejus improbaret, neque nobilibus esset invisus, neque iojucundus populo; furibus autem, homicidis, Hæreticisque molestus; Pater ejus tandem Joannes Morus Eques, et in eum Judicium ordinem à Principe cooptatus, qui Regius consessus vocatur, homo civilis, innocens, mitis, misericors, æquus et integer, annis quidem gravis, sed corpore plusquà pro ætate vivido, postquà eo productam sibi vidit vitam, ut filium videret Angliæ Cancellarium,* satis in terra jam se moratum ratus, lubens emigravit in cœlum. At filius defuncto patre cui quamdiu supererat comparatus, et juvenis vocari consueverat, et ipse quoque sibi videbatur, amissum jam patrem requirens, et editos ex se liberos quatuor, ac nepotes undecim respiciens, apud animum suum cœpit persenescere. Auxit hunc affectum animi subsequuta statim, velut adpetentis senii signum, pectoris valetudo deterior. Itaque mortalium harum rerú satur, quam rem à puero pœne semper optaverat, ut ultimos aliquoum vitæ suæ annos obtineret liberos, quibus hujus vitæ negotiis paulatim se subducens, futuram posset immortalitatem meditari, eam rem tádem (si cæptis annuat Deus) indulgétissimi Principis incomparabili beneficio resignatis honoribus impetravit: atque hoc sepulchrum sibi, quod mortis éu nunquam cessantis adrepere quotidie commonefaceret, translatis huc prioris uxoris ossibus extruendum curavit. Quod ne superstes frustra sibi fecerit, néve ingruentem trepidus mortem horreat, sed desiderio Christi lubens oppertat, mortemque ut sibi non omnino mortem, sed januam vitæ fælicioris inveniat, precibus cum, Lector optime, spirantem precor, defunctumque prosequere.

* The following legend respecting the birth of Sir Thomas More, taken from Stapleton's "Tres Thomæ," on the first night of her marriage, More's mother had the following dream: She fancied that she saw engraved on her wedding dream the countenance of two children whom God had vouchsafed to give her; the one was radiant and smiling, the other scarcely visible to the sight. The latter, doubtless, typified the child condemned to perish in the mother's womb, and the former prefigured Sir Thomas More destined one day to be the light of Catholic England.

[M]

Act of Attainder against Sir Thomas More.

"Where the kyng our soveraigne lorde that nowe is, by his severall lettres patentes, whereof the one bereth date the viii. day of May, in the xiii. yere of the reigne of our said soveraigne lorde, and the other bereth date the xvi. day of January, in the xvi. yere of the reigne of our said soveraigne lorde, for the true and faithfull service and counsell which our said soveraigne lorde ententyd and trusted to be done to his highness by Sir Thomas More, late of Chelsey, in the countie of Midd., Knyght, of his own mere mouve and liberalitie did gyve and graunt to the said Sir Thomas More and his heires, dyvers manoures, landes, tenementes, and other hereditamentes, conteyned and specified in the saine severall lettres patentes, to have and to holde to the same Sir Thomas More and to his heires, accord and under such manner and forme as in the said severall lettres patentes is expressed and declared.

And forasmoche as the said Sir Thomas More, contrary to the trust and confidence aforesaid, being lawfully and dewly requyred, syns the firste day of May last past, unnaturally and contrary to his duty of allevgaunce, entendyng to sowe and make sedycion, murmour, and griefe within this the kynge's realme, amongst the true, obedyent, and faythfull subjects of the same, hath obstynatly, forwardly, and contemptuously refused to make and receyve such corporall othe as was ordeyned to be accepted of every subjecte of this realme, for the suertie and establisshment of the succession of our said soveraigne lorde in the imperiall crowne of this realme. And, for that, that he hath onkyndly and ingratly servyd our said soveraigne lorde, by dyvers and sondry ways, meanes, and condycions, contrary to the truste and confidence. Be it therefore enacted by the auctoritie of this present Parliament, that the said severall lettres patentes, from the firste day of November last past, and every thyng therein conteyned, shall be, in all intentes and purposes, clerely repelled voide, frustrat, and of none effecte in the lawe, and as though no such lettres patentes had ben had ne made, and that all and singular manours, landes, tenementes, and other heridataméntes comprised in the severall lettres patentes, from the said firste day of November, in the demur and adiudged in our said soveraigne and his heires, in lyke estate, forme, and condicion, and they were before the makying of the said severall lettres patentes. And further be enacted, by the auctoritie aforesaid, that, forasmoche as the said Sir Thomas More, by the obstynate refusell of the said othe, hath committed and done mysprision of high treason, that the said Sir Thomas More, for his offences aforesaid, shall stande and be atteynted convycted of mysprision of high treason, in such manner and fourme as if he were attenyted for the same offence of mysprision of high treason by the due order of the comen lawe; and also shall suffer such paynes of imprisonement of his body and losses of his goodes, eattables, debts, leases of yeres, stats of freeholde, and other forfeytures and penalties conteyned, specified, and provyded in the statute of succession of the crowne of this realme for offences of mysprision of high treason, in suche manner, forme, and condicion, to all intentes and purpose as if the said Sir Thomas More, for the same offence of mysprision of high treason, were lawfully atteynted by the order of the comen lawe upon the same. And that the said losses and forfeytures of leases for yeres, estates of freeholde, shalbe extended to such leases and freeholdes as the same Sir Thomas More, or any other to his use, had at the firste day of Marche last past, or eny tyme sithen. Savying to every person and persons and their heires, other then the said Sir Thomas More and his heires, and other person and persons and their heires having or clayming any interesse, use, tytle, or possession, in or to the said manours, lordshippes, landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes, or to any parte or parcell thereof, such right, title, enterest, use, possession, rents, profyttes, and other commodities as they or any of them have or had in or to the permisses, or to any parcell thereof, at any tyme afore the said firste day of Marche, as if this Act of Atteynder had never ben had nor made. Provyded alway that this Act of Atteynder, nor any thyng therein conteyned, shall not extende to the forfeyture of any manours, landes, tenementes, or heriditamentes, whereof the said Sir Thomas More is or was, the said firste day of Marche, or any tyme syns, sole, severally, or joyntly served with any other person or persons, to the use of any person or persons other than of the said Sir Thomas More."—Statutes of the Realm, III.

[O]

Act of Succession.

The nobles and commons of this realme doo therefore moost humbly beseche your highness, that it may please your majestie that it may be enacted by your highness, with the assente of the Lords, spiritual and temporall, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by auctoritie of the same, that the marriage hertofore solemnysed betwene your highness and the

Lady Katharyne, being before lawfull wyf to Prince Arthur, your elder brother, which by him was carnally known, as doth duly appere by sufficient prove in a lawfull proces, had and made before Thomas, &c., shalbe.....by auctoritie of this present Parliament, diffynytyvly, clerely, and absolutely declared demur, adjudged to be *agaynst the lawes* of Almighty God, and also accepted, refuted, and taken of noo value ne effecte, but utterlie *voyde and adnychyled*, and the separacion thereof, &c.....shalbe good and effectuall to all intentes and purposes, &c.—Statutes of the Realm, III.

[P.]

Oathe of Succession.

Ye shall swear to bear your faith, truth and obedience, alone to the king's majesty, and the heirs of his body, according to the limitation and rehearsal within this statute of succession, where specified, and not to any other within this realm, nor foreign authority, prince, or potentate; and in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any other person or persons, that then you to repute the same as vain and annihilate, and that, to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other under means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend this act above specified, and *all the whole* contents and effects thereof, and all other statutes made since the beginning of this present Parliament, in confirmation or for due execution of the same, or of anything therein contained; and thus ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be, and in no wise do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or covertly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence or cause. So help your God and all saints.—Journal of the House of Lords, I.

[Q.]

Act of Supremacy.

An Act concernynge the kynge's highness to be supreme heed of the Churche of Englande, and to have auctoryte to refourme and redresse all errours and abuses yn the same. Albeit the kynge's majestie justly and rightfully is and oweth to be the supreme heed of the Churche of Englande, and so is recognysed by the clergy of this realme in their convocacions; yet, nevertheless, for corroboracion and confirmacion thereof, and for increase of vertue in Chrysti's religion within this realme of Englande, and to represse and extirpe all errours, heresies, and other enormyties and abuses heretofore used in the same, be it enacted, by auctorite of this present Parliament, that the kynge our soveraigne lorde, his heires and successours, kynges of this realme, shalbe takyn, accepted, and reputed the only supreme heed in earthe of the Churche of England, callyd Angliana Ecclesia, and shall have and enjoye, annexed and unyted to the ymperiall crowne of this realme, as well the title and style thereof, all honours and dignyties, præmyneures, jurisdiccions, privileges, auctorities, ymunyties, profitis, and commodities, to the said dignytie of supreme heed of the same churche, belongyng and apperteynyng.....And that our said soveraigne lorde, his heires and successours, kynges of this realme, shall have full power and auctoritie, from tyme to tyme, to visité, represse, redresse, reforme, ordre, correct, restrayne, and amende, all such errours, heresies, abuses, offences, contemptes, and enormyties, whatsoever they be, which by any manor, spirituall auctorytie or jurisdiccion, ought or maie lawfullye be reformed, repressyd, ordred, correctyd, restrayned, or amendyd, moste to the pleasure of Almyghtie God, the encrease of vertue yn Chrysti's religion, and for the conservacy of the peace, unyte, and tranquilyte of this realme; any usage, custome, foreyne lawes, foreyne auctoryte, prescripcion, or any other thinge or thinges to the contrarie hereof notwithstandynge.

[R.]

Contemporaries of Sir Thomas More.

1. *Grocyn.*—He studied the classics in Italian, Greek under Demetrius Chancondyle, and Latin under Politian. Erasmus gives him the following character:—"In omni genre disciplinarum usque ad an morositatem exacte versatus." Though he lived to an advanced age, he never wrote anything. His character was extravagant and thoughtless; he sacrificed the whole of his fortune to the advancement of literature.

2. *Linacre.*—He spent his younger years under Politian and Chancondyle at Florence, and was on intimate terms while at Rome with Hermelaüs Barbaro; on his return to England, he was appointed by Henry VII. tutor to Prince Arthur, and dedicated to his patron his translation of Proclus; he also published a philological treatise, entituled, "De emendatâ Latini sermonis structurâ." After having studied Galen with great avidity, Linacre, ever fickle in his views, determined to study the "ars sanandi," and did so with such success that he was nominated physician to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He died in 1524, aged sixty-four, and was buried at St. Paul's, London.

2. *Lilly.*—While young, Lilly undertook a voyage to the Holy Land. After his return from Jerusalem he remained for some time at Rhodes, to study the Greek language. At Rome, he frequented the lectures of Sulpitius[a] and Sabinus[b] on grammar and rhetoric; and on his return to England professed grammar, poetry, and rhetoric. More wrote his first epigrams with Lilly. We adduce an evidence of the talents of the rivals: the theme was as follows:—

"Οινος, και τολοειρα, και η περι κωπην ερωη
Ο-ντερην πεμπει ὑμν ὁδιν εις αἰδιν."

(a) Sulpitius.—We here refer to Giovanni Sulperio du Veroli, who gave lessons in theatrical declamation at Rome, and was a *protégé* of the Cardinal Rafaello Riario.

(b) Sabinus.—Lilly studied under the celebrated Angelus Crœus Sabinus, better known as Angiolo Sabino; he is the author of a Latin poem, entitled "Angeli de ruribus Sabinis, poëmo de excidio civitatis Leodiensis," and edited the first edition of Armanus Marullemus, which appeared at Rome in 1474.

T. Mori de Luxu et Libidine:—

Si quis ad infernos prepert descendere manes,
Huc iter accelerant, balnea, vina Venus.

G. Lilii:—

Nos caligant is rapiunt ad tecta tyranni
Præcipiti cursum, balnea, vina, Venus.

Colet.—He was born in 1466 at London; his father was twice Lord Mayor of London; on his return to England he went to live at Oxford, where he lectured publicly on St. Paul's Epistles. He was nominated Dean of St. Paul by Henry VII. and established a college out of his private fortune which he dedicated to the Infant Jesus; and died in London, aged 53, in 1519.

Cochlæus.—Cochlœus was born in 1479 at Wendelstein, a small town in Franconia: he was dean of Our Lady of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, at the time that Luther appeared at the Diet of Augsbourg; obliged to leave the town, owing to the persecution of the Reformers, he fled to Mayence, where the archbishop nominated him canon of St. Victor; he died at Breslau, in Silesia, in 1552, and was buried in the church of St. John Baptist. Cochlœus was one of the most zealous defenders of Catholic truth, and has left many works behind him.

Budæus.—He was born at Paris in 1467, and studied at Orleans: he published several works.

Giovio.—This historian was born at Como in 1483; studied at Padua, and was nominated Bishop of Nocera by Clement VII. The following is the epitaph on his tomb:—

Hic jacet huc Jovius Romanæ gloria linguæ
Par cui non Crispus, non Patavinus erat.

Leo X. preferred him to Livy, and Alciate to Tacitus.

Vives.—There was a contest between Vives, Erasmus, and Budœus, as to whom should be decided the palm of literature. Vives was born at Valencia, where he commenced his studies and finished them at Paris. He was appointed by Wolsey Professor of Civil Law at Corpus Christi, (Christ Church,) Oxford; and had often among his auditory Henry VIII., Katharine of Arragon, More, Tonstall, and others. At the request of Katharine of Arragon, he wrote his treatise entituled "De institutione feminæ Christianæ," which he

dedicated to her, as also his "De ratione studii puerilis," which he published while at Oxford in 1523. He married at Bruges in 1524, where he addressed the "Satellitum animi vel symbola" to the Princess Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII.; he died at Bruges in 1544.

Pomorances.—This apostate from Catholicism, better known by the name of Bugenhagen, was appointed, in 1521, Professor of Theology at Wittemberg; he opposed Carlstadt during Luther's imprisonment at Wartzburg. He was a Præmonstratensian monk of Belhuck, in Pomerania.

Croke.—This celebrated Hellinist was a tutor to Camer, who instructed Melancthon; while he was reading at Leipzig, his whole time with that of his fellow-students, if the biographers of Rimblen are to be believed, were spent in inquiring into the size of Diogenes's tub and the weight of Hercules's club. He was appointed through the interest of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, succeeding Erasmus in that position. In 1522 he was appointed "Magister Glomoriæ."

FORGET NOT YET.

(Addressed by Wyatt to Anna Boleyn.)

Forget not yet the tried intent
Of such a truth as I have meant,
My great travail so gladly spent,
Forget not yet.

Forget not yet when first began
The weary life, ye know since when
The suit, the service none tell can.
Forget not yet.

Forget not yet the great assays,
The cruel wrong, the scornful ways,
The painful patience and delays.
Forget not yet.

Forget not, oh! forget not this,
How long ago hath been and is
That Love that never meant amiss.
Forget not yet.

Forget not now thine own approved,
The which so constant hath the loved
Whose steadfast faith hath never moved.
Forget not yet.

[T.

A Letter from the Earl of Derby and Sir Henry Faryngtæn, on the subject of the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn.

THE following letter proves that the king's marriage with Anna Boleyn met with much opposition among the people and clergy of England:—

"Pleas it your highness to be advertyzed, that where as Sir William Fitzwilliams, Knyght, on of your counsullors and tresorers of your moost honorable Howse, lately directed his severall lettrês unto us, your humble subgetts and servants, Edward Earl of Derby and Henry Farryngtæn, Knyght, whereby we percieve your graces pleasor is that a lewde and noghty priest inhabyting in these partyes, who hathe of late reported and spoken befor and in the audyence of certeyn persons sundy and diverse unfytting and sklaunderous words, as well by your highnes as by the quenes grace, should not only be attached and sent up to your highnes, but also that we shuld in the accomplishement of your said pleasor take th' exumynacions and suings of suche persons as were present and herd the same unfytting and sklanderous reports and sayings of the said priest in the primesses; and the same to send in wryting to your highnes subscribed with our hands: We according to our bounden duties in the accomplishement of your grace's pleasor, have called before us suche persons whose names and deposicions herafter do ensue; and the same persons did examyn upon ther othes at Ley, in the countie of Lancaster, the xth day of August, in the xxvth yere of the reign of your noble highnes, Sir Richard Hogthon, Sir William Leylond Knyghts, and Thomas Howcroft, your servants and other of the counsaill give the said will being present. And the said Sr Henry hath attached the said priest and send him to your highnes. And Sr Richard Clerke, vicar of Leegh, deposeth and saith that the xxnd day of July last he rede a proclamacion at Crolton in the house of John Blackeston's concernyng Lady Katharin Princyse — dowager, which Sr James

Harrison, priest, hering the said proclamacion, said, that that Quene Katharin was quene And that Nan Bullen shuld not be quene, nor the king to be no king on his hering. Also Sr John Haworthe priest examined, saith upon his othe thas he herd the said Sr James saye that Quene Katharyn shuld be quene, and as for Nan Bullen who the devell made her quene, and as for the king shuld not be king but on his hering. Also William Dalton squyer examined, and sworn upon a boke, deposith and saith that after that on Sr Richard Clerke had redde the said proclamacion, he redde certain articles in the said proclamacion to the said Sir Jamys with certyn persons ther being present: the said Sr Jamys said I will take none for quene but Quene Katharyn; who the devell made Nan Bullen that hoore quene for I will never take her for quene and the king on his hering; and then the said William said hold thy peace thou wots not what thou saist, and, but that thou art a priest I shuld punyshe the that other should take ensample.—John Dalton th' elder, gentilman, sworn and examyned, saith, that he was pent when William Dalton squyer redde the said proclamacion, and the said Sir Jamys said I will call hir Quene Katharyne lettyng for noman, for Nan Bullen that noghty pake or hoore, I do not remember whether, who the devell made her quene; and the king shalbe no king but on his hering. Thomas Lathom the younger, sworne and examyned, deposith and saith that, after that, a nother tyme the same day and yere where said that Sr Jamys Harrison said that Nan Bullen that hoore shall not be quene. James Woddes, sworn and examynd, deposeth and saith that he herd the proclamacion redde in the howse of John Blackiston's and the said Sr Jamys said then that he wold nee take non for the quene but Quene Katharyn; and as for Nan Bullen that hoore shall be no quene. Adam Banaster, sworn and examyned, deposith and saith, that Sr Jamys Harrison the xxiii. day of July in the house of Thomas Grauesyns said that (he) wold never take Nan Bulleyn for quene, to be hanged for the same, but for Nan Bulleyn. Richard Summer and John Clayton sworn and examyned, deposen and say that they came in company with the said Sr Jamys Harrison from the town of Perhalt to Eccleston, where the said Sr Jamys said unto them this is a marvellous world, the king will put down the order of priests and distroye the Sacrament, but that will be as Thomas Dykenson said that it cannot reigne longe for he saithe that York wilbe London hastilye.

"By your humblyst and obedient serviend,

"E. Derby.

"Heur. Faryngtæn, Knt."

NOTES.

Chap. I. (p. 16). — Archbishop Morton, born at St. Andrews, was distinguished for his talent during the reign of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. He was a warm and zealous partizan of the House of Lancaster, and was raised to the episcopal bench shortly after the accession of Henry VII. In 1497 he received the purple from Alexander VI., and died the following year at the advanced age of 90.

Chap. II. (p. 32).—More first met Erasmus at the table of the Lord Mayor in 1498. The subject of conversation had turned on the Real Presence. More warmly defended the Catholic doctrine, while Erasmus, influenced by a spirit of contradiction, openly attacked it. The dispute waxed warm, when Erasmus, pressed for an answer, exclaimed: "Aut tu es Morus aut Angelus;" to which More replied, facetiously: "Aut tu es Erasmus aut diabolus." The disputants then shook hands, and Erasmus acknowledged himself conquered, but preserved in his heart a desire of avenging his defeat. An opportunity soon presented itself. More had lent his friend a horse to return to Belgium, and Erasmus kept the animal, and returned the following epigram to More:—

Quod mihi dixisti
De corpore Christ
Crede quod edis, et edis;
Sic tibi rescribo
De tuo Palfrido:
Crede quod habes, et habes.

hap. XXII. (Note a, p. 190).—After uxorcula Mori, add:—

Qui tumulum Aliciæ hunc destino quique mihi
Una mihi dedit hoc conjuncta, virentibus annis
Me vocet ut puer et trina puella patrem.
Altera prevignis (quæ gloria rara novercæ est)
Tam piam quam gnatis vix fuit illa suis
Altera sic mecum vixit, sic altera vivit
Clarior insertum est hæc sit, an hoc fuerit.
O simul, O juncti poteramus vivere nos tres
Quam bene si fata religioque sinant
At socient tumulus, socient nos osecro cœlum
Sic mors, non potuit quod dare vita, dabit.

The following anecdote is related by Stapleton: A citizen of Winchester, tormented by the black fever, which occasionally deprived him of the use of his reason, had spared no expense or trouble in his endeavours to obtain a cure. On being taken to More, at that time Lord Chancellor, he was affected by the man's suffering, and endeavoured to cure him, but in vain; he therefore prayed for the unfortunate victim, when he was suffering severely from his malady, (even more severely than usual), and reason gradually resumed her power over the patient. As long as More had his liberty, and the poor man was permitted to see him, he remained free from every attack; but scarcely had More been sent to the Tower ere he relapsed, and thus he continued so long as the Chancellor was an inmate of the Tower. On the day that More was sentenced to death, the poor man went to London and as More was on his way to the block, he thrust himself through the soldiery and exclaimed: "Do you know me, More, do you recognise the poor man whom you rescued from the devil. Oh! pray for me; pray for me!" "Yes," replied More, "I recognise you, and shall pray for you at my last hour. Go away, and live henceforth in peace." And this man, on his return to Winchester, was cured of his fits.

The following lines were written by Sir Thomas More, on the death of Elizabeth, Queen to Henry VII. —

Yet was I lately promised otherwise
This year to live in weal and in delight,
Lo, to what cometh all thy blandishing promise,
O false astrology, and divinitriee,
Of God's secrets vaunting thyself so wise?
How true for this year is thy prophecy!
The year yet lasteth, and lo, here I lie!

Adieu, mine own dear spouse, my worthy lord,
The faithful love that did us both combine
In marriage and peaceable concord
Into your hands lo're do I clean resign,
To be bestowed on your children and mine;
First were ye father, now must ye supply
The mother's part also, for here I lie.

Where are our castles now? Where are our towers?
Goodly Richmond, soon art thou gone from me,
At Westminster, that costly work of yours,
Mine own dear lord, now shall I never see;
Almighty God, vouchsafe to grant that ye,
For you and children well may edify;
My palace builded is, for lo, now here I lie!

Farewell my daughter, Lady Margarete,
God wot full oft it grieved hath my mind,
That ye should go where we might seldom meet,
Now I am gone, and here left you behind,
O mortal folk, but we be very blind,
What we least fear full it is most nigh,
From you depart I first, now here I lie!

Adieu, lord Henry, loving son, adieu,
Our Lord increase your honor and estate;
Adieu, my daughter Mary, bright of hue,
God make you virtuous, wise, and fortunate;
Adieu, sweetheart, my little daughter Kate,
Thou shalt, sweet babe, such is thy destiny,
Thy mother never know, for lo, now here I lie!

Lady Cecily, Lady Anne, and Lady Katharine!
Farewell, my well-beloved sisters three,
Oh Lady Bridget, other sister mine,
Lo here the end of worldly vanity,
Now are you well who earthly folly flee,
And heavenly things do praise and magnify,
Farewell, and pray for me, for lo, now here I lie!

Adieu, my lords, adieu, my ladies all:
Adieu, my faithful servants every one;
Adieu, my Commons, whom I never shall
See in this world — wherefore to Thee alone,
Immortal God, verily three in one
I now commend; thy infinite mercy
Shew to thy servant, for now here I lie!

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