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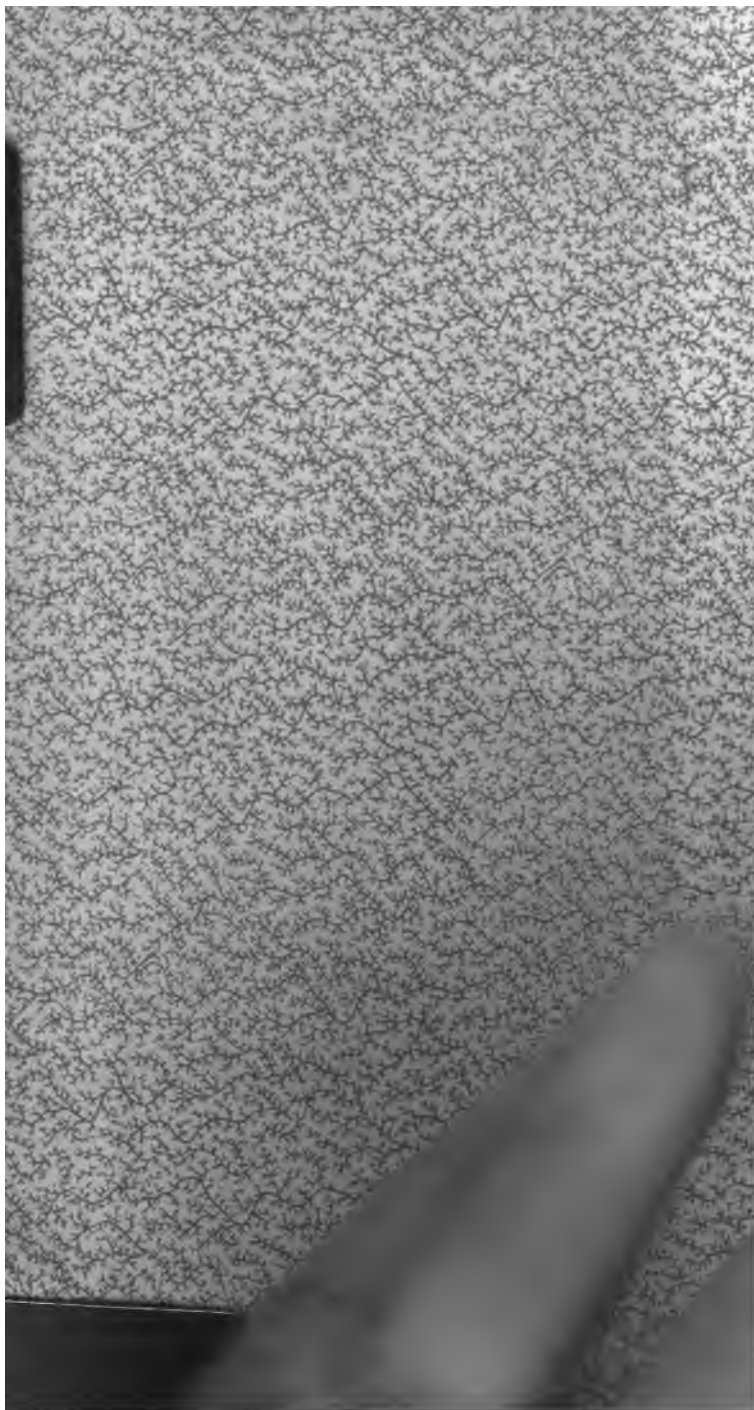
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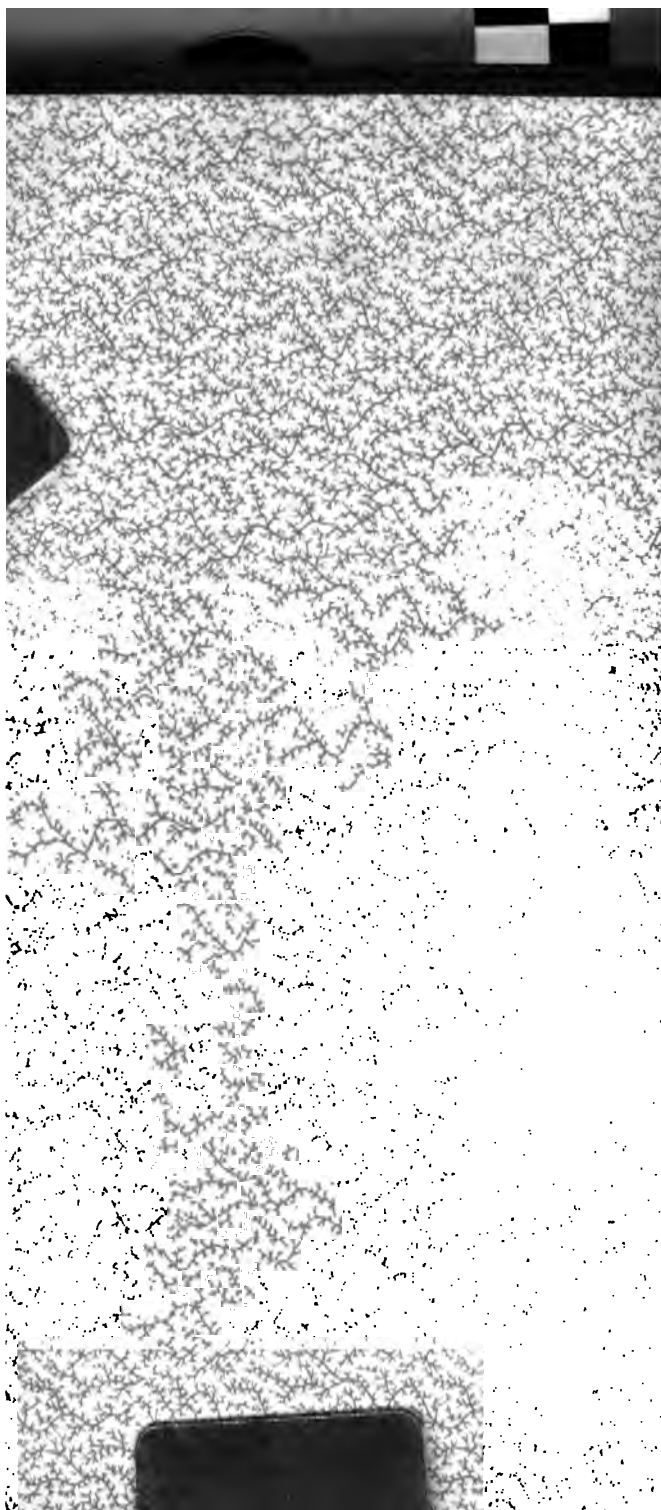


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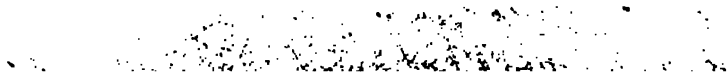








Gordon



A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
LIVES, TRIALS, and EXECUTIONS

OF ALL THE
Royal and Noble Personages,

That have suffered in Great-Britain and Ireland for

HIGH TREASON, or other CRIMES,

FROM THE

Accession of HENRY VIII. to the Throne of England,
down to the present Time;

With a CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE of

Their BEHAVIOUR during CONFINEMENT,

AND

AT THE PLACE OF EXECUTION:

To which is added,

A PARTICULAR ACCOUNT of the REBELLIONS in
England, Scotland and Ireland, for the two last Centuries.

Compiled, with the Utmost Care and Accuracy, from the

Best Histories, and Most Authentic Memoirs,

By DELAHAY GORDON, Esq.

And ILLUSTRATED with COPPER-PLATES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.



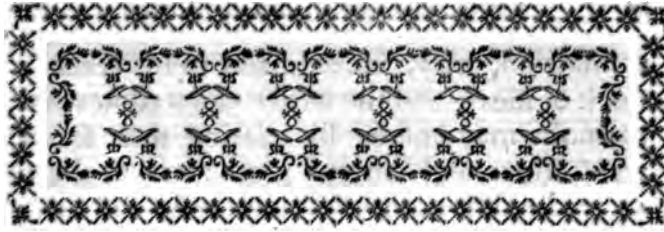
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T H E

INTRODUCTION.

I T seems surprising that, amongst so many authors who have dedicated their talents to historical enquiries, not one should have fallen upon that branch of history which affords the most ample scope to reflection, and furnishes the most solid fund of useful instructions.

Antient and modern histories have often appeared under a variety of different forms: they have been offered in gross to the public by the annalists and historians; and retailed, if I may be allowed the expression, by the biographer and the writer of anecdotes. These writers seem chiefly to have had in view the information or amusement of their readers. The historian, in laboriously compiling volumes replete with facts, and marking the date of each transaction

iv. I N T R O D U C T I O N

transaction, may, indeed, add to his reader's stock of ideas; and the writer of anecdotes and memoirs may amuse, by relating such secret transactions and curious particulars as have escaped public notoriety: but those, and those alone, seem to have understood the true nature, and end of history, who have made use of it as a vehicle of moral instruction. Amongst these, Plutarch must be allowed to hold the most distinguished place.

By setting the lives of the illustrious men of Greece and Rome in contrast, and drawing a parallel between their characters, he has made history subservient to the illustration of morality; as speculative truths never make so strong an impression as when explained and enforced by fact. Encouraged by the success of this renowned biographer, the author of the following work presents his readers with a full and circumstantial account of the Lives of all the Illustrious Personages who have been capitally convicted in Great Britain and Ireland; wherein all the particulars of their behaviour, from the time of their condemnation to their last moments, shall be particularly insisted upon.

This performance is not, however, intended as a bare narrative of facts; the moral reflections which so naturally grow out of this important subject, claim the utmost exertion of the abilities of the author, and it is hoped they will not prove unworthy of the most serious attention of the reader.

If

INTRODUCTION.

If it has been said with justice, of the natural death of those that move in the sphere of higher life, that it is a scene which thoroughly shews the emptiness of all human grandeur, and the futility of ambition, it surely may, with much greater reason, be said of the end of those who, having commanded armies or kingdoms, been listened to as oracles, and surrounded with dependants, are brought at last to the block, and die by the hands of an executioner. To the fatal catastrophe of such we may, with the utmost propriety, apply those emphatical lines of the late Mr. Pope,

“ There, in the rich, the honour’d, fam’d
“ and great,

“ See the false scale of happiness compleat.”

ESSAY ON MAN.

What a source of serious and instructive reflections must arise from comparing the glorious and triumphant life of an Essex with the fatal close of it? When we follow him through a course of conquests and successes, and, having seen him behave gallantly in war and honoured with his royal mistress’s favour, at last behold him die upon a scaffold; How strongly must our minds be possessed with a sense of the vicissitudes of human affairs, and the instability of worldly greatness? But this consideration will be still heightened when we find that even crowned Heads have not been

secure from such sad reverses of Fate. When we see a queen of Scotland, who had passed for the most lively genius and brilliant beauty of her age, condemned to lose her head in the face of the world, we must receive a thorough conviction of the vanity of human grandeur, genius and beauty; the reader will, no doubt, be greatly affected by the unhappy fall of the innocent, and even the guilty will claim a share of his compassion, as their punishments have sometimes surpassed, and always equalled, their offences.

Though Strafford, in the course of his administration, might have been haughty and overbearing, and perhaps justly chargeable with some arbitrary proceedings, all our indignation must cease when we behold him on the scaffold; even the cruelty and persecutions promoted by Laud, will not be sufficient to deprive him of the compassion of the reader, who will not fail to pity an aged prelate, worn out with infirmities, when he, in imagination, sees him lay his head upon the block, and resign to the ax his life-blood scarcely warm.

But if he is affected even by the sufferings of the guilty, how much more must his compassion be excited by the untimely end of some of the most learned and virtuous men of their age? The fate of a Raleigh, a More, a Sidney, renowned at once for their extensive knowledge and high birth, must deeply interest him.

But

But let him not hence conclude virtue also to be vain ; let him reflect that its reward is not to be expected in this life, where “ there is one event to him who sacrificeth, and to him who sacrificeth not ; “ but, that there is a life to come, in which every human being shall be judged at an unerring tribunal, and receive the reward due to his merits.

There is another consideration which cannot fail to recommend this undertaking as useful and important ; namely, that it will eminently appear from hence how much the legislature of Great-Britain exceeds that of all other nations ; since every reader will be convinced, from the perusal of it, that in England the greatest personages are not above the law.

It is well known that in France a prince of the blood is secure of pardon, even for wilful murder, and any person of noble birth, though guilty of a capital crime, is sure of escaping with life. Though condemned to perpetual imprisonment, his friends find means secretly to procure his enlargement, and send him into a foreign country, where he may live upon a pension, though guilty of the most enormous crimes. This abuse is so flagrant in the administration of justice, in that and other countries subject to a despotic government, that the proverb of one of the antient sages of Greece may be properly applied to it, viz. That their law resembles a spider's web, in which

the weak lies are entangled, but is easily broke through by the strong.

But it will appear through the whole course of this work, that in England the greatest are equally subject to the law with the meanest, that neither birth or titles could save a delinquent from public justice. Foreigners have been so sensible of the great advantage, that our excellent constitution has over all others in this respect, that the celebrated author of the Spirit of Laws has acknowledged, that the English have better availed themselves of government and law than any other people whatever: and *Mons. de Voltaire*, in speaking of the reproaches cast upon the English nation on account of the beheading of *Charles I.* expresses himself in this manner: "Let us
" but compare this event with the assassination of *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* and the
" fatal catastrophe of many princes who have
" been poisoned or taken off by other means,
" and then decide which form of government
" is obnoxious to the greatest inconveni-
" encies."

A work wrote upon a plan somewhat similar to ours has been published in French, and been so generally approved of, both in France and all the countries of Europe, that the success it has met with encourages us to hope for the same. It will be easily guessed, without our naming it, that the work we have in view is *Les Causes Celebres*, the production of an
advocate

advocate of the parliament of Paris. But we flatter ourselves that every reader will allow our plan to be superior to that of the above-mentioned author. *Les Causes Celebres, &c.* remarkable Causes, is little more than a collection of trials; the author has confined himself to the particular crime, for which each criminal suffered, and has besides rather had a view to amuse his readers by narratives of the marvellous, than convey instruction by example.

In the present collection, all the articles shall be taken from our own nation, as they must undoubtedly be more interesting than those furnished by the annals of other countries; and we shall not only give all the circumstances of the life of each illustrious sufferer, but endeavour to render it instructive by proper reflections upon all such particulars as may seem to require them. Besides the lives of the unhappy examples of the precarious state of human greatness, which are to make the subject of this performance, we shall give a compleat character of each; in doing which, we shall take particular care, "nothing to extenuate, or set down ought in malice," as we shall, above all things, endeavour to keep clear of the partial spirit of party, not only in our accounts of those who are no longer considered without either favour or detestation by the public; but even in writing of others, recentibus odiis, concerning whom party-spirit still survives, to use the expression of Tacitus, whole.



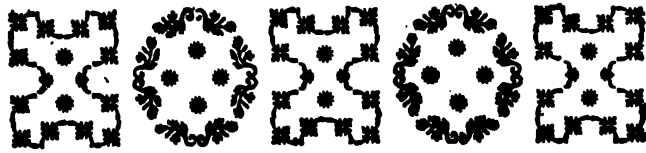
2 INTRODUCTION.

whose manner we shall endeavour, as far as lies in our power, to copy; since he is justly looked upon as the prince of historians,

In fine, we shall, in the prosecution of this work, never lose sight of the rules laid down by those excellent critics in history; the Abbé de St. Real and lord Bolingbroke, who were aware of its true use, and considered it as morality taught by example.

It was thought necessary to prepare the reader by these previous reflections, as we could not give him an adequate idea of the whole extent of our design within the limits to which Proposals are generally confined.





A

General History, &c.

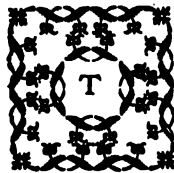


T H E

History of the Life and Death

O F T H E

D U K E O F S U F F O L K.



THOUGH the crime for which this nobleman suffered was committed in the reign of Henry VII. it is proper to give some account of him, as he was not executed till the reign of Henry VIII.

He was nephew of Edward IV. and Richard III. and brother of the earl of Lincoln slain at Stokefield.

Having accidentally killed a man whom he quarrelled with, Henry VII. might have availed himself of this to destroy him, as he held him in the utmost abhorrence on account of his being descended of the house of York by his mother's side.

However,

2 - The LIFE and DEATH of the

However, as the action was in some measure excusable, the king was pleased to forgive him on condition he should openly plead his pardon. The earl, who should have gratefully accepted this pardon as a favour, being exasperated with the condition as ignominious, withdrew shortly after into Flanders, to his aunt the dutchess of Burgundy.

Henry was alarmed at his departure, imagining that he had retired into the Low Countries in order to hatch some plot against him. As his title to the crown was not quite clear, he was never free from apprehensions; and thought, that any attempt to dispute it would be attended with fatal consequences. In order, therefore, to prevent the earl of Suffolk from concerting projects against him with the dutchess of Burgundy, he dispatched messengers to Flanders, who prevailed upon him to return to England, where he was readily taken into favour.

The dutchess of Burgundy, being advanced in years, was tired of making fruitless attempts to dethrone Henry. Add to this, that she had no farther hopes of being assisted by the arch-duke, who had been reconciled to Henry some time before.

The earl of Suffolk, however, was not to be gained by this clemency of the king; but watched an opportunity to conspire against him. The extortions of the king and his ministry had bred great discontents and murmurings among the people. The great felt the oppression as well as the meanest, and groaned under the exactions of Epson and Dudley, two blood-suckers, who spared neither friend nor enemy.

The earl of Suffolk resolved to avail himself of the general discontent, being persuaded that the people were ripe for a rebellion if they could find a person of note to head them. As he was of the
house

house of York by his mother's side, he imagined that this was a proper juncture to assert his rights, thinking that the people would not fail to declare for him. Having prevailed on several lords and gentlemen to espouse his cause, he retired to Flanders, assuring his friends that he would there procure them a powerful aid by means of the dutchefs of Burgundy.

When the king was informed of the earl of Suffolk's departure, he made no question, but that he had contrived some plot against him in England, and that he was not without his accomplices. He thought that his surest way to come to the bottom of the affair, was to have recourse to the same arts which he had used in the case of Perkin Warbeck.

In pursuance of this resolution he sent orders to Sir Robert Curson, governor of the castle of Hammes, near Calais, as he knew him to be a proper instrument for his purpose, and entirely devoted to his service.

Curson having received proper instructions, quitted his government, and, pretending to be dissatisfied with the king, came and offered his service to the earl of Suffolk. He acquitted himself so well in counterfeiting the friend, that the earl communicated all his secrets to him. By these means the king came to know, that William Courtney, earl of Devonshire, married to Catherine, daughter to Edward IV. William de la Pole, brother of the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir John Windham, and several meaner persons, were concerned in the plot. They were all immediately apprehended; but as the evidence against the two first was insufficient, the king was contented with detaining them in prison.

This proceeding gave rise to an opinion that they were not guilty, but that the king availed himself

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himself of that pretext to secure them, because their connexion with the house of York made him uneasy. Tyrrel, who had been employed by Richard III. to murder Edward V. and the duke of York, was beheaded with Windham his accomplice. The conspirators of inferior quality died the death of traitors.

The king, being desirous of coming to the knowledge of all the earl of Suffolk's secrets, had recourse to a very extraordinary method to enable Curson to continue his connexions with him. He caused the bull of excommunication of Innocent VIII. to be published at Paul's Cross against all persons that should disturb him in the possession of the throne, and in particular against the earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson. But when he had got from the earl all his secrets, he returned to England, where he was very favourably received by the king, but detested by the people, who loaded him with curses.

The earl of Suffolk's projects being entirely defeated by Curson's going over to England, he rambled over Germany, and at last returned to Flanders, where the arch-duke took him under his protection, notwithstanding the treaties he had made with Henry.

The king, being fully satisfied that the earl had not in England, a party capable of supporting him, shewed no farther uneasiness upon his account. However, upon his marriage with Margaret, widow to the duke of Savoy, and sister to Philip, arch-duke of Austria, he insisted upon having the earl of Suffolk, who was then in Flanders, delivered up to him.

The arch-duke gave him to understand, that he could not possibly comply with his request; that he was engaged in honour not to sacrifice a lord
who

who had taken refuge in his dominions; that, besides, the complying with his desire, would reflect dishonour upon Henry himself, as the world would not fail to say, that he had been forced to it during his residence in England. Henry, who was by no means solicitous about the opinion of the world, provided he could compass his ends, replied, that he would take all the dishonour upon himself.

This answer occasioned the arch-duke great perplexity. He was unwilling to betray the earl of Suffolk, as he had promised to protect him; but he saw that Henry was resolved to have him, and that he had an infallible method of getting him into his power. Add to this, that, considering the situation of his affairs at that time, it would not have been at all adviseable for him to disoblige the king of England, as he might very likely have occasion for his assistance, if he should be forced to engage in a war with his father-in-law.

These considerations induced him to address the king in the following terms: "Sir, since you are pleased to give law to me, permit me to do the same by you. I will deliver up the earl, but you shall give me your honour that you will not touch his life."

Henry consenting to this, Philip desired that the business might be transacted in such a manner, as to save both their honours. "I'll order the matter," added he, "that the earl shall come to England of his own accord; by which it will appear, that I have solicited and obtained his pardon, and that you were very ready to grant it." Henry approving the expedient, the earl of Suffolk readily closed with the propositions of Philip.

As the arch-duke was then in England, the king, who was impatient to have the earl in his power, continued his entertainments on pretence
of

of doing honour to the king and queen of Castile; for those titles were assumed by the archduke and his dutchefs; but his real view was to protract the time till the earl's arrival. He admitted the arch-duke to the order of the garter, who, in return, made the prince of Wales knight of the golden fleece. Henry then conducted the arch-duke and dutchefs to London, where they were magnificently entertained.

Soon after the earl of Suffolk came over from Flanders, and was immediately conveyed to the Tower. There he remained during the reign of Henry VII. who had made a solemn promise to spare his life: but it seems highly probable that he gave the prince his son the same orders which king David gave to Solomon with respect to Joab; for the earl was beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII. in the year 1513.

Historians do not seem to have accounted in a satisfactory manner for Henry's putting the earl of Suffolk to death, when he was no longer in a condition to hurt him. Lord Herbert, and others, have advanced that it was for fear the people, who were well affected to the house of York, should take him out of the Tower and make him king, if Henry should happen to die in France.

It does not, however, seem probable, that this was the reason for putting that nobleman to death, since Margaret, queen of Scotland, the king's sister, was the undoubted heir of the house of York, had the king died without issue.

Edmund de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, was son of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV.

DUKE of BUCKINGHAM. 7

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F T H E
DUKE of BUCKINGHAM.

THIS duke was son to him who lost his head upon the scaffold in the reign of Richard III. for espousing the cause of Henry VII.

The duke was so indiscreet as to say, That, if the king should die without issue, he thought he had a right to the crown; and he declared, that if he should ever ascend the throne, his first care should be to punish cardinal Wolsey according to his deserts.

The duke's pretensions were not altogether without foundation, for he was descended from Anne of Gloucester, grand-daughter to Edward III. Dr. Martin, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, importuned the duke his father to seize the crown, but he chose rather to espouse the cause of the earl of Richmond than to act for himself.

The duke had undoubtedly spoke in an imprudent manner with regard to his title to the throne, but nobody ever pretended that he had made any attempts to support it. His death was occasioned by what he said against cardinal Wolsey, who being the most vindictive man in the world, always found means to destroy those that had given him offence.

In order to gain his ends, he practised with some of his domestics, and by them was informed that

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he had consulted a certain monk, who pretended to a gift of prophecy, and had frequently conferred with him in private. It seems probable that the duke was so far infatuated with his title as to enquire of the monk, whether the king would die without issue. And this furnished the cardinal with an opportunity to bring about his ruin.

When he had taken proper measures to effect his purpose, he contrived to deprive the duke of his chief supports, by sending the earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, to the Tower, and conferring the government of Ireland on the earl of Surry, his son-in-law, in order to keep him out of the way. The cardinal, in fine, took his measures so well, that the duke was apprehended, and accused of high-treason, in 1521.

The peers present at the duke's trial, were the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; the marquis of Dorset; the earls of Worcester, Devonshire, Essex, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford and Derby; the lords St. John, Delawar, Willoughby, Brooke, Cobham, Herbert and Morley.

The chief article of his impeachment was, that he had frequently consulted the monk, whom we have mentioned above, concerning the succession to the crown, and had used undue methods to acquire popularity. The duke owned on his trial, that he had sometimes talked with the monk, but denied that he did so with the intent he was charged with.

Notwithstanding all he said, he was condemned to die as a traitor; but when the sentence was pronounced, he cried out, "No: I was never one; and I pray God, my lords, to forgive you, with all my heart. I will not sue to the king for mercy, though I know him to be a very gracious prince. Farewell, my lords, pray for me."

The

The duke said he would not sue for mercy, because he knew it would have been to no purpose, as cardinal Wolsey was bent upon his ruin, and the king was entirely governed by him. The only favour he received was to be beheaded, instead of dying the death of a traitor; but his execution was attended with loud murmurs, and gave occasion to many libels against cardinal Wolsey.

We are told by lord Herbert, that Charles Knevet, his steward, who was turned out of his place by the duke, upon the complaints of his tenants, was the person that informed against him, and told the cardinal all the particulars which were alledged against the duke.

The first thing that incensed the cardinal, was his speaking against the interview of Henry with Francis I. at Calais, as an idle expence, though no man made a greater figure there than himself.

Other historians give a quite different account of this affair; and, as their relations are calculated to disculpate cardinal Wolsey, it will not be improper to lay them before the reader in this place.

Hall gives us a particular relation of this affair to the following effect: The duke of Buckingham was accused of high-treason; and, being at his seat at Thornberry, he was, by the king's letter, sent for to court. Sir William Compton, Sir Richard Weston, and Sir William Kingston, three of the gentlemen of the king's bedchamber, were sent down, with a serjeant at arms, to see the duke obeyed the king's command.

The duke, upon receiving the letter, set out, and came to Windsor that night, where he lay; and being suspicious that matters were not right, asked Thomas Ward, one of the king's harbingers, "What he did there?" who answered, "That there lay his office." Upon this, says Hall, the



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duke, perceiving he could not escape, was so much cast down at breakfast that he could not eat; yet put on a seeming cheerful countenance. From Windfor he rode to Tothill-fields, and at the Horse-ferry entered his barge. In the mean time the duke's chancellor was taken up, unknown to him, who had, as Hall affirms, confessed matters of treason against his master.

When the duke was in his barge, he desired to be landed at York-place, which was done accordingly, and he went, attended by four or five servants, to the cardinal's house, where asking for him, was answered, he was very ill. "Well," said the duke in reply, "I will drink of the cardinal's wine;" which was instantly brought to him by one of Wolfey's gentlemen, who delivered it to the duke with great reverence and respect.

It is extremely probable, that when the duke waited on the cardinal, he had been before informed of what he was accused of; and therefore it would have been out of character, considering the high station Wolfey was in, to have seen him in his then condition.

Hall, who was living at this time, relates this transaction of his own knowledge. Would any one believe that, if there had been such an enmity and malice between the duke and the cardinal as has been reported, that he would either have called at his house, or made himself so free as to drink there? But when the duke, says Hall, found no cheer to him, as he terms it, he changed colour, and departed to his barge, and by the way asked for his chancellor, for at that time his grace did not know he was in prison.

After this he passed towards London, and was in his passage arrested of high-treason by sir Henry Marney, attended by several yeomen of the guards;

DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM. 11

guards, who, after landing him at Hay-Wharfe, conducted him through Thames-Street to the Tower, on the sixteenth of April.

Hall further relates, That the people much mused at what had happened ; but he does not lay the least blame, or shew that any reflections were thrown out by the populace against Wolfey on that account.

Next Hall speaks as to the duke's trial, and says, He was tried upon an indictment, and found guilty by his peers ; those were two dukes, a marquiss, seven earls, and twelve barons.

On the seventeenth of May, 1521, about twelve of the clock, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. At his death, he said, " He had offended the king's grace through negligence and lack of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him, and all men to pray for him." Hall reflects on the unhappy fate of this nobleman thus : " Such is the end of ambition, the end of false prophecies, and the end of evil life and evil counsel."

If the duke had conceived that Wolfey had been the means of his death, there is not the least doubt but he would have taken notice of such a material matter upon the scaffold ; which, as he did not do, and that for a very good reason, because he well knew there was no foundation for such a reflection, posterity, surely, one would think, ought to acquit him of the invidious reflections cast on him on that account.

There is now in the record office, an original letter from the duke of Buckingham to cardinal Wolfey, wherein the duke thanks the cardinal " for the many services he had before rendered him ;" and in the letter, begs of Wolfey to interpose with the king, touching some matters that were thereafter to be performed at th

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jufts and tournaments to be exhibited in his majesty's presence, (which were the favourite diversions in those days) and concluded his letter in the most affectionate terms that one friend could possibly write to another, and is dated from the duke's seat at Thornberry, in Gloucestershire. Now, would any one believe, that if Wolfey had been the author of the duke's death, the duke would have wrote such a letter as is now to be seen, under his own hand, in that office?

The duke was buried in the church of the Augustines, in Broad-street.

N. B. For the last particulars we are obliged to the ingenious MR. GROVE OF RICHMOND.



T H E





Tingham Sculp.

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F

FISHER, Bishop of Rochester.

FISHER, who was made bishop of Rochester by Henry VII. adhered so strictly to the maxim of the primitive church, that he would never take a better bishopric in lieu of it. His saying is somewhat remarkable; "That his church was his wife, and that he would never part with her because she was poor." So that this worthy prelate could never be charged with breaking the precept of St. Paul, That a bishop should have but one wife.

One who persevered in such a manner in the discharge of what he thought his duty, could not fail to give offence to an arbitrary prince, whose proceedings were often such as a virtuous man could not approve of.

He soon incurred the indignation of Henry VIII. by refusing to condemn his marriage with queen Catharine, as contrary to common decency, and the laws of God.

In the year 1527, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who, though he had some virtues, had several vices which he had art enough to conceal from the public, presented to the king a writing to that effect under the hands and seals of all the bishops. Fisher having refused to sign it, it is said the archbishop got another to counterfeit his hand, and set his name to it without his knowledge.

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If this be true, it is a great impeachment of the character of Cranmer. However, be it as it will, certain it is he shuffled sometimes.

In the year 1529, the king and queen appeared in person before the legates, who presided as judges in the process concerning the divorce; upon which occasion the king declared that he had no dislike to the queen, but was induced to sue for a divorce by a scruple of conscience, which had been first suggested by the bishop of Tarbe, and was afterwards confirmed by the opinions of all the bishops in England. What the king said concerning the bishops, was confirmed by the archbishop of Canterbury. He was contradicted herein by Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who maintained, that he had never set his hand to the writing that was presented to the king.

Adhering still to his principles, he afterwards refused to consent to an act, made in 1534, which contained three articles; the first of which settled the crown upon the king's issue by Anne Bullen: the second declared the king's first marriage null and void, and confirmed the second; and the third abolished the papal authority, and declared the king head of the church.

The bishop offered to sign the first article; but as for the other two, he said his conscience would not suffer him to consent to them, and was thereupon committed to the Tower.

In 1534, he was by the parliament condemned to a perpetual imprisonment, and all his estates confiscated to the crown, for refusing to take the oath prescribed by an act of the former session. This was paving the way to the sentence of death soon after pronounced against him. Some pitied him, whilst others withheld their compassion, because he had been a great promoter of the persecution of the Lutherans. In

In the general pardon, issued out by the king soon after the end of the session, Fisher was excepted by name; which was a sufficient sign that his ruin was resolved upon: and it is not to be doubted, that these previous severities greatly influenced his judges, and disposed them to interpret every thing that appeared at his trial as much to his disadvantage as possible.

He was brought to a trial on the seventeenth of June, in the year 1535. The lord-chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, and some other lords, together with the judges, sat upon him by a commission of oyer and terminer.

He was beheaded, in the eightieth year of his age, on Tower-hill, and his head was set upon London-bridge.

Such was the sanguinary temper of Henry, that neither extreme age, nor a character which he looked on as worthy the highest veneration, could secure one that had offended him from feeling the whole weight of his resentment. But it must be owned likewise, that bigotry and false zeal had before rendered the bishop himself equally hard-hearted in the case of others.

His body was first buried in Barking church-yard, but was afterwards dug up, and interred with More's in the Tower.

He had always been in much credit at court, where he had been many years confessor to the king's grandmother the countess of Richmond. He was a lover of learning, and it is thought that it was he persuaded the queen to found her two colleges in Cambridge, and was upon that account chosen chancellor of the university.

Paul III. had created him cardinal, though he was so far from aspiring to that dignity, that he had been heard to say, he would not stoop for the cardinal's hat,

hat, if it was laid at his feet. But the pope, whose view was to encourage such as opposed the king, conferred the dignity of the purple on him, saying at the same time, that he considered him as the cardinal of cardinals.

This fatal honour, in all likelihood, contributed to hasten his death : be that as it will, he was executed a month after being invested with his new dignity.

His behaviour before execution was somewhat remarkable. The twenty-second of June being the day appointed for it, he dressed himself with more than ordinary care ; and when his man expressed some surprize at it, he told him, " That he was that day to be a bridegroom."

As he was led to the place of execution, being stopped in his way by the crowd, he opened his New Testament, and prayed to this purpose, That as that book had been his companion, and chief comfort in his imprisonment, so some place might turn up to him, that might comfort him in his last passage. Having ipoke thus, he opened the book at a venture, in which these words in St. John's Gospel turned up : " This is life eternal; to know Thee, the only true God, " and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." To have opened at such words, filled his soul with hope and joy ; so he continued repeating and meditating on them all the rest of the way.

When he came to the scaffold, he sung the Te Deum ; and, after some other devotions, his head was cut off, as has been said before.

Thus died John, bishop of Rochester. He was a pious man, and had much learning, but was too strongly attached to the superstitions in which he had been bred up ; and that was the source of his severities against all that opposed them.

He gave flagrant proofs of his superstitious temper, by countenancing the Maid of Kent, who had uttered pretended predictions against the king's life; and it was the opinion of many, that the king ought to have proceeded against him rather upon that, which was a point of state, than upon the supremacy, which was matter of conscience. But the king was resolved to let all his subjects see, there was no mercy to be expected by any that denied his being supreme head of the church, as his grand aim was to carry that point.

Fisher fell a victim to this resolution of the king, and died a martyr to the court of Rome. So much was the pope idolized at that time, that even the wise and the learned sacrificed their lives for him.

When we reflect upon such strange infatuation, we cannot help comparing it to the sad imbecility of those old women who have owned themselves witches, and been condemned to be burned by judges as weak as themselves, for a crime that never existed.



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
Sir THOMAS MORE.

THOMAS, the only son of fir John More, a lawyer of great endowments and integrity, and a judge of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry VIII. was born in Milk-street, in the city of London, where his father generally lived, in the year 1480, when Edward IV. sat on the throne. His grammatical education was at a free-school, of great repute at that time, in Thread-needle-street; where archbishop Heath, archbishop Whitgift, and many other eminent men, received the rudiments of their learning.

After he had made a sufficient progress at this school in the Latin tongue, his father procured him to be placed in the house of cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and lord-chancellor; who delighted so much in his good parts, and his wit and humour, that his grace would often say to the nobility who dined with him, "This child here, who waits at the table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a surprizing man."

The archbishop sent him at a very early age to Canterbury college, that which is now Christ-church, in the university of Oxford; where, having been instructed in rhetoric, logic and philosophy, he was first removed to New-inn, to see common practice, and thence, soon after, to Lincoln's-inn,

to

guards, who, after landing him at Hay-Wharfe, conducted him through Thames-Street to the Tower, on the sixteenth of April.

Hall further relates, That the people much mused at what had happened ; but he does not lay the least blame, or shew that any reflections were thrown out by the populace against Wolfey on that account.

Next Hall speaks as to the duke's trial, and says, He was tried upon an indictment, and found guilty by his peers ; those were two dukes, a marquis, seven earls, and twelve barons.

On the seventeenth of May, 1521, about twelve of the clock, he was beheaded on Tower-hill. At his death, he said, " He had offended the king's grace through negligence and lack of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him, and all men to pray for him." Hall reflects on the unhappy fate of this nobleman thus : " Such is the end of ambition, the end of false prophecies, and the end of evil life and evil counsel."

If the duke had conceived that Wolfey had been the means of his death, there is not the least doubt but he would have taken notice of such a material matter upon the scaffold ; which, as he did not do, and that for a very good reason, because he well knew there was no foundation for such a reflection, posterity, surely, one would think, ought to acquit him of the invidious reflections cast on him on that account.

There is now in the record office, an original letter from the duke of Buckingham to cardinal Wolfey, wherein the duke thanks the cardinal " for the many services he had before rendered him ;" and in the letter, begs of Wolfey to interpose with the king, touching some matters that were thereafter to be performed at th



to study the law; where he continued till he became a barrister.

At the time of his residing at Lincoln's-inn as a student, he read a public lecture in St. Austin, *De Civitate Dei*; to which almost all the learned men of the city of London resorted.

The reputation which he acquired by these public lectures, procured him the place of reader at Furnival's-inn, in which he continued with the same reputation for some time; and then giving himself up to devotion in the Charter-house, he lived there as a religious about four years, though without any vow, abstracted entirely from the world, and from all science.

He was fated, however, at last, with this inactive, useless way of life; and having been often pressed by Mr. Colt of New-hall, in Essex, who delighted much in his company, to live with him, our author left the Charter-house, and went to make him a visit. His friend had three daughters, who were all accomplished, handsome, and well-behaved young ladies; and giving him his choice of these for a wife, the consequence of this visit was, that he married the eldest merely for being such, that it might be no vexation or disgrace to her to be passed by; but his fancy led him to prefer the second. Upon his marriage with this lady, who lived with him about seven years, he took a house in Bucklersbury, and prosecuted his study and practice of the law at Lincoln's-inn.

Whilst he was thus employed in fitting himself for his profession, he was elected a burges before he was two-and-twenty years of age, in the reign of Henry VII. The design of the king in calling this parliament, was to demand a subsidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldest daughter

to the king of Scotland: and when it was moved in the house of commons, though the majority were against the demand, yet many of the members, being afraid of the king's displeasure, and others having reasons not more justifiable nor important, they made no opposition to it. Here was therefore a fair occasion for Mr. More, to shew his courage and integrity in defence of liberty and his country; and this occasion he took.

He argued with such strength and clearness against this unjust and arbitrary imposition, though he was then so very young, that his majesty's demand was in the end rejected.

Upon this, Mr. Tyler, one of the king's privy-council, who was present in the house of commons when this speech was made, went immediately to the king, and told him, "That a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose."

A prince so tyrannical and avaricious as Henry VII. could not fail to be much incensed at this vigorous opposition to a demand of money, the favourite measure of his reign, in so young a man: and we are not to wonder that he should be determined to be revenged on him in some shape or other, that so the courage of this rising lawyer might give him no more disturbance.

As our patriot, however, having nothing, could lose nothing, the king was obliged to pretend a quarrel without any cause, against Sir John More his father; whom his majesty ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower, till he had paid a fine of an hundred pounds.----To such little and low revenge will men of princely stations sometimes stoop, when they have not the power to carry it higher, rather than not gratify their resentment; and so
forfeit

forfeit their title to that true greatness of mind which their dignity requires!

Soon after this offence had been given the king in the house of commons, Mr. More having some business with Fox, bishop of Winchester, the favourite minister of Henry VII. his lordship took him aside; and pretending great kindness to him, assured him that if he would be ruled and take his advice, he would undertake to remove the king's resentment, and restore him to his majesty's favour; intending, as it was conjectured, in a way not unusual with this prelate, to get him to confess some personal enmity to the king, that a punishment might be inflicted upon him not without some shew of reason. But he was not caught in the bishop's snare; and desired some time to consider what he should do.

When he had taken his leave with this answer, he went to his lordship's chaplain, (who was his intimate friend) and asked his advice upon the proposal that had been made him. The chaplain, being a much honest and a much better man than his lordship, dissuaded him with great earnestness from following the bishop's counsel: "For my lord my master," says he, "to serve his majesty's turn, will not stick to consent to his own father's death."

Upon this, we may be sure, he returned no more to this righteous bishop; and he was once on the point of going abroad, as thinking it would not be safe for him to live in England, thus exposed to the indignation of an arbitrary, revengeful king: for during this time, he was obliged to lay aside his practice, and to live in a retired manner at home; where he diverted himself with music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and study-
ing

ing French ; and in this retirement he made himself a perfect master of history.

Whilst he was thus redeeming his time, lost to his profession as a lawyer, by acquiring so much learning, Henry VII. who stood in his way, was taken out of the world.

His great enemy being thus removed, and having nothing to apprehend from the reigning prince, Mr. More came out of his retirement, and appeared again in the world, to much greater advantage, from the study which he had employed in it with such propriety. He had an office in the law immediately given him by the city of London ; but whether as under-sheriff, as judge of the sheriff's court, or as recorder, from the contradictory accounts of him that are made public, it is hard to say. It appears most probable to me, that he was under-sheriff; and by his office in the city, whatever it was, and his own practice at the bar, being employed in all the causes which he approved, " he gained, without any scruple " of conscience," as he was often heard to say, " above four hundred pounds a year ;" which, for that time, we know must have been a prodigious sum. Indeed his reputation for wisdom, learning, and knowledge in his profession, was become so extremely high, that before he was engaged in the service of Henry VIII. he was twice appointed ambassador by his majesty's consent, at the suit of the English merchants, in some causes of great consequence between them and the merchants of the Steel-yard.

His eminent dexterity in the management of these affairs having been reported to the king, his majesty ordered cardinal Wolsey, then lord-chancellor, to engage this able man in his service: and, though

though the cardinal was very solicitous to bring it about, and assured him of a larger income than he got from the practice of the law, yet he was so averse to change the condition of an independent man for that of a courtier, in which his fortune must be subservient to the will of kings and ministers, that the cardinal could not prevail upon him; and the king for that time admitted of the excuse he made.

It happened, soon after, that a great ship of the pope's arriving at Southampton, which his majesty claimed as a forfeiture, the legate applied to him that his master might have such counsel assigned him, as were learned in the laws of this kingdom, to plead his cause; and, as his majesty was himself a great civilian, that it might be heard in some public place in his majesty's presence.

The king having acceded to this proposal, and Mr. More being the only lawyer of that time, who was thought proper to be of counsel for the pope, and who could report all the arguments on both sides in Latin to the legate, a hearing was appointed before the lord-chancellor and all the judges in the Star-chamber; and here he pleaded the cause of his client with so much learning and success, that the forfeiture which the king had claimed was restored immediately; and he was much applauded for his management and conduct in the cause. Indeed it brought so great an addition to his reputation, that the king would no longer be induced, by any entreaty whatsoever, to forego his service; and having no better place at that time vacant, made him master of the requests; in a month after knighted him, appointed him one of his privy-council, and admitted him into the greatest familiarity with himself.

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We are now to behold Sir Thomas More in a very different scene from those in which we have already viewed him; taken from his practice as a lawyer, and, from the condition of a private gentleman, to be an officer of state, and companion and a favourite with a great and illustrious king. I have said that he was taken from his private station, because his employment in his majesty's service was evidently forced upon him; and he acquiesced rather in obedience to the king, than to gratify any passion of his own for power and grandeur.

In the first years of his familiarity, when his majesty had performed his devotions upon holy-days, he frequently sent for him into his closet; and there he conferred with him about astronomy, geometry, divinity, and other parts of learning, as well as affairs of state. Upon other occasions, the king would carry him in the night upon his leads at the top of the house, to be instructed in the variety, course, and motions of the heavenly bodies. These were avocations, which the greatest monarch might delight in with propriety, and indulge with dignity; and these were suitable to the genius and learning of Sir Thomas More. But this was not the only use which the king made of this favourite for his own diversion. He soon found that he was a man of a chearful disposition, and had a great fund of wit and humour: and therefore his majesty, when the council had supped, and sometimes when they were at supper, would order him to be sent for to make himself and the queen merry. When he perceived that they were so much entertained with his conversation, that he could not once in a month get leave to spend an evening with his wife and children whom he loved, nor be absent from court

two days together without being sent for by the king. He grew very uneasy at this restraint of his liberty; and so beginning, by little and little, to disuse himself from his former mirth, and somewhat to dissemble his natural temper, he was not so ordinarily called for upon these occasions of merriment.

The treasurer of the Exchequer dying about this time, in the year 1520, the king, of his own motion, without any sollicitation, conferred this office on sir Thomas More. Within three years after this, a parliament having been summoned, in order to raise money for a war with France, he was elected speaker of the House of Commons; an office which he earnestly desired to be excused from, in a set speech to the house. But, as the king, who had directed his nomination, would not consent to his refusal, he was under a necessity of taking it upon him. How much it was against his own inclination, may be learnt from the speech which he made to the king, when he was presented to his majesty for his approbation. The reader, perhaps, may have a curiosity to see in what manner a king of England was addressed on such an occasion, above two hundred years ago; and therefore here follows a true copy, of what is called "A Summary of his first speech in parliament."

" Since I perceive, most renowned sovereign,
 " that it is not your majesty's pleasure to re-
 " form this election, and cause it to be changed,
 " but have, by the mouth of the right reverend
 " Father in God, the legate your high chancellor,
 " thereunto given your assent, and have of your
 " great goodness determined, far above my de-
 " serts or abilities, to repute me worthy this so
 " weighty office, rather than you should seem to
 C 2 " impute

“ impute unto your Commons that they had un-
 “ meetly chosen me; I am therefore, and always
 “ shall be, ready obediently to conform myself to
 “ the accomplishment of your high commands;
 “ most humbly beseeching your most noble ma-
 “ jesty, that I may, with your grace’s favour, be-
 “ fore I further enter therein, make my humble
 “ intercession to your highness for the grant of two
 “ lowly petitions; the one privately concerning
 “ myself, the other this whole assembly. For
 “ myself, gracious sovereign, that if I should
 “ chance hereafter in any thing that is in behalf
 “ of your commons to mistake my message, and
 “ for lack of good utterance, by my misreporting,
 “ pervert or impair their prudent instructions, it
 “ may then please your most noble majesty, of
 “ your abundant grace, to pardon my simplicity;
 “ giving me leave to repair again to them, to con-
 “ fer with them, and to take their more serious
 “ advice, what thing, and in what manner, I shall
 “ in their behalf speak before your highness; that
 “ so their prudent advices and affairs be not by
 “ my folly hindered or prejudiced; which thing,
 “ if it should happen, as likely it were in me, if
 “ your grace’s goodness relieved not my oversight,
 “ it would not fail to be, during my life, a per-
 “ petual grudge and heaviness to my heart: the
 “ help and remedy whereof in manner aforesaid
 “ remembered, is, most gracious sovereign, my
 “ first humble suit unto your majesty.

“ Mine other humble request, most excellent
 “ prince, is this: Forasmuch as there be of your
 “ commons here, by your high commandment,
 “ assembled for your parliament, a great number,
 “ which, after the accustomed manner, are ap-
 “ pointed to treat and consult of the common af-
 “ fairs amongst themselves apart; and albeit, most
 “ dread

“ dread sovereign, that according to your prudent
 “ advice, by your honourable writs every where
 “ declared, there hath been a due diligence used
 “ in sending up to your highness’s court of par-
 “ liament, the most discreet persons out of every
 “ quarter, that men could esteem worthy thereof,
 “ whereby it is not to be doubted, but that there
 “ is a very able assembly of wise and politic
 “ persons, yet, most victorious prince, since,
 “ among so many wise men, neither is every
 “ man wise alike, nor among so many men
 “ like well-witted every man like well spo-
 “ ken; and it often happeneth, that, at some-
 “ times, much folly is uttered in painted polished
 “ speech; so many, though rude in language, are
 “ of sound judgments, and prove the wisest coun-
 “ sellors: and, since also, in matters of great
 “ importance, the mind is so often taken up with
 “ them, that a man rather studies what to say
 “ than how; by reason whereof the wisest man,
 “ and best spoken in a whole country, fortuneth
 “ sometime, his mind being fervent in the busi-
 “ ness, somewhat to speak so as he could after-
 “ wards wish to have been uttered otherwise, and
 “ yet no worse will had when he spake, than when
 “ he would so gladly change; therefore, most
 “ gracious sovereign, considering, that in all your
 “ high court of parliament, nothing is treated of
 “ but matter of weight and importance, concern-
 “ ing the kingdom and your own royal estate, it
 “ could not fail to hinder and put to silence many
 “ of your discreet commons from giving their ad-
 “ vice and counsel, to the great hindrance of the
 “ common affairs; except that every of them
 “ were utterly discharged of all doubt and fear,
 “ how any thing spoken among them should be
 “ taken of your highness: and, in this thing,
 “ your

“ your well-known and approved clemency, puts
 “ every man in very good hope; yet, such is the
 “ weight of the matter, such the reverend dread
 “ that the timorous hearts of your natural sub-
 “ jects conceive towards your highness, our most
 “ undoubted sovereign, that they cannot in this
 “ point rest satisfied, except your gracious bounty
 “ therein declared, put away the scruple of their
 “ timorous minds, and animate and encourage
 “ them from all doubt. May it therefore please
 “ your majesty, our most gracious king, of your
 “ great goodness to pardon freely, without doubt
 “ of your dreadful displeasure, whatsoever shall
 “ happen any man to speak in the discharging of
 “ his conscience, interpreting every man’s words,
 “ how unseemingly soever couched, yet to pro-
 “ ceed of good zeal to the prosperity of the king-
 “ dom, and the honour of your royal person; the
 “ happy estate and safety whereof, most excellent
 “ sovereign, is the thing all we your most humble
 “ loving subjects, according to the most bounden
 “ duty of our natural allegiance, most highly de-
 “ sire and pray for.”

If the reader knew nothing of the character of
 Henry VIII. whom sir Thomas More addresses in
 this speech, he would be surprized at the homage
 paid him in it; and perhaps interpret it into the
 servility and obsequiousness of the speaker. But
 the known haughtiness and tyranny with which
 this king treated his parliaments, at the same time
 that it exculpates sir Thomas, is very silyly remon-
 strated against in it; where, under the colour of
 the profoundest awe and veneration of him, his
 most gracious sovereign is reproved for his arbi-
 trary restraint of parliamentary debates.

In the parliament which had chosen Sir Thomas
 More for speaker, the cardinal was much offended
 with

with the members of the House of Commons; "because nothing was said or done there, but immediately it was blown abroad," he said, "in every alehouse." On the other hand, the members had an undoubted right, as they thought, to repeat to their friends without doors, whatever had passed within. It happened, however, that a great subsidy having been demanded by the king, which Wolsey apprehended would meet with great opposition in the lower house, he was determined to be present when the motion should be made, in order to prevent its being rejected. The house being apprized of his resolution, it was a great while under debate, whether it was best to receive him, with a few of his lords only, or with his whole train. The major part of the house inclined to the first; upon which the speaker got up, and said, "Gentlemen, forasmuch as my lord cardinal hath, not long since, as you all know, laid to our charge, the lightness of our tongues for things spoken out of this house, it shall not, in my judgment, be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his poles, his crosses, his hat, and the great seal too; that so, if he blames us hereafter, we may be the bolder to excuse ourselves, and to lay it upon those that his grace shall bring hither with him."

The house being pleased with the humour, as well as the propriety, of the speaker's motion, the cardinal was received accordingly; and, having shewn, in a solemn speech, how necessary it was for the king's affairs, that the subsidies moved for should be granted, and that a less sum would not serve his majesty's purpose: but finding that no member made any answer, nor shewed the least inclination to comply with what he asked, he said,

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with some emotion, "Gentlemen, you have many
" wise and learned men amongst you; and, since
" I am sent hither immediately from the king,
" for the preservation of yourselves and all the
" realm, I think it meet that you give a reasonable
" answer to my demand." But every body being
still silent, he addressed himself particularly to
Mr. Murray; who making no answer, he put the
same question to several other members, that were
esteemed the greatest men in the house; and none
of these making any answer neither; it being be-
fore agreed, as the custom was, to give him an
answer only by their speaker; the cardinal lost his
temper at this contemptuous treatment, and with
great indignation said to them further, "Gentle-
" men, unless it be the manner of your house, as
" perchance it may, to express your minds in such
" calls by your speaker only, whom you have
" chosen for trusty and wise, as indeed he is,
" here is, without doubt, a surprizing obstinate
" silence."

He then required the speaker to give him an
answer to the demand which he had made, in the
king's name: the speaker having first, with great
reverence on his knees, excused their silence, as be-
ing abashed at the presence of so noble and extra-
ordinary a personage, proceeded then to shew him,
by many arguments, that it was not expedient nor
agreeable to the ancient liberty of the house, to
make an answer to his majesty's message, by any
other person, how great soever, than some of their
own members: and, in the conclusion, he told
his eminence, "That though they had all trusted
" him with their voices, yet except every one
" of them could put their several judgments
" into his head, he alone, in so weighty a matter,
" was not able to make a sufficient answer to his
" grace."

“ grace.” The cardinal taking offence at the speaker for this evasive answer, and for not promoting the subsidy, rose up on a sudden, and departed in great displeasure with the whole house.

It is very certain, that sir Thomas More had seconded the motion for complying with the king’s demand, when it was first moved in the house, and thought it absolutely necessary for carrying on the war. But he had a mind to distinguish between the reasonable demands of the king, and the insolence of his minister; and therefore played off this farce against him in the House of Commons: nor was this done perhaps with a view of only mortifying the cardinal, but it might be also to let his majesty see, by this contumelious usage, that the person of his minister was not acceptable to the parliament. But, be this as it will, the speaker, in a few days after, being in Wolsey’s gallery at Whitehall, his eminence complained to him of this ill treatment with great vehemence: and reproaching him for his ingratitude, said, “ Would to God you had been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you speaker.” To this sir Thomas replied, “ Your grace not offended, so would I too, my lord:” and then, to divert him from his ill humour, he began to commend the cardinal’s gallery; and said, that he liked it better than his other gallery at Hampton-Court.

But, though he put an end to his reproaches by this digression, yet he did not put an end to his resentment. For afterwards, by way of revenge, when the parliament broke up, Wolsey persuaded the king to send him ambassador into Spain; commending his learning, his wisdom, and qualifications for that employment; and, considering the difficulty of the business that was to be negotiated, assuring his majesty, that no body was

so

so capable to serve him in that capacity. The cardinal not only gratified his repentment, by sending him into a country which he knew would be disagreeable to him, but he might also think it expedient to put such a man as sir Thomas out of the way; whose popularity was extremely high, and who had the courage to make sport of him in such a public manner, when all the rest of the world stood in awe of his pride and insolence. But, whatever were his views in recommending him for this employment, when his majesty told sir Thomas that he had designed him for it, the knight took the liberty to remonstrate freely against it; telling him, the nature of that country, and the disposition of his own mind were so opposite, that he should never be likely to do him service; and that, if his majesty persisted in the resolution of sending him on this embassy, he knew for certain it would be sending him to his grave: nevertheless, if it was necessary for the king's service, he was ready, according to his duty, to fulfil his majesty's pleasure, even at the peril of his life and fortune. When the king had heard what he had to say, though candour and condescension were not natural to Henry VIII. his majesty was pleased to admit his excuse: assuring him withal, that his meaning was not to do him any hurt, but to do him good; and therefore he would think of some other person for that embassy, and employ him in something else.

Accordingly, upon the death of sir R. Wingfield, in the year 1528, sir Thomas More was appointed chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster; and admitted into such an high degree of favour with the king, that his majesty would sometimes come, without giving him any notice, to his house at Chelsea, in order to enjoy his conversation upon
common

common affairs. He made him an unexpected visit of this sort one day to dinner, and walked afterwards with him in his garden for an hour, with his arm about sir Thomas's neck. This was such a demonstration of his majesty's kindness and familiarity, that he was no sooner gone, than Mr. Roper, son-in-law to sir Thomas, judging only from this appearance, observed to him with great pleasure, "How happy he must be to have the king distinguish him with such marks of favour, as he had never seen him shew to any one before, except once to cardinal Wolsey." But, so far was he himself from being elated with this honour, or putting any confidence in it, that he replied to him as follows: "I thank our Lord, son, I find his grace to be my very good lord indeed; and, I believe, that he does as much favour me at present as any subject within this kingdom: but yet, son, I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud of it: for if my head would win him a castle in France (with whom the king was then at war) it would fail to be struck off."

This is an evident demonstration, of how little value sir Thomas More esteemed the favour of Henry VIII; and that he was convinced, whatsoever shew of friendship his majesty made to any one, yet he loved no body but as it served his purpose --- A character of this monarch, which appears highly just from the whole course of his reign. But, if he had not discerned the inconstant and ungrateful temper of the king, the honours which he received from him, great as they were, would have been attended with no disagreeable effects in the mind of sir Thomas More. There are but few examples in our history, or our knowledge, of ministers who had so large a share of their master's favour, who have behaved themselves

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elves with that moderation towards those below them, which he always shewed even to those who offended him. For there was so much gentleness in his natural temper, that he could never be provoked to such expressions as denoted anger and resentment against his bitterest enemies, as we learn from the testimony of his son-in-law, who was continually conversant with him above sixteen years together.

Instead of making use of his power, in order to crush or silence those who opposed or slandered him as a minister, he thought, as their arrows did not reach him, he received more benefit from them, than from his friends : and it seems it was the opinion of sir Thomas More, that no minister, who was innocent of the charge against him, would treat his accusers with insolence, or persecute them with rigour. Nor was his modesty and humility less remarkable than his mildness and good nature. For, if any men of learning, who came to him from the universities, or from foreign parts, chanced to enter into dispute with him ; and, in dispute, there were not many who were equal to him, and he found that they could not support their argument with any credit against him : then, lest he should discourage them too much, or should seem to seek truth less than his own fame and victory, he would discontinue the discourse by some digression of wit and humour, and pursue the argument no farther. In short, he had acquired such a perfect temper of mind, either by nature or religion, that he was neither allured to his duty by the hope of profit or popularity, nor deterred from it by the fear of loss or of evil tongues ; but, in all the events of his life, whether prosperous or adverse, he still enjoyed one and the

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the same alacrity, as will fully appear in the sequel.

Intellectual endowments, natural or acquired, are in themselves of little worth, especially if we compare them with the goodness of the heart and temper. But I should be unfaithful to the memory of sir Thomas More, if I did not do justice to his eloquence, and the readiness of his invention. He was so famed for these talents, that whenever the king made a visit to the universities, where his majesty was received with polite and learned speeches, he was always employed to make an extempore answer for the king; as the man of all his court the most capable of the undertaking.

During the time that he held the office of chancellor of the dutchy, he was twice embassador to the emperor, joined once in the commission with cardinal Wolsey, and on another occasion to the king of France. When he came to any foreign university in his travels, he desired always to assist at their readings and disputations; and would sometimes dispute amongst them himself, with great readiness and erudition, to the admiration of all present.

To his mildness, humility, fortitude, integrity, and quickness of parts, we may add his benevolence and extensive love of mankind. As a proof of this, the reader, amongst many others, may take the following instance. As he was walking one day with his son-in-law by the water-side at Chelsea, and discoursing very seriously on the state of public affairs, he said to him, "Now, on condition that three things were well established in Christendom, I would to our Lord, son Roper, that I were put here into a sack, and presently thrown into the Thames!" Mr. Roper expressing a great surprize at this unusual zeal, and desiring

siring to hear the motives which had induced him to it: "Wouldst thou know," said he, "what they be? In faith, then they are these. The first is; That where the greatest part of Christian princes are now at mortal war, they were at universal peace. The second, That where the church of Christ is at this time sore afflicted with many errors and heresies, it were settled in a perfect uniformity of religion. The third is; That, whereas the king's marriage is now brought in question, it were, to the glory of God, and the quietness of all parties, well concluded."

Other people might say as much as this in public assemblies, and on some extraordinary occasions; but, it would not be so easily believed, perhaps, as in sir Thomas More: because the same benevolence of temper, which moved him to lay these things so much to heart, shone through the whole course of his life. And it appeared from every instance, that all his time and labour were entirely devoted to the service of God, the king his master, or his country, without any regard to his own emolument. Nor, with all his great pretensions, which no body could surpass, and few could equal, in that, or any other age, did he ever ask his majesty for the value of a penny, either for his family or himself, in any part of his life; as he was often heard to declare at his latter end.

It is impossible to proceed any further in the history of sir Thomas More, without stopping a little to make a reflection on his disinterested public virtue as a patriot minister. We have here the example of a man of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, who, without any patrimony, or any other subsistence than what he derived from his employment, had the courage and integrity to oppose

oppose on some occasions, which he thought detrimental to his country, the measures of his king and his ministers; in a reign, when opposition to them was so far from being fashionable, or a step to power, that it was very seldom seen, and seldom escaped unpunished. But this opposition was solely with a view to prevent oppression and injustice to the people; and not be won over by a bribe of honour or power, to promote the same measure which he had before condemned. He had not a heart so depraved as to conceive, nor effrontery enough to use such dissimulation: and, when places were conferred upon him without his sollicitation, he still retained his integrity towards his country, though under a prince the most impatient of controul and contradiction that ever sat upon the throne upon England. He did not lose the idea, as well as the name, of patriot, as soon as he was in possession of a lucrative employment: nor did he crowd his relations into posts of public trust, who might, with more propriety, have been employed in some of the lowest scenes of life. But, in the conduct of this man, in the state and in the senate, patriotism shone with a real lustre; not with a false or uncertain blaze, wavering between the measures of the king and people, or under the colour of serving his country, meaning nothing more than to acquire power, and to promote his own private interest.

It was observed of sir Thomas More, that the ignorant and the proud, even in the highest stations, were of all people those whom he respected the least; but, on the other hand, he was a patron and friend to all men of letters; and held almost a continual correspondence with all the literati in Europe. Of all foreigners, Erasmus appears to have had the greatest share of his love
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and confidence; who, after a series of mutual letters, expressing their esteem and affection for each other, came to England on purpose for the benefit of his conversation.

There is a story told of their first meeting, would hardly deserve to be recorded, if it did not relate to two such great men, who made so great a figure in the learned world, when the revival of letters was in its dawn.—The story which I mean is this: the person who conducted Erasmus to London upon his arrival, contrived, it seems, that sir Thomas and he should meet, without knowing it, or without any introduction to each other, at the lord's-mayor's table; which, in those days, was open, as 'perhaps it should be in all times, to every man of learning, of what nation soever. A dispute arising at dinner, Erasmus, in order to display his learning, or for the sake of argument, endeavoured to defend the wrong side of the question. But he was assailed and opposed so sharply by his friend, that, perceiving he was now to argue with an abler man than he had ever met with, he said in Latin, with some vehemence, and not without acrimony; "You are either More or no-body." To which sir Thomas replied, in the same language, with great vivacity, "You are either Erasmus, or the devil;" for his argument had a tincture of irreligion. It is probable, that the same subject had been debated in the correspondence which they had held by letter; and, the same thoughts from each of them being repeated in this dispute, they were naturally led to conjecture who each other was.

Though sir Thomas More, we find, lived so much at court, and was a cheerful man, and a man of business, yet it appears that he had a different sense of religion upon his mind, from
what

what courtiers and men of business have in the times we live in. For we are told it was his constant custom, besides his private prayers, to read the Psalms and Litany with his wife and children in a morning; and every night to go with his whole family into the chapel, and there devoutly read the psalms and collects with them. But because he chose sometimes to retire even from his family, and sequester himself from the world, he built at some distance from his mansion-house, a gallery, library, and chapel; where, as on other days, he spent some time in study and devotion, so on Fridays he continued the whole day; employing it in such exercises, as he thought might best improve his mind in religious matters.

I will not take upon me to say, that all this piety was the effect only of his own goodness of heart, and in no degree owing to the genius of the age. He might practise some of it perhaps as a fashion, but it is certain that his mind had a natural turn to devotion; which, with all the virtues of Christianity in his deportment, gave an amiable uniformity to his public and private life.

The great offices which he held, and which he always executed with a splendor suitable to their dignity, obliged him to keep many servants; but he never suffered any of them to be idle. He invented and assigned some employment or other for every one of them, when they were not abroad attending upon him; that they might not acquire a habit of sloth, and to keep them from gaming, and other profligate courses, of which idleness is the source.

Let not the reader imagine from hence, that he was a sour and splenetic man, given up entirely to devotion and philosophy, without amusements, or a taste of pleasure. He was the furthest from it

of any man in the world. His pleasures, indeed, were innocent and rational, such as became a sensible man and a Christian; and his own conversation, when he unbended himself from study, was as full of pleasantry as that of any man of his time. He had also hours of relaxation, which were filled with music, and such other serene amusements, in his family every night. But he had always a person to read whilst he was at table, in order to prevent all improper conversation before the servants: and at the end of the reading, he would ask those who were at dinner, how they understood some particular passages which had been read; from thence taking occasion to improve or divert the company. His instructions at those times were chiefly levelled against the pride of dress; against following corrupt examples that were in fashion; against ambition and discontent; and against idleness, and a love of the world. Many lessons of this kind he taught his wife and children every day at their meals, when the servant had finished reading. --What an example is this! What a reproach to the conversation at the tables of the great in these days!

While Sir Thomas was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, the see of Rome became vacant, to which Wolsey made pretensions; and by means of the emperor, whose favour he had acquired, hoped to obtain it. But Charles recommending cardinal Adrian, and procuring him to be fixed in the papal chair, Wolsey was so enraged at the disappointment, that he was determined to revenge himself on the emperor, let what would happen. In order to gratify this revenge, it is pretended by most historians, that the cardinal took advantage of the sickleness and inconstancy of his master to seduce him from queen Catharine, the emperor's

emperor's aunt; and to recommend to him one of the sisters of the king of France, at that time in open war with Charles. But it does not appear to me that this is true. It is certain, there is no other authority for ascribing the scruples which Henry had about the validity of his marriage to cardinal Wolsey, than the queen's own suspicions, which might be groundless: and, if what the king said is true, "he had been uneasy on the score of his marriage with her above three years before; and the cardinal did neither first suggest, nor cherish them, but did all he could to remove them out of his thoughts."

It was necessary to mention this affair here, in order to introduce what is to follow: but I have no other business with it than to observe, that the king, pretending to have many religious scruples about the validity of his marriage, communicated them to Sir Thomas More; requiring his advice, and shewing him certain passages of scripture, which in some measure seemed to serve his purpose. When the knight had looked them over, he excused himself from giving any opinion about it; as one who had not professed divinity, and therefore, as unfit to meddle in questions of that nature: but his majesty, being well assured of his qualifications, would not admit of his excuse; and pressed him with so much vehemence to give his advice upon it, that in conclusion he consented to the king's request. However, because it was a business of so much weight and importance, and required study and deliberation, he besought his majesty not to be in haste, and to give him time enough to consider it coolly. The king was content that he should do so; and told him, that Clark and Tunstall, the bishops of Bath and Durham,

ham, with some more of his privy-council, should confer with him about it.

Sir Thomas, having consulted the exposition of some of the ancient fathers, upon the passages of scripture which the king had referred to, at his next coming to court entered readily into discourse with his majesty upon the subject. Of all men in the world, Henry VIII. was the least open to conviction from reason, when reason contradicted his inclination; and therefore, finding no impression was to be made upon his majesty; at last Sir Thomas said, "To be plain with your grace, neither my lord of Durham, nor my lord of Bath, though they are both of them virtuous, wise, and learned prelates; nor myself, with the rest of your privy-council, being all of your servants, and greatly indebted to your majesty's goodness, are, in my judgment, proper counsellors for your grace upon this point: but, if your majesty please to understand the very truth, you may have such counsellors to consult, as neither for respect of their own worldly profit, nor for fear of your princely authority, will deceive you:" and then named Jerome, Austin, and several other ancient fathers, both Greek and Latin, producing the opinions he had collected out of them. But these not conspiring with the king's desires, it is expressing it softly to say, that he did not very well approve of what had passed. Sir Thomas, however, used such discretion in his conversation with his majesty afterwards on the subject, that, self-willed as the king was, he did not take it ill of him, and often conferred and argued with him at other times upon it.

I shall relate no more of the debates upon this famous question, that made so much noise all over Europe,

Europe, than what concerns sir Thomas; let it suffice then to say at present, that the king, intending once to proceed no farther in his divorce, appointed Tunstall and him to go on an embassy to Cambray, in order to negotiate a peace between the emperor, his majesty, and the king of France. The peace was effected accordingly; and he acquitted himself on that occasion with so much dexterity, and procured so much greater advantages to the kingdom than were thought possible, that for his eminent services in that employment, his majesty afterwards gave him the great seal, and made him lord chancellor, upon the fall of cardinal Wolsey. But, upon his return from Cambray, the king had changed his mind; and being determined to carry the divorce into execution, he was as solicitous to get sir Thomas More's approbation as he was before.

Most certain it is, however, that the king, in a conversation which he had with him upon it, told him, "That though at the time when he went to Cambray, his majesty despaired of his second marriage with the lady Anne Buller, yet he had now some hopes that he should be able to bring it about. For, though his marriage with the queen, being against the positive laws of the church, and against the written law of God, was, in some measure set right by the dispensation from Rome; yet there was another thing found out of late, by which his marriage with her appeared to be so directly contrary to the law of nature, that it could in no wise be dispensible by the pope." Of this, he told him, Stokefley, then newly made bishop of London, and much in the king's secrets, could more fully inform him: but, though he had a conference with the bishop, according to his majesty's command, yet he saw

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nothing of force to induce him to change his sentiments. The bishop, however, reporting their conference to the king, spoke so favourably of him, and of his desire to see something in his majesty's cause which might enable him to be of his side, that the king was not offended; and soon after, as I have said, made him lord chancellor.

It has been believed by some historians, that one of the chief reasons which induced his majesty to give the great seal to sir Thomas More, was to procure his approbation of the divorce and second marriage: but, as there is no authority, so I think there is no foundation, for this opinion. The king had seen too many proofs of his integrity, to believe it could be shaken by such a method; and he was, of all his court, perhaps the last, upon whom any thing but conviction could work a change. But, whatever might be his majesty's views in this promotion, when sir Thomas was invested with the office of lord-chancellor, he was conducted through Westminster-Hall to his place in the court of Chancery, between the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; where the former assured the audience, that he was charged, by the king himself, in a special commission, to declare openly to them all, how much England was indebted to the chancellor for his good service, how worthy he was of the highest preferment in the kingdom, and how dearly his majesty loved and confided in him. "He hath perceived no man in the whole realm," added his grace, "to be more wise in deliberating, more sincere in opening to him what he thought, nor more eloquent to adorn the matter which he uttered. Wherefore, because he saw in him such excellent endowments, and that of his special care, he hath a particular desire, that this kingdom and people might be governed with all equity

“ equity and justice, wisdom and integrity, he,
 “ of his own most gracious disposition, hath creat-
 “ ed this singular man lord-chancellor ; that, by
 “ his laudable performance of this office, his peo-
 “ ple may enjoy peace and justice, and honour
 “ also and fame may redound to the whole king-
 “ dom: wherefore, receive this your chancellor,
 “ with joyful acclamations ; at whose hands you
 “ may expect all happiness and content.”

The reader has, by this time, seen so much of
 his character, that he will not be surprized to hear,
 that sir Thomas More was much confused at this
 speech of the duke of Norfolk's, which sounded
 his praise so very high ; but, when he had recol-
 lected himself, as well as the time and place would
 give him leave, he made a sensible, modest, and
 becoming answer. After many expressions of his
 own unworthiness, of his unwillingness to be a
 courtier, of his gratitude and dutifulness to the
 king, and, above all, of his aversion to this high
 office, which was too great a weight for his weak-
 ness ; a burden, and not a glory ; a care, and not a
 dignity ; promising, however, to do the best he
 he should be able ; he looked round towards the
 seat, and proceeded thus : “ But, when I look
 “ upon this seat ; when I think how great, and
 “ what kind of personages have possessed this
 “ place before me ; when I call to mind who he
 “ was that sat in it last of all, a man of what sin-
 “ gular wisdom, of what known experience, what
 “ a favourable and prosperous fortune he had
 “ for a great space of time, and how at the last
 “ he had a most grievous fall, and died inglorious ;
 “ I have cause enough by my predecessor's ex-
 “ ample, to think honour but slippery, and this
 “ dignity not so grateful to me as it may seem to
 “ others. For it is a hard matter to follow with

“ like paces or praises, a man of such admirable
“ wit, prudence, splendor, and authority; to
“ whom I may seem but as the lighting of a can-
“ dle when the sun is down. Then the sudden
“ and unexpected fall of so great a man as he was,
“ doth terribly put me in mind, that this honour
“ ought not to please me too much, nor the lustre
“ of this glittering seat dazzle my eyes. Where-
“ fore I ascend it as a place full of labour and
“ danger, void of all solid and true honour;
“ which, the higher it is, so much greater fall I
“ am to fear; as well in respect of the nature of
“ the thing itself, as because I am warned by this
“ late fearful example. This therefore shall be
“ always fresh in my mind; this will I have still
“ before my eyes, that this state will be honour-
“ able, famous, and full of glory to me, if I shall
“ with care and diligence, fidelity, and wisdom,
“ endeavour to do my duty; and, if I shall per-
“ suade myself, that the enjoying thereof may
“ chance to be but short and uncertain: the one
“ of these my labour ought to perform, the other
“ my predecessor's example may easily teach me.
“ All which being so, you will readily perceive
“ what great pleasure I take in this high dignity,
“ or in the praises of this most noble duke.”
Moreover, in conclusion, he declared to this ef-
fect: “ That, as he had been charged in the king's
“ name to do equal justice to the people, without
“ corruption or affection, so he charged them now
“ again in his turn, that if, at any time, or in any
“ circumstances, they saw him digress from his
“ duty in that honourable office, so as they would
“ discharge even their own duty to God and their
“ fidelity to the king, that they should not fail to
“ inform his majesty, who might otherwise have
“ just occasion to charge his fault to their account.”

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If we consider that this speech was uttered without premeditation, upon the most difficult of all subjects, a man's self, above two hundred years ago, in these very words, we must allow that Sir Thomas More was not reputed eloquent undeservedly.

We have now traced him from his birth, to the highest post in the kingdom which a layman can possess; and we are next to see with what integrity and approbation he acquitted himself in it. In a very short time after his entrance into the office, a surprizing change was perceived by every body. Notwithstanding Wolsey's great abilities and disinterestedness as a chancellor, yet such was his pride, that he would scarcely look or speak to any one of common rank; and, it was difficult to be admitted into his presence only, without bribing his officers and domestics. On the contrary, there now presided in the court of Chancery, a man, who, the poorer and meaner a suitor was, the more affably would he speak to him, the more attentively hear his business, and the more readily dispatch it. For this purpose he was wont commonly every afternoon to sit in his open hall; that, if any person whatsoever had a suit to prefer to him, he might come to him without bills, solicitors, or petitions, and open his complaints before him. His son-in-law, Mr. Dauncy, found fault with him once between jest and earnest for this extraordinary condescension; telling him, when Wolsey was lord-chancellor, that not only many of his privy chamber, but his porters also, got a great deal of money under him: "And, since I have married, says he, one of your daughters, and attended upon you always at your house, I think I might expect to get something too. But, you are so ready to hear every

“ every man, poor as well as rich, and your doors
 “ are so open to all who come, that there is no
 “ getting any thing under you; whereas other-
 “ wise, some for friendship, some for kindred, and
 “ some for profit, would gladly use my interest to
 “ bring them to you. I know I should do them
 “ wrong if I should take any thing of them; because
 “ they might as readily prefer their suits to you
 “ themselves: and this, tho’ I think is very com-
 “ mendable in you, yet to me, who am your son,
 “ I find is not profitable.” “ You say well, son,
 “ said the chancellor, I am glad you are of a
 “ conscience so scrupulous; but, there are many
 “ other ways that I may do good to yourself, and
 “ pleasure your friends.” Then, instancing in
 some of these, he added, howbeit this one thing,
 “ Son, I assure thee, on my faith, that, if the par-
 “ ties will call for justice at my hands, then, tho’
 “ it were my father, whom I love so dearly, stood
 “ on one side, and the devil, whom I hate ex-
 “ tremely, stood on the other, his cause being
 “ good, the devil should have right.”

When we consider his whole character, it is very
 easy to credit this assertion of himself; and, that he
 would not deviate from justice in the smallest mat-
 ter for any consideration. The reader may take
 the following instance, among many, as a proof of
 his integrity. Another of his sons-in-law, Mr. He-
 ron, having a cause depending, was advised to put
 it into arbitration: but he, presuming on his fa-
 ther’s favour, and not agreeing to his proposal, the
 chancellor, upon hearing the cause, made a decree
 directly against him.

As few injunctions as he issued, whilst he was in
 possession of the great seal, to stop proceedings at
 common law, yet they were disliked by some of the
 the

the judges: and Mr. Roper, acquainting him with what he had heard of this complaint, the chancellor assured him that they had no cause to find fault with him on that account, as he himself should be convinced. Upon this information, he ordered the chief of the six clerks to make a docket of the whole number, and the reasons of all the injunctions which had already passed in his time, or then depended before him. This being done, he invited all the judges to dine with him in the council chamber at Westminster-Hall: and, after dinner, having laid before them the complaints he had heard of his injunctions, he shewed them the number, and explained the reasons of them all so clearly, as, upon a mature deliberation, it was acknowledged, by the whole bench, that, in the like causes, they should have acted in the same manner themselves. Upon this he made them an offer, that if the justices of every court; to whom, by reason of their office, the reformation of the law more especially belonged, would, upon reasonable considerations, as he thought they were bound in conscience, mitigate its rigour themselves by their own discretion, he would grant no more injunctions; but they refusing this, he said, "Forasmuch as you yourselves, my lords, drive me to that necessity for awarding injunctions, to relieve the people's injuries, you cannot hereafter any more justly blame me."

In order to prevent any vexatious frivolous suits, he gave directions to all the solicitors of his court, that no subpoenas should be issued out of the general matter of which he should not have proper notice, with their several hands to the bill; and if, upon looking it over, he found it a cause of complaint that deserved hearing, he would set his hand to it, or else it should be cancelled. He was so indefatigable

defatigable in his application to business, that, when he had presided in the court of Chancery about two years, having finished a cause, and calling for the next that was to be heard, he was answered, that there was not one cause more depending; and this he ordered to be set down on record.

At the same time that he was lord-chancellor, his father sir John More was one of the oldest judges in the King's-Bench; and, it was a very unusual sight in Westminster-Hall, to see two such great seats filled by a father and a son at the same time. There was another sight, however, still more surprising; for, if the court of King's-Bench was sitting, when the chancellor came into the hall, he went first into that court, and there kneeling down, in the sight of every body, asked his father's blessing: and, when they happened to meet together at the readings at Lincoln's-Inn, he always offered the precedence to his father; which, on account of his high post as chancellor, sir John always waved. These instances of filial piety were very laudable, and may be taken notice of by others, much to their edification.

As little leisure as the chancellor could have to study the holy scriptures, the controversies in theology, and such subjects, being in a manner employed always in the king's affairs, or in the business of his profession; yet, he was a man of that extraordinary application, that he wrote several books relating to religion, and in its defence, particularly one against Tindal's heresy, whilst he was speaker of the House of Commons: and, tho' they are written with great virulence, yet the reader should take notice, it was in the way of the age, as others wrote against him, and contrary to his own humane and benevolent disposition. The
bishops,

bishops, to whose province it more especially belongs to write such books, had no great regard at that time to the episcopal care, and were very well pleased to have an excuse, for not performing their own duty in this respect, from the works of sir Thomas More : but, if they had not learning or application themselves, it must be confessed that they had, what is not to be found in every age, a generous regard to merit in other men. For considering, that notwithstanding the king's favour, he had accumulated no wealth, nor had such an income from his employments, as his great worth deserved, it was agreed in convocation to make him a present of four or five thousand pounds, a prodigious sum in those days ! as a recompence for his pains in writing so many books of religion. To the payment of this sum, every bishop, abbot, and others of the clergy, contributed liberally according to their abilities; hoping, that such a present would not be unacceptable to him.

On this occasion, Tunstall bishop of Durham, Clark bishop of Bath and Wells, and Vesey bishop of Exeter, were deputed to wait upon him in the name of the whole body ; to let him know “ how much they esteemed themselves obliged to him for his labours in God's service, “ which had discharged them from such works : “ and, though they could not requite him according to his deserts, as they gladly would, “ and must refer his reward to the goodness of God, yet, to shew their sense of his great merit, and in consideration that his estate was by no means equal to it, they presented him, in the name of their whole convocation, with a sum which they hoped he would accept of.”

But, as elevation of mind, and contempt of riches, were the distinguishing characteristics of this great man, he generously refused it; telling them,
“ That,

“ That, as it was no small comfort to him, that
 “ such wise and learned men so well accepted of
 “ his works, (for which he never intended to re-
 “ ceive any reward but at the hand of God) so he
 “ thanked this honourable body very kindly for
 “ their bountiful consideration.”

As much as he was known to despise money, yet, considering his circumstances, and the greatness of the present, it was not expected that he would have refused it: But when the bishops found, after the most importunate sollicitation, that he would not by any means accept it, they desired that he would give them leave to present his family with it. This offer was also rejected; and the answer which he made, and well deserves to be remembered, shews no less the goodness than the greatness of his soul. “ Not
 “ so, my lords, indeed: I had rather see it all
 “ cast into the Thames, than that I, or any of
 “ mine, should have a penny of it. For though
 “ your lordships offer is very friendly and honour-
 “ able to me; yet, I set so much by my pleasure,
 “ and so little by my profit, that in good faith I
 “ would not, for a much larger sum, have lost
 “ the rest of so many nights sleep as was spent upon
 “ these writings: and yet I wish for all that, upon
 “ condition that all heresies were suppressed, that
 “ all my books were burnt, and my labour en-
 “ tirely lost.” After this repulse, the bishops found it was in vain to try him further; and so were obliged to carry the money back again, and restore to every one the sum that he had contributed.

But, amidst all the encomiums due to the memory of sir Thomas More, I must not conceal from the reader, what was a great allay to all his virtues; his furious and cruel zeal in the persecution of hereticks. Much of this, however, if not
 the

the whole, must be attributed to the ignorance and superstition of the age and religion he had been bred in; for, in his own natural temper, he was the furthest from cruelty and ill-nature of any man in the world: and this is not the only instance, where a zeal for religion has soured the sweetest disposition.

Having taken notice of the little wealth which he had accumulated, both at first in his great practice, and afterwards in his great employments, the reader, perhaps, will expect, that I should say something of the way in which he spent his income.

Some entertainments, and not many, were made for the nobility and men of fashion; which were rather necessary in his offices than for the sake of pomp and luxury. But all his poor neighbours, and indigent men of merit, were not only feasted at his table, but relieved also with liberality, when their wants required it. He had a soul that was above hoarding up, in a sordid manner, unsuitable to his dignity, the emoluments of his profession, or his places under the king, in order to establish a name, and to raise a family---the most absurd of all human vanities: and therefore, after the necessaries of his household were properly taken care of, the remainder was bestowed in public and private charities. He hired a house at Chelsea, where he lived, for several elderly people that were past their labour, whom he maintained; and he charged his favourite daughter, to see that they wanted nothing necessary to their age and their infirmities. A little before he was lord-chancellor, he built a chapel in this parish for public use; and provided all the ornaments, as well as the necessaries, at his own expence, giving a great deal of plate for the communion service. In short, as his heart

heart was always open to the wants and calamities of his fellow-creatures, so his purse was never shut, when any occasion offered, in which he thought he might be of service, either to the bodies, or the souls of others.

In a short time after he was in possession of the great seal, the king importuned him often to take the important point of his divorce again into consideration: supposing that he had now so much obliged him, by giving him this high office, that he could not decently refuse concurring with his majesty's inclinations, in what was called "his great affair." But the chancellor, valuing more the quiet of his own conscience, than the favour of any prince in the world, besought his majesty "to continue the same gracious sovereign to him that he had ever been; and to believe there was nothing in the world had gone nearer to his heart, than to find he was not able to discover any thing in that affair, by which, with the integrity of his conscience, he could serve his majesty to his satisfaction: for he had always remembered the godly expression of his majesty, when he first admitted him into his royal service; and which was the most virtuous lesson that ever prince taught his servant---First to look unto God, and after God unto him, as in good faith he did and would; or else might his majesty well account him his most unworthy servant." The king answered him very kindly, that if his lordship could not in conscience serve him in it, his majesty was content to accept of his service otherwise; and he would take the advice of those of his learned council in this business, whose consciences were not hurtled by it: assuring him, nevertheless, that he would continue his wonted favour to him, and no more molest his conscience on that subject.

The

The king might probably intend what he said at that time; and it would have been happy for the chancellor, and have prevented a great stain upon his majesty's honour, if he had persevered in his resolution. But some time after, having made a further progress in the business of his divorce, and being determined to marry the lady Anne Bullen, at all events, the king called a parliament, in order to disclose his purpose, and to carry it into effect: accordingly, the lord-chancellor was commanded by his majesty to go down to the house of commons with some of the bishops and temporal peers, to acquaint them with the opinions of the foreign universities on the subject of his marriage, as well as those at home; to which they had set their seals as being unanimous.

This was a message disagreeable enough to the chancellor, we may suppose; but as it was not irregular, according to the usage of parliament at that time, and as he was not under a necessity of making any declaration of his own opinion on this subject, he obeyed the king's command. He had willingly concurred in the statutes of Premunire and Provisors, as being of the same mind with those who were for abolishing the illegal jurisdiction, which the popes had exercised in England. But he saw now, by the king's designs, that a total rupture would follow; and he was not willing to go the lengths which the court intended against the catholic cause. He had, moreover, some invincible objections, as we have seen, against the divorce: and being apprehensive that some further attempts would be made in it, which by virtue of his office, and yet contrary to his conscience, he must be engaged in, he never ceased, from this time, to solicit his great and intimate friend the duke of Norfolk, to intercede with his majesty

that he might deliver up the seal; for which, through many infirmities of body, he said, he was no longer fit. The duke resisted his solicitation as long as he could, being very unwilling that he should give up that high office; for which his grace was well assured he was the ablest man in the kingdom. But being pressed so often by him to this purpose, the duke at length applied to the king, and obtained his majesty's permission, that the chancellor might resign.

When he waited upon the king at a time appointed, in order to deliver up the seal, his majesty received it from him with great reluctance, and with many thanks and commendations for his excellent execution of that important trust: and, at the same time he assured him, that, for the good services he had done his majesty and the kingdom, in any request which he should have occasion to make, which either concerned his interest or his honour, he should find that his majesty would be always kind to him. How well Henry fulfilled this promise, and discharged his obligations to this excellent man, who had been in his service and intimacy above twenty years, the sequel will shew, to the king's eternal infamy.

As sir Thomas More had sustained the office of lord high chancellor for above two years and a half, with more address, wisdom, and integrity, than was ever seen in it before, so he retired from it with an unparalleled greatness of mind, not being able to defray the necessary expences of his private family, when he had divested himself of this employment.

About the time of his resignation, died, in a very advanced age, his father, sir John More; whom he often visited and comforted in his illness, and to whom he expressed the most filial tenderness

nēs and affection in his last moments. This was an event, however, which brought him a very inconsiderable increase of fortune; because the greatest part of his father's estate, with his seat at Gubbins in Hertfordshire, were settled upon his second wife, who outlived sir Thomas many years; and therefore he enjoyed but a little inheritance from his father.

When he had delivered up the seal, he wrote an apology for himself, in which he declared to the public, "That all the revenues and pensions, which he had, by his father, by his wife, or by his own purchase, except the manors given him by the king of his mere liberality," which from a king to such a servant are not worth the naming, "did not amount to the value of fifty pounds a year." Strange, indeed, it will appear, in this age, that a privy-counsellor, who had filled so many great offices, as we have seen, for above twenty years, and who had been all his life a frugal man, should not have been able to purchase an hundred pounds a year. But such was his great charity, and such his greater contempt of money!

The day after he had resigned the seal, which his own family knew nothing of, he went as usual, to Chelsea church with his wife and daughters: and after mass was over, (it being customary for one of his gentlemen to go to his lady to tell her the chancellor was gone out of church) he went himself to the pew-door, and, making her a low bow, said, "Madam, my lord is gone." But she knowing his humour, and apprehending this to be some jest, took little notice of it. However, as they were walking home, he assured her very seriously, that what he had said was true, having resigned his office of lord-chancellor to the king the day before. When she found that he was in earnest, and as she

was a worldly-minded woman, being much concerned at it, she replied in her accustomed manner, "Tilly Vally, what will you do, Mr. More? Will you sit and make gossings in the ashes? What, is it not better to rule than to be ruled?" But to divert the ill-humour which he saw she was in, he began to find fault with her dress; which she chiding her daughters for not seeing, and they affirming that there was no fault to be found, he replied with great mirth, "Don't you perceive that your mother's nose is somewhat awry?" Upon which she went from him in a passion. It must be confessed that this is a trifling story to relate in the life of so great a man: but Plutarch has justly observed, that the characters of men are best learned from trifles.

The first thing that he set about after the surrender of his office, was to provide places for all his gentlemen and servants among the nobility and bishops; that they might not be sufferers by him. This being done to his satisfaction, he next called all his children and their husbands round him; and telling them that he could not now, as he was wont, and still gladly would, bear all their expence himself, asked their advice, what they should do, that they might continue to live together, as he much desired: and finding them all silent, he told them, that though he had been brought up from the lowest degree to the highest, yet he had now in yearly revenues left him but a very little above an hundred pounds a year; so that hereafter, if they lived together, they must be contented to become contributors.

Notwithstanding the king had taken him from his profession, and employed him in the most important services to himself and the kingdom, during the best part of his life, yet he made so little advantage

vantage of his majesty's service, or that of the public, that all the land which he ever purchased, (and he purchased it all before he was lord-chancellor) was not above the value of twenty marks a year: and after all his debts were paid, when he resigned that office, he had not left in gold and silver, his chain excepted, the worth of one hundred pounds.

After he had once resigned the seal, he never meddled with any affairs of state: but lessening his family, by disposing his children into their own houses, he gave himself up wholly to study and devotion, and to write religious books.

He knew too much of the cruel inconstant temper of the king, to his best and most faithful servants, not to be sensible, that when his majesty could not gain him to his designs by gentle methods, he would use him with rigour; and therefore he prepared himself for the storm which he foresaw was likely to fall upon him. He was indeed so perfectly well acquainted with the king's temper, that he frequently foretold what would happen to him from it, to his wife and children. Nay, he once hired a pursuivant to come suddenly to his house whilst he was at dinner, and knocking hastily at the door summon him to appear before the council the next day: and this he did, to arm his family the better against the calamities which he found approaching.

But, his first troubles began on account of a female impostor, called, The Holy Maid of Kent; who affirmed, that she had revelations from God to give the king warning of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the authority committed to him. In a journey to the nuns of Sion, she called on sir Thomas More; and declaring her pretended revelations to him, he was brought in

by the king's direction as an accomplice with her. However, when the bill of her attainder was to be read the third time in the House of Lords, they addressed his majesty to know his pleasure, whether sir Thomas, who was mentioned in it, at least as a concealer of her treason, might not be heard to speak in his own defence. The presumptions, which lay against him, as countenancing this impostor, appear no farther than by his sending a letter to her, which much offended the king; and, by some conversations which he had with her, from his opinion of her holiness and humility. But, it appears, that he thought then very meanly of her understanding; because, in his letters to his daughter Roper, he always called her the silly nun. He justified himself however, of all the intercourse he had with her, in several letters to secretary Cromwell; in which he said, he was convinced now, that she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that had ever been known. But these justifications availed him nothing.

The king, being highly incensed against him for not approving the divorce, and his second marriage, and forgetting all his faithful services, was determined to push him with this bill of attainder; imagining, that the terrors of such a bill would work upon him to relent, and no longer oppose his measures. When sir Thomas therefore desired to be admitted into the House of Commons, to make his own defence against the bill, his majesty would not consent to it; but assigned a committee of council to call him before them, and hear his justification. His justification, however, was but little attended to, in this examination by the lords, for they, if not the king, were well assured, that he had no connections with the Nun of Kent.

But,

But, as he had been the first man in rank, and was always one of the first in reputation and abilities, the point intended was to prevail on him, by fair words or threatenings, to give a public assent to the divorce and second marriage. To this purpose the lord-chancellor made a great parade of the king's extraordinary love and favour to sir Thomas, in the many offices his majesty had bestowed upon him, which he might still have retained; and of his inclination to grant him any honour or advantage which he should ask his majesty at his hands: hoping, by this declaration of the king's kindness, to bring him to consent to that out of gratitude, which out of conscience he had refused.

After assuring them of the sense he had of the king's goodness to him, and of his own readiness to do every thing that would be acceptable to his majesty, he told them, "That he had hoped he should never have heard again of this business; since he had always, from the beginning, informed his majesty of his sentiments in it; which the king had accepted not ungraciously, and had even promised that he should never be molested more about it. But, however, he had found nothing, since the first agitation of this matter, to persuade him to change his mind; if he had, it would have given him a great deal of pleasure."

The committee of lords, appointed on this occasion, consisted of archbishop Cranmer, the lord-chancellor Audley, the duke of Norfolk, and secretary Cromwell; and all of them, in their turn, endeavoured to persuade him, by such arguments as they thought likely to win him. But, when they saw that nothing could induce him to change his mind, they told him "It was the king's command,

“ if they could not bring him over by gentleness
 “ and persuasion, to charge him with ingratitude ;
 “ and to inform him, that his majesty thought,
 “ there never was a servant so villainous, nor a
 “ subject so traitorous to his prince, as he : and,
 “ in support of this heavy charge against him,
 “ they were to alledge his subtle and sinister de-
 “ vices, in procuring his majesty to set forth a
 “ book, to his great dishonour, throughout all
 “ Christendom ; by which he had put a sword
 “ in the pope’s hands to fight against himself.”

When the lords had finished what they had to
 say to him in his majesty’s name, he told them,
 “ That these terrors were arguments for children,
 “ and not for him : but, as for the book which
 “ they had mentioned, he could not bring himself
 “ to believe, that the king would ever lay it to his
 “ charge, who knew better than any body the
 “ circumstances that could acquit him of it. His
 “ majesty knew that he had not procured, nor
 “ counselled the writing of this book ; and, when
 “ he revised it by the king’s command, and found
 “ the pope’s authority defended and advanced
 “ very highly, that he remonstrated against it to
 “ his majesty, and told him, that, as he might
 “ not be always in amity with the pope, he
 “ thought it best that it should be amended in
 “ that point, and the pope’s authority be more
 “ slenderly touched : to which the king would
 “ not consent. Upon this he put his majesty fur-
 “ ther in mind of the statute of premunire, which
 “ had pared away a good part of the pope’s pas-
 “ toral cure : to which his majesty had replied,
 “ That whatsoever impediment be to the contrary,
 “ we will set forth that authority to the uttermost,
 “ for we received from the see our crown impe-
 “ rial ; which, till it was told him from the
 “ king’s




SIR THOMAS MORE. 63

king's own mouth, he never heard of before. He trusted therefore, when his majesty should be informed of this, and call his conversation with him to remembrance, that the king would thoroughly clear him of this charge himself."

The lords, not being able to make any reply to a vindication so clear and ample, the conference was broke up: and Mr. Roper, seeing sir Thomas extremely chearful at his return, asked him if his name was struck out of the bill of attainder, that he was in such good spirits. The knight told him "he had forgotten that; but, if he would know the reason of his mirth, it was, that he had given the devil so foul a fall; and had gone so far with those lords, that without great shame indeed, he could never go back from what he had said." When the lords of the committee made a report of the conference to the king, in which sir Thomas had had the courage to vindicate himself at his majesty's expence, (for it was little less than charging him with a known and deliberate falshood) Henry was so exasperated, that he told them plainly, the bill of attainder should proceed against him.

As the duke of Norfolk, and secretary Cromwell, had a high esteem for sir Thomas, they used their utmost efforts to dissuade the king from this resolution; assuring him that they found the upper house were fully determined to hear him in his own defence, before they would pass the bill; and, if his name was not struck out, it was much to be apprehended, that the bill would be rejected. But the king had nothing complying in his temper; and, being ever bent on carrying the point which he had undertaken, would not consent to this proposal. He was too haughty to submit
a subject



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a subject, with whom he had entered the lists, and too vindictive in his temper to forgive a man who had been his favourite, and yet had dared to offend him : therefore, after talking in a very high strain, he said, that he would be present himself in the house when the bill should pass ; thinking ; no doubt, that the parliament stood so much in awe of him, that the lords would not then dare to reject it. The committee of council, however, differed from him herein : they were, or pretended to be, afraid of the parts and eloquence of sir Thomas More, which were superior and commanding : nor did they think it was prudent to hazard his appearing to plead in his own defence, whose many virtues, and amiable conduct, had prejudiced every body in his favour before they heard him. But, the more they pressed the king to give way, the more stiff and haughty he grew in insisting upon it. Whether they really expected to be worsted in the House of Lords, if the king pursued his measures, or whether they were moved to contend in this matter with him from the personal friendship they had for sir Thomas More, is not easy to decide, considering the arbitrary tyrannical way in which Henry treated his parliaments, I think they could not be sincere in their arguments with him ; and therefore, that we must resolve all this contest with the king into the regard which they had for their friend, and their dread of the clamours of the people, in case he should be attainted as an accomplice with that weak impostor. Finding, however, that nothing else would moderate the obstinacy and vehemence with which the king pursued this point, they fell on their knees, and besought him to forbear, by this consideration ; “ That, if it should be carried against him in his
“ own presence, as they believed it would be, it
“ would

“would encourage his subjects to despise him,
“and be a dishonour to him also all over Eu-
“rope. They did not doubt but they should
“be able to find out something else against him,
“wherein they might serve his majesty with some
“success; but, in this affair of the nun, he was
“universally accounted so innocent, that the
“world thought him worthier of praise than of
“reproof.”

With these suggestions, especially that of find-
ing something else against him, they at last sub-
dued the king's obstinacy; and the name of Sir
Thomas More was struck out of the bill. But
this was the beginning of his sorrows.

After Henry's divorce from queen Catharine
was every where proclaimed, a book was published
by the authority of the king and council, setting
forth the reasons of this divorce; and it was soon
after reported, that Sir Thomas More had an-
swered it. Of this calumny he cleared himself,
in a letter to secretary Cromwell; shewing, by se-
veral arguments, that he neither could, nor would
attempt to confute that book: and this letter is
printed at the latter end of his works. But, how-
ever, as it was publickly known that he was now
as much out of favour with the king, as he had
been in his good graces before, accusations poured
in against him from every quarter; and then it
was, that he found the peculiar advantage of his
innocence and integrity. For, if he had not al-
ways acted with the highest probity, so that in all
the offices which he went through, he kept him-
self clear of every sort of corruption, the most tri-
vial matter would have been laid to his charge, in
order to crush him; and, for that purpose, would
have met with a favourable reception from the
king.

This

This appeared evidently from the case of one Parnell, who complained, that he had made a decree against him in the court of Chancery, at the suit of Vaughan his adversary, for which he had received, (Vaughan being confined at home with the gout) from the hands of his wife a great gilt cup as a bribe. Upon this accusation, he was brought before the council by the king's direction: and being charged by the witness with the fact, he readily owned, that as that cup was brought him for a New-Year's gift long after the decree was made, he had not refused to take it.

The lord Wiltshire, father to queen Anne, who prosecuted the suit against him, and who hated him for not consenting to the king's marriage with her, was transported with joy to hear him own it; and cried hastily out, "Lo! my lords, did I not tell you, that you should find the matter true?" Sir Thomas then desired, that, as they had with indulgence heard him tell one part of the tale, so they would impartially hear the other: and this being granted, he declared, "That though, after much sollicitation, he had indeed received the cup, and it was long after the decree was made, yet he had ordered his butler to fill it immediately with wine, of which he directly drank to Mrs. Vaughan; and, when she had pledged him in it, then as freely as her husband had given it to him, even so freely he gave the same to her again, to present unto her husband for his New-Year's gift; and which she received, and carried back again, though with some reluctance." The truth of this, the woman herself, and others then present, deposed before the council, to the great confusion of the lord Wiltshire, and to the disappointment of all his other enemies.

It would be too tedious to relate all the accusations of this sort, which, out of malice or envy, were in the same manner brought against him; because his integrity had been so clear, that, after the strictest examination, by spies, informers, and little dirty tools of a court, nothing could be found to blemish his reputation.

But, however, the occasion was not far off, which the lords of the cabinet had foretold, of finding something against him, by which his majesty might be enabled to gratify his resentment of so much uprightness and intrepidity as he had shewn.

In order to open this matter fully, and to make this history as useful and extensive as it ought to be, it is necessary to give the reader a general view of this great event in the reign of Henry VIII. which brought sir Thomas More to the scaffold.

Whether Henry was convinced that his marriage with the widow of his brother Arthur was contrary to the law of God; or whether he was even in doubt, and really troubled in conscience upon that account, when he first set in motion the business of the divorce, it is impossible for us to determine with certainty. Indeed, if we believe what he said himself, it must be positively asserted that it was a case of conscience entirely; and that he suffered great uneasiness of mind on account of his incestuous commerce with the queen. But his majesty's word in his own cause was not always to be relied upon. There are but too many instances of his insincerity: and, if we should allow in his favour, that there are difficulties enough in the case of such a marriage to occasion scruples in the breast of any one, yet is it possible that he should never have heard of these difficulties in almost twenty years, and consequently have been till that time

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time without his scruples? The objections were not new, as is very evident from history; and if it was solely a matter of conscience, how came it to pass that they produced no effect upon his conscience in eighteen years? Shall we then rely upon his majesty's testimony contrary to probability; a testimony which we know was not always true? Or shall we suppose that he had no hopes of any more issue by the queen; that he had discovered some infirmities, owing to her frequent miscarriages, which made her person disagreeable to him; and that this dislike, and not his conscience, suggested these scruples about his marriage, and inclined him to a divorce?

The reader may take which side he pleases. But if his majesty was convinced, that his marriage was contrary to the law of God, he must likewise be convinced, that the pope had not a power to grant a dispensation for it; and yet, at the same time that he appeared under the power of that conviction, he solicited another pope for a bull to declare his marriage void. If the dispensation was null by the law of God, it was unnecessary to revoke it; and his conscience might have been easy, had that been the only point in question, by separating from his wife: but if it was necessary that the pope should revoke the dispensation, then the dispensation was good, and the marriage valid.

Under this dilemma stood I Henry: his pleasure and his cause required that a limit should be set to the papal power; but his application to the pope as a judge, acknowledged that power to be without restraint; and his principles did not disown it. Perceiving, however, at last, after many struggles, that he could not carry his point, and preserve his principles, he was determined to gratify his passions:

lions: and what he attempted at first out of resentment, in forsaking the holy-see, he might afterwards perhaps work himself up to look upon as the cause of God and religion. Be that as it will, the king having carried his point at home against the pope, the sentence of his divorce having been pronounced by the archbishop, and having married the lady Anne Bullen, as he had desired, he was determined to carry his resentment against the see of Rome to the utmost length. He had caused several acts of parliament to pass, in the four years that this affair was depending, by way of terror to the pope, in order to abridge the papal power; and he was now determined to give it the final blow.

With this resolution, he called a parliament in 1534; and, amongst many other acts which tended to abrogate the papal power, there was one to declare the king's marriage with Catharine against the law of God, confirming the archbishop's sentence against it, notwithstanding any dispensation to the contrary; and establishing the succession to the crown of England in the issue of his majesty's present marriage with queen Anne. There was a clause in this act, That if any person should divulge any thing to the slander of this marriage, or of the issue begotten in it, or, being required to swear to maintain the contents of this act, refuse it, that they should be adjudged for misprision of treason, and suffer accordingly.

Before the two houses broke up, that they might set a good example to the king's other subjects, all the members took the oath relating to the succession; and commissioners were sent all over the kingdom to administer it to the people of every rank and denomination.

The

The oath which was taken by several abbots and friars of every order, as it is given in the collection of public acts, was to this effect; "That they would bear faith and true obedience to the king, and to the issue of his present marriage with queen Anne; that they would always acknowledge him the head of the church of England; that the bishop of Rome has no more power than any other bishop; that they renounced obedience to him, and would preach no other doctrine than what was sincerely agreeable to the scriptures, and catholic tradition."

In a short time after the breaking up of the parliament, there was a committee of the cabinet-council at Lambeth, consisting of the archbishop, the lord-chancellor Audley, and secretary Cromwell; where several ecclesiastics, but no other layman than sir Thomas More, were cited to appear and take the oath. Sir Thomas being called, and the oath tendered to him under the great seal, he desired to see the act of succession which had enjoined it: and this being also shewed him, he said, "That he would blame neither those who had made the act, nor those who had taken the oath; but, for his own part, though he was willing to swear to the succession in a form of his own drawing, yet the oath which was offered was so worded, that his conscience revolted against it, and he could not take it with safety to his soul." And to convince them that he did not make any objection, through perverseness, disaffection, or singularity, he was then ready to swear, that the chief cause of his refusal was what he had given them; and, if they doubted of that oath, how could they trust him in the other? He was then ordered to withdraw into the
the

the garden, that others who attended might be dispatched.

Every one else that had been summoned, took the oath without any scruple, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, who gave nearly the same answer which sir Thomas More had given. Upon this he was called in again; and the lord-chancellor observing, what a great number had taken the oath among the nobility, the bishops, the lower house of parliament, and the clergy; and how much the king would be offended with him for being the first and almost the only man who had refused it, he made answer as before, "That he judged no man for having done it, but that he could not take it himself for reasons which might give more offence perhaps than the refusal, and which might be called a disputing against law; nevertheless, if the king commanded it, he would put his reasons into writing; which, if any man could answer to his satisfaction, he would most willingly take the oath."

The archbishop being very desirous, because of his great character and popularity, that he should not go away without taking it, pressed him with an argument which has been too often used in such cases. "Since you blame no other person," says Cranmer to him, "for taking this oath, it appears you are not persuaded it is a sin, and are only doubtful in the matter. You are certain, however, of this, that you ought to obey the king and the law: and there being a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other, you are obliged therefore to do that about which you are certain, notwithstanding the doubts you may be under."

When the archbishop was silenced with the plea of conscience which sir Thomas urged in the most

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forcible manner, the abbot of Westminster took another method with him; telling him, who was a much wiser and a much better man than himself, "That howsoever the matter might appear to him, he might see his conscience was erroneous, since the great council of the realm was of another mind; and therefore he ought to change his conscience." The knight replied, however, with great modesty, "That if he stood single in his opinion against the parliament, he should have reason to suspect his own understanding; but he thought he had the whole council of Christendom on his side, to oppose to the great council of England." He offered, however, to swear to the succession of the crown in the issue of the king's present marriage; because he thought the parliament had a right to determine that matter. Mr. secretary Cromwell, who tenderly favoured him (to use his own expression) and who knew the consequence of this debate, when he perceived that sir Thomas could not be prevailed on to take the oath as it was tendered, saw that his ruin would become inevitable; and in his great anxiety protested with an oath, "That he had rather his only son should have lost his head, than that sir Thomas More should have refused to swear to the succession."

The conference ending in this manner, he was committed to the custody of the abbot of Westminster for four days; during which the king and his council deliberated, what course it was best to take with him. The archbishop, who wanted neither sense nor candour, and who saw the ill consequences of contending with a man whose popularity was so well established, and with whom he knew severity would be ineffectual, pressed him extremely to accept the oath on the terms he offered it.

it. “ For it would not only give a fair occasion
 “ to satisfy queen Catharine and her daughter,
 “ that they were not bound to insist upon their
 “ pretensions : but his great character,” he said,
 “ would also go far in silencing the emperor, and
 “ other foreign princes, as well as in quieting the
 “ scrupulous consciences of many dissatisfied people
 “ at home.” Others added to this expedient,
 That he should be sworn not to reveal whether he
 had taken the oath or not, or what his sentiments
 were of it : but in what manner soever these able
 ministers of the king might be willing to compro-
 mise this dispute, Henry himself was highly in-
 censed, and would not listen to their advice.

I do not think it necessary to have recourse to
 any clamour or importunity of queen Anne to ex-
 asperate the king against him; as some of the
 writers of his life have done. At the same time it
 cannot be positively affirmed that she might not be
 so far offended with him for not assenting to her
 marriage, and for his persecutions of the reformed,
 as to avail herself of the king’s displeasure, and to
 throw her weight into the scale. But it was no
 part of Henry’s character to yield a point he
 had once insisted on, if he could possibly avoid it :
 and so, whether the queen contributed to irritate
 him or not, the oath was ordered to be administered
 to sir Thomas More ; and, on his refusal, he was
 committed prisoner to the Tower, and indicted on
 the statute.

Conscious of his own loyalty and submission to
 the government, the lieutenant of the Tower had
 no sooner conveyed him to his apartment, than he
 called the servant appointed to attend him in his
 imprisonment, and swore him before the lieutenant,
 “ That if he should hear or see him speak or write
 “ any thing, against the king, the council, or the

“ state of the realm, he should inform the lieutenant, that it might be discovered.”

Though the separation from Rome was made in the last session of parliament, as it has been said, yet the king's supremacy not being settled to his satisfaction, he called another parliament in the November following; in which an act was passed to confirm the title, which the clergy had already given, of Supreme Head of the Church; and to add thereto a power of visiting and amending all errors and heresies, which were to be reformed in the spiritual jurisdiction.

By another act, the form of an oath concerning the succession was prescribed, and all the people were obliged to take it, under the penalty contained in the former act. This oath in the new form was sent to sir Thomas More, to be taken when he was in the Tower: upon which he told his daughter Roper, who was permitted to visit him, “ That they who had committed him thither “ for refusing this oath not agreeable to the statute, were not able by their own law to justify his imprisonment: and surely, he said, it was a great pity, that any Christian prince should be so shamefully abused with flattery by a flexible council ready to follow his inclinations.”

At the close of this session, the king sent a general pardon to be passed in parliament, with the exceptions ordinary in such cases. But it did not content him that sir Thomas More should be excluded by a general clause from this act of grace; there was a particular act to attain him of a misprison of treason; the king's grants, not worth the naming, were set aside in it, and he was invidiously charged with ingratitude towards his sovereign. Severe and revengeful as this treatment was, some thought it necessary in such an important

ant crisis ; lest an indulgence to him who had so great an authority among the people, might encourage others to be refractory by his example, and corrupt their affections towards his majesty. Indeed, if we suppose him to have been disaffected himself, and to have used every opportunity of sowing sedition among others, this treatment would have been just. But he was not wanting in zeal and loyalty for the king ; he was even willing to take the oath to the succession, though he did not approve of the second marriage ; and his treason consisted only in a point of conscience. Allowing however that this severity was just, it will be very hard to prove that it was not impolitic. If his reputation was high, and his credit remarkably great among the people before, the prosecuting him thus to death for a mere opinion, (and an opinion which the king himself and all the subjects of England had till then embraced) was the ready way to raise them higher. The English are naturally humane, and they are therefore not only inclined to pity those who suffer, even where the cause of suffering may be just, but also to think well of their consciences, if not of their opinions, when they see men determined to endure all extremities for them.

It is unnecessary to give a particular detail of all the little circumstances whilst he remained a prisoner in the Tower, which shew the patience and greatness of mind of this extraordinary man. They are many and various : let one conversation therefore with his lady, who had leave to visit him after he had been some months imprisoned, suffice for the present.

As she had not his magnanimity, and probably not so good a heart, she remonstrated with much petulance, “ That he who had been always re-

“puted so wise a man, should now so play the
 “fool as to be content to be shut up in a close
 “filthy prison with rats and mice; when he might
 “enjoy his liberty and the king’s favour, if he
 “would but do as all the bishops and other learned
 “men had done: and as he had a good house to
 “live in, his library, his gallery, his garden, his
 “orchard, and all other necessaries handsome
 “about him, where he might enjoy himself with
 “his wife and children, she could not conceive
 “what he meant by tarrying so quietly in this
 “imprisonment.”

This was the language of the lady More to her
 husband, while he was smarting under a bill of at-
 tainder in the Tower; and it is the language of
 a person devoted to the world, without any regard
 to conscience and morality. But his way of think-
 ing was very different. He had added the Christian
 so much to the philosopher, that at the same time
 that he looked on all things below with a supreme
 contempt, he had set his affection on the things
 above, and seemed fervently to desire a translation
 to them. He heard her therefore very patiently;
 and asked her in his facetious manner, “Whether
 “that house was not as nigh to heaven as his
 “own;” which she resented. He then assured
 her very seriously, “That he saw no great cause
 “for so much joy in his house and the things
 “about it; which would so soon forget its master,
 “that if he were under ground but seven years and
 “came to it again, he should find those in it who
 “would bid him be gone, and tell him it was
 “none of his. Besides, his stay in it was so un-
 “certain, that as he would be but a bad mer-
 “chant, who would put himself in danger to lose
 “eternity for a thousand years, so how much
 “more if he was not sure to enjoy it one day to
 “an

an end." These are the sentiments of a mind raised above the feelings of sense ; and, which was no otherwise attached to this world, than as to a state of pilgrimage to a better.

About the same time that his lady made this fruitless attempt, in order to persuade him to comply with the late statute, his majesty sent a committee of the privy-council, to engage him to acknowledge the king's supremacy, or else openly to deny it. But they could not bring him to do either. He was not willing to aggravate his majesty's displeasure by the arguments he should produce against this new doctrine ; and he could not bring himself to own what in his conscience he disbelieved. He contented himself therefore with this answer, " That the statute was like a two-edged sword ; if he spoke against it, he should procure the death of his body, and if he consented to it he should purchase the death of his soul."

In some short time after, the same committee of lords were sent again by the king to try if they could prevail upon him to change his mind : but he adhered steadily to the answer which he had made before ; from which he would not deviate in any respect. The king finding by these attempts, that nothing could move him to comply with his measures, sent Rich, whom he had just made his solicitor-general, sir R. Southwell, and Palmer, an under-secretary, to take away all his books, and his pen, ink, and paper ; that he might not write any thing against the supremacy, or second marriage.

Whilst the two last were employed in executing their commission, the solicitor, pretending a great friendship for him, began a conversation on the subject of his imprisonment : and, as he knew that

fir Thomas was a wise and learned man, and well skilled in the law, he desired to put the case to him, Whether, if an act of parliament was passed to make Rich the king, he would not own him to be so? To this fir Thomas replying in the affirmative, the solicitor then asked him further, Whether if an act of parliament should create him pope, fir Thomas would not acknowledge him to be the pope? As an answer to his first case, fir Thomas told him, "That the parliament might intermeddle without any impropriety in the state of temporal princes: but, to his second, he would put another case himself; Whether, if an act of parliament should pass, ordaining, that God should not be God, Mr. Rich would own that he should not?" The solicitor replied, that he should not, as no parliament could make such a law; and nothing further was said upon that subject.

Whether Rich, who had been but just promoted to his office, was sent on purpose by the king to entangle fir Thomas More in a dispute upon this topick; and, if nothing could be drawn from it fairly to his prejudice, to take occasion from thence to accuse him wrongfully, we are not told by any historian: neither can it be proved that there was any such design. It is certain, however, that both the king and his solicitor may be suspected of it without any uncharitableness, or without refining too much upon a plain matter of fact: we shall be acquitted of the one by their characters, and the sequel will contribute to justify the other. Sir Thomas More had been now a prisoner in the Tower above a year. The king had tried every expedient he could think of to procure his approbation of his divorce and second marriage; that he might avail himself of the example of a man so famous for



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for his wisdom, learning, and religion : but he had tried every expedient in vain. Sir Thomas had espoused the cause of the queen in the business of the divorce upon a principle of conscience, and therefore he had always withstood the king upon that point, with a firmness becoming his character. The affair of the supremacy was no less a matter of conscience to him than the other ; but, as the statute which enacted it had made it treason to write or speak against it, he observed a silence in this respect conformable to the law, which was what he could do ; but he refused to acknowledge it with an oath, in obedience to the statute, which was what he could not do with a quiet conscience.

Wherefore the king, being now determined to get rid of a man who had given him so much trouble and of whose virtues and popularity he stood in awe, gave orders that sir Thomas More should be brought to his trial. So long an imprisonment having much impaired his strength, when he was carried from the Tower to Westminster-Hall, he went leaning on his staff from the water-side : and, though his countenance had the marks of weakness and infirmity impressed upon it, yet it had the same air of cheerfulness which always sat upon it, in the days of his prosperity. He was tried by the lord-chancellor, and a committee of the lords, with some of the judges, at the bar of the King's-Bench : and being arraigned, he told his judges, “ That he would have
“ abidden in law, and demurred upon the indictment, but that he should thereby have been
“ driven to confess of himself, that he had denied
“ the king's supremacy ; which he protested he never did : wherefore, reserving to himself to take
“ advantage of the body of the matter after verdict
“ to

“ to avoid that indictment, he pleaded Not
“ Guilty; adding, That, if those odious terms,
“ maliciously, traiterously, and diabolically, were
“ taken out of it, he saw nothing in the indict-
“ ment that should justly charge him with any
“ treason.”

When the attorney-general had gone through the charge against him, in the indictment, in the most virulent manner, the lord-chancellor said to him, in which he was seconded by the duke of Norfolk; “ You see now, how grievously you
“ have offended his majesty: nevertheless, he is
“ so merciful, that, if you will but leave your
“ obstinacy, and change your opinion, we hope
“ you may yet obtain pardon of his highness for
“ what is past.” To this he replied with great resolution, “ That he had much cause to thank
“ these noble lords for this courtesy, but he be-
“ sought Almighty God, that, through his grace,
“ he might continue in the mind he was then in
“ unto death.” After this, he was permitted to say what he could for himself, in answer to the indictment, and the harangue made upon it by the attorney-general: and he began as follows:

“ When I think how long my accusation is, and
“ what heinous crimes are laid to my charge, I
“ am struck with fear, lest my wit and memory,
“ (both which are decayed, together with the
“ health of my body, through a long impediment
“ contracted by my imprisonment) be not now
“ able to answer these things on the sudden, as I
“ ought, and otherwise could.”— A chair was then brought for him into court to sit down upon, in consideration of his weakness, and the great rank he had held; and, having accepted of this favour, he proceeded thus: “ There are four principal

" cipal heads, if I am not deceived, of this my
 " indictment, every one of which, God willing, I
 " propose to answer in order. To the first that is
 " objected against me, That I have been an enemy
 " out of stubbornness of mind to the king's second
 " marriage, I confess that I always told his majesty
 " my opinion in it as my conscience dictated to me ;
 " which I neither ever would, or ought to have
 " concealed. But, I am so far from thinking my-
 " self guilty of high treason upon this account,
 " that, on the contrary, I being demanded my
 " opinion by so great a prince, in a matter of such
 " importance, whereupon the quietness of a king-
 " dom dependeth, if I should have basely flattered
 " him against my own conscience, and not uttered
 " the truth as I thought, then I should worthily
 " have been accounted a wicked subject, and a
 " perfidious traitor to God. Herein, however,
 " if I had offended the king, if it can be an of-
 " fence to tell one's mind plainly when our prince
 " asketh us, I suppose I have been already pu-
 " nished enough for this fault with most grievous
 " afflictions, with the loss of all my goods, and with
 " perpetual imprisonment ; having been shut up
 " already almost these fifteen months.

" My second accusation is, that I have trans-
 " gressed the statute in the last parliament ; that
 " is to say, being a prisoner, and twice examined
 " by the lords of the council, I would not dis-
 " close unto them my opinion, out of a malign-
 " ant, perfidious, obitinate, and traiterous mind ;
 " whether the king was supreme head of the
 " church or no ; but answered them, that this
 " law belonged not unto me, whether it were just
 " or unjust, because I did not enjoy any benefit
 " from the church : yet I then protested that I

" had

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“ had never said or done any thing against it, nei-
“ ther can any one word or action of mine be pro-
“ duced to make me culpable : yea, this I confess
“ was then my speech unto their honours, that
“ hereafter I would think of nothing else but of
“ the bitter passion of our blessed Saviour, and of
“ my passage out of this miserable world. I wish
“ no harm to any, and, if this will not keep me
“ alive, I desire not to live. By all which I know
“ that I could not transgress any law, or incur any
“ crime of treason : for neither this statute, nor
“ any law in the world, can punish a man for hold-
“ ing his peace ; they only can punish either
“ words or deeds, God alone being judge of our
“ secret thoughts.”


He was here interrupted by the attorney-gene-
ral, who said, “ That, though they had not any
“ word or deed of his to object against him,
“ yet they had his silence, which is an evident
“ sign of a malicious mind : because no dutiful
“ subject, being asked this question lawfully, will
“ refuse to answer.”

To this sir Thomas replied ; “ My silence, is no
“ sign of any malicious mind, which the king him-
“ self may know by many of my dealings ; neither
“ doth it convict any man of breach of your law.
“ For, it is a maxim among civilians and canonists,
“ He that keepeth silence, seemeth to consent.
“ As for what you say, that no good subject will
“ refuse to answer directly, I think it verily the
“ duty of a good subject, except he be such a sub-
“ ject as will be an evil Christian, rather to obey
“ God than man, and to have more care of offend-
“ ing his conscience than of any other matter
“ in the world ; especially if his conscience
“ procure neither heavy scandal, nor sedition to
“ his prince or country, as mine hath not done :
“ for

“ for I here protest unfeignedly, that I never revealed it to any man living.

“ I come now to the third capital matter of my indictment, whereby I am accused, that I maliciously attempted, traiterously endeavoured, and perfidiously practised against this statute, as the words thereof affirm ; because I wrote eight fundry packets of letters, whilst I was in the Tower, to bishop Fisher, by which I exhorted him to break the same law, and induced him to the like obstinacy. I would have these letters produced and read against me, which may either free me, or convict me of a lie. But, because you say the bishop burnt them all, I will here tell the truth of the whole matter : some of them were only about our private affairs, as being old friends and acquaintance : one of them was in answer to his, whereby he desired to know how I had answered in my examinations to this oath of supremacy ; touching which, this only I wrote unto him again, That I had already settled my conscience, let him settle his to his own good liking ; and no other answer I gave him, God is my witness, as God, I hope, shall save my soul :— and this, I trust, is no breach of your laws.

“ The last objected crime is, that being examined in the Tower, I did say, that this law was like a two-edged sword ; for, in consenting thereto, I should endanger my soul, and, in refusing it, I should lose my life. From which answer, because bishop Fisher made the like, it is evidently gathered, as you say, that we both conspired together. To this I reply, that my answer there was but conditional : if there be danger in both, either to allow or disallow this statute, and therefore like a two-edged sword,



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“ sword, it seemeth a hard thing that it should be
“ offered to me, who have never hitherto contra-
“ dicted it either in word or deed. These were my
“ words; what the bishop answered I know not. But,
“ if his answer were like mine, it proceeded not
“ from any conspiracy of ours, but from the like-
“ ness of our wits and learning. To conclude, I
“ unfeignedly avouch that I never spoke a word
“ against this law to any living man; although
“ perhaps his majesty hath been told to the con-
“ trary.”

To a justification so full, so clear, and unanswerable as this, the attorney-general had no reply to make. But the word Malice being in the mouth of almost all the court, they proceeded to examine the witnesses, in order to prove his treason to the jury. Mr. Rich the solicitor-general, being called and sworn, deposed that when he was sent to fetch away the books of sir Thomas More from the Tower, at the end of a conversation with him upon the king's supremacy, (which has been already related) on Mr. Rich's owning to a case put by him, That no parliament could make a law that God should not be God, sir Thomas replied, No more could the parliament make the king supreme head of the church.

When the solicitor-general had given this evidence to the court on oath, the prisoner, under a great surprize at the malice and falshood of it, said, “ If I was a man, my lords, that did not regard an oath, I needed not, at this time, and
“ in this place, as it is well known to ye all, stand
“ as an accused person: and, if this oath, Mr. Rich,
“ which you have taken be true, then I pray,
“ that I may never see God in the face, which I
“ would not say, were it otherwise, to gain the
“ whole world.”

Having



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Having next related the whole discourse, with him in the Tower, as it really was, he then proceeded to invalidate the testimony of the solicitor, and to shew the court and the jury how improbable it was that it should be true. “ In good faith, “ says he, Mr. Rich, I am more sorry for your “ perjury, than my own peril: and know, that “ neither I, nor any man else, to my knowledge, ever took you to be a man of such credit, “ as that I, or any other, would vouchsafe to communicate with you in any matter of importance. “ You know that I have been acquainted with “ your manner of life and conversation a long “ space, even from your youth unto this time: “ for we dwelt long together in one parish, “ wherein yourself can well tell (I am sorry you “ compel me to speak it) you was always esteemed “ very light of your tongue, a great dicer and “ gamester, and not of any commendable fame, “ either there, or at your house at the temple, “ where hath been your bringing up.

“ Can it therefore seem likely to your honourable lordships, that in so weighty a cause I should “ so unadvisedly overshoot myself, as to trust “ Mr. Rich, a man always reputed of me for one “ of so little truth and honesty? So far above my “ sovereign lord the king, to whom I am so deeply “ indebted for his manifold favours, or any of his “ noble and grave counsellors, that I would declare “ only to Mr. Rich the secrets of my conscience “ touching the king’s supremacy (the special point “ and only mark so long sought for at my hands) “ which I never did, nor ever would reveal, after “ the statute once made, either to the king’s highness, or to any of his noble councillors; as it is “ well known to your honours, who have been “ sent for no other purpose at several times from “ his

“ his majesty to me in the Tower. I refer it
 “ therefore to your judgments, my lords, whether
 “ this can seem a thing credible to any of you.”

“ But if I had done as Mr. Rich hath sworn,
 “ seeing it was spoken but in familiar secret talk,
 “ affirming nothing, but only putting of cases
 “ without any displeasing circumstances, it cannot
 “ justly be taken maliciously; and where there
 “ is no malice there can be no offence. Besides
 “ this, my lords, I cannot think that so many
 “ worthy bishops, so many honourable persons,
 “ and so many worshipful, virtuous, and well-
 “ learned men, as were in the parliament assem-
 “ bled at the making of that law, ever meant to
 “ have any man punished by death in whom there
 “ could be found no malice, taking Malitia for
 “ Malevolentia: for if Malitia be taken in a ge-
 “ neral signification for any sin, no man is there
 “ that can excuse himself thereof: because, if we
 “ say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and
 “ the truth is not in us. Wherefore this word
 “ Maliciously is only material in this statute; as
 “ the word forcible is in the statute of Forcible
 “ Entry; for in that case, if any enter peaceably,
 “ and put his adversary out forcibly, it is no of-
 “ fence; but, if he enter forcibly, he shall be
 “ punished by that statute. Besides this, the un-
 “ speakable goodness of the king’s highness to-
 “ wards me, who hath been so many ways my sin-
 “ gular good lord and gracious sovereign; he, I
 “ say, who hath so dearly loved and trusted me,
 “ even from my first coming into his royal ser-
 “ vice, vouchsafing to grace me with the honour
 “ of being one of his privy-council, and hath
 “ most liberally advanced me to offices of great
 “ credit and worship, finally with the chief dig-
 “ nity of his majesty’s high-chancellor, the like
 “ whereof

“ whereof he never did to any temporal man be-
 “ fore, which next his royal person is the highest
 “ office of this noble realm, so far above my
 “ merits and qualities, knowing and exalting
 “ me, of his incomparable benignity, by the space
 “ of these twenty years and more, shewing his
 “ continual favour towards me; and now at last it
 “ hath pleased his highness, at mine own humble
 “ suit, to give me licence to bestow the residue of
 “ my life for the better provision of my soul in the
 “ service of God, to discharge and disburden me
 “ in that weighty dignity, before which he had
 “ still heaped honours more and more upon me :
 “ all this his highness’s goodness, so liberally ex-
 “ tended to me, were in my mind matter suffi-
 “ cient to convict this slanderous accusation, so
 “ wrongfully by this man surmised and urged
 “ against me; which I commit to your lordship’s
 “ honourable consideration, whether this oath be
 “ likely to be true or no.”

The solicitor-general, seeing himself so roughly
 handled in this defence, and the credit of his
 testimony so much shaken, desired, as sir R. South-
 well and Mr. Palmer were in the chamber with
 them when this conversation passed between him
 and the prisoner, that they might be called to
 give evidence of what they heard. Mr. Palmer
 appeared, and being sworn, deposed, “ That he
 “ was so busy in trussing up the books into a sack,
 “ that he took no notice of their discourse.” Sir
 R. Southwell being likewise called, declared upon
 his oath, “ That as he had no other commission
 “ than what related to the books and writings,
 “ he gave no attention to what passed in conver-
 “ sation between the prisoner and Mr. Rich.”
 Thus the evidence not being confirmed by any
 other witness, and resting entirely upon the credit

to be given to the solicitor-general, sir Thomas alledged many other proofs in his own defence; which, by shewing his innocence, confuted the testimony of the solicitor.

The reader, who has attended to this impartial abstract of the trial, and who considers the characters of the prisoner and the witness, will, it is apprehended, acquit sir Thomas More of the indictment, without any hesitation. But, unhappily for him, he lived in the days of Henry VIII. whose will was a law to judges as well as juries: and, notwithstanding his innocence was so clearly pointed out, and the evidence against him so ill supported, or rather proved so evidently to be false, yet the jury, to their eternal reproach, found him guilty. They had no sooner brought in their verdict, than the lord-chancellor Audley, as the mouth of the court, began immediately to pronounce the sentence.

This man, who had succeeded sir Thomas More in the great-seal, and had neither his parts, his learning, nor his virtues, was in such haste to shew his fervility and blind obedience to the king, that he did not attend to the dictates of compassion or humanity; nay, he did not attend to the common duties of his office, and seemed to be much fitter for an executioner than a judge. The prisoner, however, stopped him short with this modest rebuke: " My lord, when I was towards the law, the manner in such cases was, to ask the prisoner, before sentence, whether he could give any reason why judgment should not proceed against him." The chancellor had the grace to stay his sentence upon this, and asked sir Thomas, what he was able to say, that it should not pass.

If a jury could not be moved by what he had said in defending himself against the charge in this indictment, there could be little hope that his judges would be influenced to wave their sentence on this verdict, by what he should say against the matter of the indictment itself. However, to give his cause all the strength it had (and in proportion as it cleared himself, throw a load of infamy upon those who were concerned in his prosecution) the prisoner had this to say in arrest of judgment. “Forasmuch, my lords, as this indictment is grounded upon an act of parliament directly repugnant to the laws of God and his holy church, (the supreme government of which, or of any part thereof, no temporal person may by any law presume to take upon him, as rightfully belonging to the see of Rome) it is therefore, in law, among catholic Christians, insufficient to charge any Christian man to obey. For this realm alone, being but one member, and a small part of the church, might not make a particular law disagreeing with the general law of the universal catholic church; no more than the city of London, being but one poor member in respect of the whole realm, might make a law against an act of parliament to bind the kingdom. Besides, this law was contrary to the laws and statutes of the land yet unrepealed, as you may evidently perceive in Magna Charta, and also contrary to that sacred oath, which the king’s highness himself, and every other Christian prince, with great solemnity, receive always at their coronation.” In conclusion he said, “That no more might this kingdom refuse obedience to the see of Rome, than might the child to his natural father.”

The lord-chancellor, taking this to be a severe reflection upon all the proceedings of the parliament, observed, "That as all the bishops, universities, and best learned men of this realm, had agreed to the king's supremacy, it was much wondered at that he alone should stick at it so stiffly, and argue there against it with so much vehemence." The prisoner's answer was this: "If the number of bishops and universities are so material, as your lordship seemeth to make it, then do I, my lord, see little cause why that should make any change in my conscience: for I do not doubt, but of the learned and virtuous men that are yet alive, (I speak not only of this realm, but of all Christendom) there are ten to one that are of my mind in this matter. But if I should speak of those learned doctors and virtuous fathers who are already dead, of whom many now are saints in heaven, I am sure that there are far more, who, all the time they lived, thought in this case as I think now: and therefore, my lord, I esteem myself not bound to conform my conscience to the council of one realm, against the general consent of all Christendom."

After this, he proceeded to take more exceptions in law in order to avoid the indictment: and whether these were too strong to be answered; or whether the chancellor began at this time to feel some little compunction; or, whether he had reason to be afraid of the popular clamour, if he took the condemnation of the prisoner entirely upon himself; he turned to the lord-chief-justice, and asked him his opinion openly before the court, as to the validity of the indictment, notwithstanding the exceptions of the prisoner. The answer of the
the

the chief-justice, whose name was Fitz-James, is somewhat remarkable: “ My lords all, by St. Gilian, I must needs confess, that if the act of parliament be not unlawful, then in my conscience the indictment is not insufficient.” Upon this equivocal expression, the lord-chancellor said to the rest, “ Lo, my lords; lo, you hear what my lord-chief-justice saith;” and, without waiting for any reply, proceeded to pass sentence on sir Thomas More in the following words:

“ That he should be carried back to the Tower of London by the help of the sheriff, and from thence drawn on a hurdle through the city to Tyburn, there to be hanged till he be half dead; after that cut down yet alive, his privy parts cut off, his belly ripped, his bowels burnt, his four quarters set up over four gates of the city, and his head upon London-bridge.”

This shocking sentence being pronounced, and the court having told him, that if he had any thing further to alledge in his justification, they were very willing to hear it, this affecting scene of cruelty, which had filled the eyes of many with tears, and their hearts with horror, was closed with an answer from the prisoner, which reflects an honour upon his memory, that the most celebrated names of antiquity can hardly claim.

“ I have nothing to say, my lords, but that like as the blessed apostle St. Paul was present, and consented to the death of Stephen, and kept their clothes who stoned him to death, and yet be they now both twain holy saints in heaven, and shall continue there friends for ever; so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your lordships have now been judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter all meet together in heaven to our everlasting
 G 3 “ salvation:

“salvation: and so I pray God preserve you all,
“and especially my sovereign lord the king, and
“send him faithful counsellors.”

Having taken his leave of the court in this solemn manner, he was conducted from the bar to the Tower, with the axe carried before him in the usual manner after condemnation: and when he came to the Tower-wharf, his favourite daughter, Mrs. Roper, thinking this would be the last opportunity she should ever have, was waiting there to see him. As soon as he appeared, she burst through the throng and guard which surrounded him; and having received his blessing upon her knees, she embraced him eagerly before them all, and, amidst a flood of tears, and a thousand kisses of tenderness and affection, her heart being ready to break with grief, the only words that she could utter were, “My father, oh my father!” If any thing could have shaken his fortitude, it must be this. But he only took her up in his arms, and told her, “that whatsoever he should suffer, though
“he was innocent, yet it was not without the will
“of God, to whose blessed pleasure she should conform her own will; that she knew well enough
“all the secrets of his heart, and that she must be
“patient for her loss.” Upon this she parted from him; but scarce was she turned aside, before her passion of grief and love became irresistible; and she again suddenly burst through the croud, ran eagerly upon him a second time, took him round the neck, and hung upon him with her embraces, ready to die with sorrow. This was rather too much for man to bear; and, though he did not speak a word, yet the tears flowed down his cheeks in great abundance; till she took her last kiss, and left him. In this tender moment his heart may be said to fail him; and it was a scene
which

which did him honour. Here was a favourite daughter of very extraordinary accomplishments, and modest by nature and education; who, without care of her person, or any consideration of her sex, moved by the deepest sorrow, and most tender affection for him, surmounted every obstacle of fear, of danger, and of difficulty, to see him; who, when she had seen him, and taken her leave of him in the most passionate and distracting situation, shook off all the regards of modesty and peril a second time, and pouring out her soul into his bosom, could not be separated from him without force. It was impossible for humanity to be more unmoved at such a scene than only to shed silent tears: the sensations of his heart must have been exquisite, how much soever his fortitude enabled him to suppress them, when he heard himself addressed with that pathetic eloquence which described all her agony at once, "My father, oh my father!" If a few silent tears in this scene of distress, owing to the tenderness of nature in a parent's breast, were all the signs of dejection or dispiritedness which Sir Thomas More shewed at a fate which was so deplorable, and yet so unmerited (and it is certain that these were all, from the time of his commitment to the last minute of his life) then he instructed the world, as well by this circumstance of his leaving it, as by the whole course of his life in it.

After he had lain a few days under the sentence of death, preparing his mind by prayer and meditation for the stroke which was to follow, one of the creatures of the king made him a visit; and we may suppose, I think, with the king's consent, if not by his special order. Be this, however, as it will, the whole intent of the visit being to persuade him, if possible, to comply with his ma-

jefty's will, and to change his mind, sir Thomas, wearied at last with his nonsense and importunity, in order to get rid of him, told him, "That he had changed it." No sooner had he said this, than the courtier left him; and, pluming himself upon the merit, he should have with the king, in bringing sir Thomas More to the point which his majesty wished, and which so many others had tried in vain, he went in great haste and joy to inform the king.

The king, however, was not without apprehensions, that he had made a mistake in the meaning of sir Thomas; and therefore ordered him to return immediately to the Tower, to know in what particulars the prisoner had changed his mind. When he came there, he had the mortification not only to be rebuked for his impertinent officiousness in telling his majesty every word that sir Thomas had said even in jest, but also to learn that he had changed his mind no otherwise than this; "That whereas he had intended to be shaved, that he might appear to the people as he was wont to do before his imprisonment, he was now fully resolved that his beard should share the same fate with his head." If this was a matter of confusion to the officious courtier, who had been weak enough to imagine that he could shake the resolution of sir Thomas More, it was not less a matter of disappointment and vexation to the tyrant, that his cruelty should be baffled by the contempt with which the prisoner treated it. In consideration, however, that he had borne the highest office in the kingdom, his sentence of being drawn, hanged, and quartered, was by the king's pardon changed into beheading: and when he was informed of it, he said, with his usual mirth, "God forbid the king should use any more such

“ such mercy to any of my friends ; and God
 “ bless my posterity from such pardons.”

The day before his execution, he wrote a letter to his daughter Roper with a coal, (the use of pen and ink being still denied him) in which he expressed a great affection for all his children, and a grateful sense of her filial piety and tenderness when she took her leave of him in the street. But, he was so far from shewing any reluctance at leaving the world, that he expressed a great desire he might suffer the next day ; and, not caring that the severity which he exercised towards himself should be publicly known, he sent his whip and his shirt of hair with a letter to his daughter, who was the only one of his family who was privy to this circumstance of his superstition.

If the reader thinks that such austerity, under the notion of religion, derogates much from the good sense which has always been attributed to sir Thomas More, let him recollect the times in which he lived, immediately after the revival of letters, when ignorance of scripture, and bigotry to the catholic church, had overspread the world. As a further argument in his favour, it should be considered, that he did not inflict this penance upon himself, with the absurd view of compensating by it for wilful vices. His whole life was uniform ; and, as his intentions in it were justifiable, we must excuse the simplicity of the means which he complied with in conformity to his religion. He had other sentiments himself upon this head in his younger days, when he wrote his History of Utopia : and upon what considerations he thought thus superstitiously afterwards, we are no where told.

On the day after he wrote this letter, the 5th of July, 1535, sir Thomas Pope, his intimate friend, came to him from the king very early in the morning, to acquaint him that he should be executed that

that day at nine o'clock; and therefore, that he must immediately prepare himself for death. If his majesty intended to shock or affright him by this short warning, he lost his aim so entirely, that the prisoner said to sir Thomas Pope, "I most heartily thank you for your good tidings: I have been much bound to the king's highness, for the benefit of his honours that he hath most bountifully bestowed upon me; yet am I more bound to his grace, I do assure you, for putting me here, where I have had convenient time and space to have remembrance of my end: and so help me God, most of all I am bound unto him, that it hath pleased his majesty so shortly to rid me out of the miseries of this wretched world." His friend then told him, that his majesty's pleasure further was, That he should not use many words at his execution; and, it was not without reason, that this command accompanied the message of death. The king was not ignorant of sir Thomas More's abilities as an orator, and how great his authority was among the people: he was but too sensible of the provocation he had given the prisoner by putting him thus to death, so undeservedly; and his majesty was therefore afraid, by judging of sir Thomas's temper from his own, that he should be treated with the most vindictive and offensive freedom. But, he had now to do with a subject, who had always been too good for such a prince.

His reply to this order was, "You do well, Mr. Pope, to give me warning of the king's pleasure herein; for otherwise, I had purposed, at that time, to have spoken somewhat, but no matter wherewith his grace, or any other, should have cause to be offended; howbeit, whatsoever I intended, I am ready to conform myself obediently

“ ently to his highness’s command; and, I be-
 “ seech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a means to
 “ his majesty, that my daughter Margaret may be
 “ at my burial.”

Being told, that the king had already consented, that his wife, and children, and any of his friends, might have the liberty to be present at it, he added,
 “ O how much beholden then am I to his grace,
 “ that unto my poor burial vouchsafeth to have
 “ such gracious consideration!” Sir Thomas Pope having thus discharged his commission, bid his friend adieu, with many tears, and with much commiseration. The prisoner desired him to be comforted with the prospect of eternal bliss, in which they should live and love together: and, to give him an impression of the ease and quiet of his own mind, he took his urinal in his hand, and casting his water, said with his usual mirth, “ I see
 “ no danger but that this man might live longer,
 “ if it had pleased the king.”

As soon as sir Thomas Pope had left him, he dressed himself in the best cloaths he had, that his appearance might express the ease and complacency which he felt within. The lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generosity to his executioner, who was to have his cloaths, sir Thomas assured him, “ If it was cloth of gold, he should
 “ think it well bestowed on him who was to do
 “ him so singular a benefit.” But the lieutenant, who was his friend, pressing him very much to change his dress, and sir Thomas, being very unwilling to deny him so small a gratification, put on a gown of frize; and, of the little money that he had left, sent an angel of gold to the executioner, as a token of his good will.

About nine o’clock he was brought out of the Tower, and led to the place of execution: but
 observing,

observing, when he came to the scaffold, that it was so weakly built, it was ready to fall down, he turned about, and said, with his usual gaiety, "I pray your, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down, let me shift for myself." As soon as he had ascended it, he desired all the people to pray for him, and to bear witness with him, "That he should then suffer death, in and for the faith of the holy catholic church, a faithful servant both of God and the king." Having said this, he kneeled down to his prayers; and, when he had made an end, he addressed himself to the executioner, with as much vivacity and cheerfulness in his countenance, as he had ever shewn in his happiest hours; saying, "Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office: my neck is very short; take heed therefore thou strike not awry, for saving thine honesty." When the executioner would have covered his eyes, he told him he would do that himself; which he did immediately, with a cloth he had brought with him for that purpose. Then kneeling down, and laying his head upon the block to receive the stroke, he bid the executioner stay till he had removed his beard; for that, he said, had never committed any treason; and, at one blow of the axe, his head was severed from his body.

In this manner ended the life of the great sir Thomas More; who, for his justice, humility, devotion, sweetness of temper, contempt of the world, and true greatness of mind, was the ornament of his own, and may be an example to every age. Many people have censured his behaviour on the scaffold, as too light and ludicrous for the occasion: but, it was so natural to him, and the consciousness of his own integrity, gave him such an inward pleasure, that what was a mournful solemnity



SIR THOMAS MORE. 99

lemnity to the spectators, was to him a matter of joy.

When the news of his death was brought to Henry, who was at that time playing at tables in company with the queen, his majesty cast his eyes upon her, and said, "Thou art the cause of this man's death;" and rising up immediately from his play, went and shut himself up in his chamber in great perturbation of mind. One may conclude from this circumstance, that, if the ferocity of the king's temper, upon any opposition from a subject, wanted a spur upon this occasion, the queen had importuned him to put sir Thomas More to death, as the historians of his life affirm she did. It is apprehended, however, that they affirm it only from this circumstance; and, tho' it cannot be affirmed, that the queen was entirely innocent of the charge, yet it is probable, that her guilt consisted rather in approving his execution, than importuning the king to it. Sir Thomas had not only opposed the divorce from Catharine, and the marriage with Anne Bullen, but he had promoted the persecution of heresy, of which queen Anne was become the patroness: and, when the question was under debate, whether or no they should remove him for opposing the king's will, there is no reason to doubt but she gave her voice for it, as for removing an enemy to her, and her cause; and, having given her opinion for it, if she found the king wavering, or shook in his resolution, that she tried to confirm him in it. This was a sufficient ground for Henry, in the first moment of his uneasiness, to charge her with being the cause of the death of this great man, without supposing her to have procured it by her importunity: and, tho' there is no other proof of her procuring it than this accusation, which should certainly be interpreted with

with great latitude, yet, on the other hand, there are no appearances of any endeavours in her to save him; which is no inconsiderable evidence of her being consenting and instrumental to his execution.

To say the truth, it is extremely difficult to clear not only the queen, but even archbishop Cranmer also, from promoting the death of sir Thomas More. It is notorious, that they were at this time the favourites of his majesty, that they had the chief direction of his councils, and could lead him sometimes from his purposes of highest moment. Had they interfered therefore upon this occasion, as I think they were bound to do, and made use of all the influence which they had over the king, they would, in all probability, have saved the life of this great and pious man; which, if it had done no good to their cause, would have done themselves no harm. But, if they had made any such attempt, at least, if the queen had, it would have been impossible for the king to have told her publicly, that she had been the cause of his death: and, to this conclusion, at least, is to be gathered from it, that she did not do her utmost to prevent an execution, which was an indelible blemish upon all the reformers who consented to it.

As the reader may have a curiosity to know something of the person and family of sir Thomas More, it may be proper to gratify it at the conclusion of his life. He was of a middle stature, and well-proportioned; of a pale and phlegmatic complexion; his hair of a chestnut colour; his eyes grey; his countenance amiable and chearful; his voice neither strong nor shrill, and, though clear and distinct, was not very musical; his constitution, which was good in itself, was never impaired by his way of living, any otherwise than by writing too much in the latter
part

part of his life, which gave him a pain in his breast that was often very troublesome. His diet was simple and abstemious, never drinking any wine but when he pledged those who drank to him, and rather mortifying than indulging his appetite in what he eat. By his first wife he had a son and three daughters; but the girls being born first, and his wife expressing a great desire for a son, who proved little better than a fool, he told her, "That she had prayed so long for a boy, that she had one now who would be a boy as long as he lived." This, however, did not hinder him from giving his son all the advantages of a good education; which undoubtedly did something towards improving his natural parts, though not so as to make any figure worthy of such a father, or as could give his father any delight in him.

Of his two youngest daughters, nothing is known, but that they were married to gentlemen; but his eldest daughter Margaret, the wife of Mr. Roper, and the favourite child of sir Thomas, who has been often mentioned in this history, was a woman of extraordinary parts and learning. She wrote two declamations in English, which her father and she turned so elegantly into Latin, that it was very difficult to determine which was best. She wrote also a treatise of the Four last Things, with so much piety, judgment, and strength of reasoning, that her father declared it was a better performance, than a discourse which he had written himself on the same subject. Erasmus wrote an epistle to her, as to a woman famous, not only for manners and virtue, but for true and solid learning. And cardinal Pole was so charmed with the elegance of her Latin style, that it was long before he could be brought to believe, that what he read was penned by a woman. In short, she was
a perfect



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a perfect mistress of the Greek and Latin tongues; and of all sorts of music, with a great skill in arithmetic, and many sciences; and was complimented by the greatest men of the age on that account.

The second wife of sir Thomas was a widow when he married her, and brought him no children; and, by what we have seen of her, was a weak and worldly-minded woman, who did no great honour to his choice; and whom it was not his greatest misfortune to leave behind him. His Latin works, which make a volume in octavo, were collected and published at Basil and Louvain in 1563-4; and his English works, which were collected in one volume in folio, were published by serjeant Rastall his sister's son, two years after the author was executed on the scaffold.

To give a character of this great man is unnecessary, as the reader may with ease collect it from the circumstances of his life: his example may justly be recommended, as it can now produce no ill effects; since all his errors proceeded from an attachment to a religion which has long since given place to true Christianity, by that happy event, the Reformation.





Gould Sculp

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
A N N E B U L L E N.

ANNE BULLEN, so celebrated for her beauty and extraordinary accomplishments, is one of the most remarkable of the illustrious persons who fell a victim to the jealous rigor of Henry VIII. Her family, though not noble, was respectable for its alliances with the nobility. Sir Thomas Bullen, her father, married a sister of the duke of Norfolk; and Anne, whose prosperous and adverse fortune makes the subject of this narrative, was the fruit of that marriage. Camden refers her birth to the year 1507, about two years before the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England.

Sir Thomas, her father, went upon two embassies to France: the first was in 1515; the second, in 1527. He was nobly descended by the mother's side, who was one of the daughters and heirs of the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. But he afterwards obtained a place among the nobility himself, being first created viscount Rochford, in 1525, and afterwards earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

When Mary, sister to king Henry, went over to France, in order to consummate her marriage with Lewis XII. she carried Anne, who was then but seven years of age, with her; and returning shortly after to England, where she was to be married to the duke of Suffolk, left Anne behind her in France. It is generally thought that she was,

upon that occasion, taken into protection by the queen of Francis I. who, in all probability, conceived an affection for her on account of her beauty and sprightly wit.

It seems somewhat extraordinary that so accurate an historian as Cambden should have asserted that Anne continued in this queen's service till the day of her death, and never once went to England during that period. In this, however, he is contradicted by the French authors, who had better opportunities than he of being fully informed upon this article. Du Tillet and Du Ploix affirm that she went over to England in 1522. This is confirmed by lord Herbert, who says the same thing without citing any authority. If we may believe Cambden, Anne resided in France not only till queen Claude's death, but was afterwards taken into service by the dutchess of Alençon, sister to Francis I. but he is silent with regard to the time of her quitting it. It is asserted by others that sir Thomas Bullen, when he returned from his embassy to France, brought his daughter over with him to England. It is impossible they should mean his embassy of 1515, since it is allowed, on all hands, that Anne was in queen Claude's service when queen Mary left France; and, that she continued at the French court several years after. We must then understand this of his embassy of 1527. It seems, notwithstanding, highly probable, that Anne was not sent to France till September 1527, since sir Thomas's only business was to see the treaty of the thirtieth of April of the same year sworn to. Now it is evident, from the collection of public acts, that this treaty was not ratified by Francis I. till the eighteenth of August.


As the affair of the king's divorce was in agitation before sir Thomas went upon his embassy, it may be affirmed that the king had formed a re-

solution

resolution to repudiate queen Catharine before he conceived a passion for Anne, and that that resolution was not an effect of his new inclination. It has been asserted by two French authors, that Anne went over to England in 1525, and that she then captivated the heart of the monarch. But it seems somewhat extraordinary that two historians, who wrote long after the fact, should procure memoirs of the journey of a maid of honor; and, as they cite nothing in support of their testimony, it is very reasonable we should call it in question. But supposing it fact, that Anne came over to England in 1522, and that the king's passion for her began at that time, it is absurd to imagine, that she afterwards returned to France; because, as a war broke out the same year between the two crowns, it is not at all probable that an Englishwoman should go and serve a queen of France at such a juncture. Add to this, that if the king had then been in love with Anne, he would by no means have consented to her leaving the kingdom. Hence it follows, of course, that either Cambden, or the two French historians, must have been mistaken.

However, it can admit of no dispute that she was taken into queen Catharine's service, as maid of honor, when at twenty years of age. It is evident that this must have happened in 1527, since she was born in 1507. It seems highly probable, that the king's passion took birth on this occasion; but this is uncertain; were it not so, it would be a sufficient proof that the king's divorce was not an effect of it, since it was resolved upon during the year 1526.

Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that historians have not been able to ascertain, with any precision, either the time of Anne Bullen's return



to England, or the time when the king's affection for her began. It therefore seems somewhat extraordinary that so many should have with confidence asserted, that the king's love for Anne gave rise to the resolution of annulling his marriage with Catharine of Arragon. But certain it is, that it contributed greatly to make him exert himself to the utmost to bring it about.

Henry, notwithstanding the ardor of his passion, caused Anne to retire from court while the pope's legates were taken up with the business of the divorce. But she was soon after brought thither again, and appeared with new splendor in all those gay and voluptuous scenes of pleasure which seemed to suffer an eclipse by her absence.

Cardinal Wolsey, by taking part with the pope's legate, incurred the displeasure of his master; and all the courtiers industriously propagated a report, that the proceedings of the court of Rome were countenanced by him. The pope had avocated the cause, and the king himself was cited to Rome; but his resolution was, that the cause should be determined in his kingdom. Censures had likewise been denounced against him; but the pope soon after revoked them by a brief; by which he declared that they were inserted contrary to his intention.

Anne Bullen, who had always looked upon the cardinal as her friend, was greatly surpris'd to see things take such a turn; and, as she was dissatisfied with the behaviour of cardinal Wolsey, she did all that lay in her power to confirm the king's suspicions of him. She was convinced that Wolsey might have prevented all these delays if he had not been her enemy; and, being provok'd at seeing herself still so far from the hopes of gratifying her ambition, she looked upon him as an object worthy

thy of her utmost resentment, and neglected nothing that could contribute to his ruin, being sensible of her influence over the king, and finding that he was ready to give ear to whatever could be said against his minister. Many persons of the first rank conspired with her intentions, as the cardinal, who was one of the proudest and most haughty men in the world, had made many enemies; and had no friends, but such as were so through fear.

Anne Bullen acquitted herself so well in her endeavours to alienate the king's affections from Wolsey, that he was soon after disgraced and sent to York, where, being arrested for high-treason by the earl of Northumberland, as they were conducting him to London, he died at Leicester-abbey.

King Henry, soon after his interview with Francis I. at Boulogne and Calais, is said to have married Anne Bullen privately at the last of those towns; but it seems more probable from history, that the wedding was not celebrated till the January following. In 1533, Henry imparted his marriage to William de Bellay, lord of Langeais, the French ambassador, alledging that, as pope Clement VII. had obstinately refused to appoint him judges in England, he had determined to proceed, and in pursuance of his resolution, had already espoused Anne Bullen, with an intention to have his marriage with Catherine of Arragon annulled by the archbishop of Canterbury. That, however, his second marriage should not be made public till May, in order to see whether the French monarch could bring the bishop of Rome (for so he then called the pope) to reason: adding that, if he could obtain no concessions, he was determined to shake off the papal authority entirely.

Shortly after, the king caused his marriage with Anne Bullen to be made public, without waiting

till the sentence of divorce was pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury. His reason for this procedure was, that the new queen was four months gone with child, and it was scarce possible to conceal her breeding any longer.

Henry, being determined to bring the affair of his divorce to a speedy conclusion, ordered it so that the archbishop of Canterbury asked leave of him to summon queen Catharine: however, he exerted himself to the utmost to prevail on her to consent to the divorce, before he brought things to this extremity: but all proving to no purpose, he granted the archbishop the leave he desired.

In pursuance thereof, the queen was cited to appear at Dunstable, in the neighbourhood of the place where she resided, on the twentieth of May; but she refusing to appear, the archbishop pronounced sentence on the twenty-third of the same month, declaring the king's marriage with Catharine null, as being contrary to the law of God. On the twenty-eighth, he confirmed the king's marriage with Anne Bullen by another sentence pronounced at Lambeth; and on the first of June she was crowned queen of England.

The conduct of Anne will doubtless appear so exceptionable to our readers, that they will be the less disposed to compassionate her fatal catastrophe, which would otherwise be one of the most affecting in history. Nothing could be more criminal than her encouraging the king's addresses before his marriage was declared null, and contributing to make him repudiate a queen who had many shining virtues. It must be owned, however, that it was not easy for a young lady of her rank to resist the temptation of being raised to the throne, if she could be so lawfully; and in all probability the king gave her to understand she might. However,

Ever, her most virulent enemies could never say, with any shadow of reason, that she ever yielded to the king's desires before her marriage. He espoused her in January at farthest, and she was not brought to bed till September. Some historians, however, have endeavoured to blacken her by the most atrocious calumnies. Sanders, in particular, has asserted, that the king, having taken a liking to her mother, sent her husband, sir Thomas Bullen, ambassador to France, and had a commerce with his wife during his absence; that Anne was the fruit of this intrigue, and that sir Thomas, upon his return, sued a divorce against her in the archbishop's court; but the king giving him to understand that he was the father of the child, he was, at his request, reconciled to his wife. Thus, if we may believe this historian, Anne was the king's daughter, though she passed for sir Thomas's.

Nothing can be more extravagant than the misrepresentations of this historian. According to his account of Anne Bullen, she was ugly and deformed, had six fingers, a gag-tooth, and a swelling under her chin. He tells us, that both her father's butler and chaplain lay with her when she was but fifteen years of age; and, that in France she went by the name of the English Hackney, on account of her lewdness: that she was for some time kept by the French king; and, upon that occasion, received the appellation of the French king's mule. "On her return to England," continues he, "she insinuated herself into the affection of the king by counterfeiting an austere virtue."

But this writer of scandalous anecdotes goes still farther: he affirms, that the king had enjoyed her sister; and adds many more incredible stories, calculated

culated to vilify this lady and her family.-----To such lengths do bigotry and blind zeal in religious matters carry those who profess impartiality, and whose chief duty is strictly to adhere to truth !

Temporal authority conspired with spiritual to give sanction to king Henry's new marriage. In a parliament held in the year 1534, an act was passed declaring, that the king's marriage with Catharine, widow of his brother prince Arthur, should be held null and void ; and, that she should be reputed only princess dowager of Wales : and, at the same time, the king's marriage with Anne Bullen was declared valid, and the succession to the crown settled upon their issue. It was farther enacted, that any person, of what quality soever, who should speak or write against the king's marriage, should be adjudged a traitor to the king and state ; and that all the king's subjects, (without distinction, should be obliged to make oath, that they would observe and maintain the contents of the said act.

Thus was Anne Bullen seated on the throne of England, and an abolition of the papal authority at the same time brought about, by a cause which has produced revolutions in all ages and nations : that is to say, upon the account of a woman.

Whatever failings the new queen might have had, she possessed the virtues of humanity, and gave an eminent proof of it by mitigating the rage of persecution, and prevailing upon the king to abate his severity to the reformers, when More, who was lord-chancellor, spared no pains to extirpate them utterly. She was seconded herein by Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Cromwell, who was afterwards made earl of Essex. She indeed espoused the cause of the protestants

restants with so much zeal that her death was highly detrimental to them, as it prevented the king from making an accommodation with their party.

Their hopes were frustrated; the queen's fall was drawing near; and it seems remarkable that fate brought about her ruin by the same means with that of Catherine: as she, when maid of honor to that queen had helped to supplant her, in like manner, one of her own maids of honor, Jane Seymour by name, was afterwards instrumental in alienating from her the affections of the king, who was grown jealous of his wife, or perhaps mistook that dislike for her, which his new passion could not fail to produce, for jealousy. It is possible, however, that the king might have been jealous of Anne, though his love for her was entirely extinct; since, as the duke of Rochfaucault justly observes, jealousy is always born with love, but does not always die with it.

When Anne Bullen's enemies saw that the king's love for her was abated, they neglected nothing that might help to confirm his suspicions, thinking that they could not gratify him more than by furnishing him with a pretext to justify his inconstancy.

It is not easy to determine whether the queen, by any indiscretions, had given grounds for suspicion; but certain it is, that the king's jealousy at last grew to such a height, that it was not in his power to master it; and it is highly probable, that he would have been disappointed, had it appeared to be without foundation.

The cause from which it took its rise was this: the queen had a great friendship for her brother the lord Rochford; and an equal hatred to his wife, who behaved very ill to her husband, and

was

was in every respect a very bad woman, as will fully appear hereafter.

This lady was the first that insinuated to the king, that the queen dishonored his bed, and that she had a criminal correspondence with her brother the lord Rochford. The king was but too well disposed to receive disadvantageous impressions of the queen. So strong was his passion for Jane Seymour, that nothing could be more agreeable to his wishes, than the charge brought against Anne Bullen; of which, whether true or false, he resolved to avail himself, in order to come at the possession of the woman he loved.

The queen's enemies being fully sensible of this, had recourse to the blackest artifices to compleat her ruin. They went so far as to accuse her of several intrigues with her own domesticks. The zealous catholics were the most inveterate against her, imagining that she had excited the king to shake off the pope's authority on purpose to favour the new religion. But, even if she had had no hand in this, they would still have hated her for having given occasion to Catharine's divorce, since that had produced all the innovations in religion. Add to this, that they despaired of a reconciliation with Rome during the life of Anne; but thought it would not be difficult to effect it, if she was once out of the way.

The duke of Norfolk desired nothing more ardently than to see religion again in its former state, but he was too good a courtier to let his master know how he stood affected. He was at the head of the party for the old religion, being the most eminent person amongst them on account of his quality, his zeal, and his credit with the king; so that it was in his power to do ill offices to those
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of the contrary party. As his master's jealousy furnished him with an opportunity of paying his court, and serving his party at the same time, he was resolved to make the best of it. It is therefore highly probable that this lord was the chief instrument of the queen's downfall, as he had more access to the king than the rest of her enemies.

Be that as it will, those who undertook to ruin the queen, acquitted themselves so well, that they fomented his jealousy till it rose to a degree of phrenzy. His temper, indeed, was naturally vehement and impetuous. The queen was accused of a criminal correspondence, not only with lord Rochford, her brother, but also with Henry Norris, groom of the stool, Francis Weston, and William Brereton, of the king's privy chamber, and one Mark Smeton, a musician.

The queen, it must be acknowledged, was of a very chearful disposition, which sometimes exceeded the bounds of decency. It was customary with her to rally the king's servants more than became her; and it is not to be doubted, but that her enemies, finding the king listen to their suggestions, were very assiduous in giving an ill turn to her words and actions. It must be confessed, that nothing can be easier than to work upon a jealous man, since, as Shakespear observes,

“ Trifles, light as air,
 “ Are, to the jealous, confirmations strong,
 “ As proofs of holy writ.”

It seems highly probable, that Henry suppressed his jealousy for a time; but at last it broke out at a solemn just held at Greenwich; from whence he departed abruptly with signs of great indignation, the cause whereof nobody could guess. Possibly he

he might have observed something that confirmed him in his suspicions, though it escaped the notice of ever body but himself.

We meet with a circumstance in Sanders which would make greatly against the queen, were not that historian's authority doubtful. According to him, this queen dropped her handkerchief, and one of her gallants took it up and wiped his face with it.

No sooner had the king quitted the justs, but he ordered the lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brereton and Smeton, to be arrested. At the same time the queen was confined to her chamber, from whence she was next day removed to the Tower. But what plainly demonstrated the inveteracy of her enemies, was, their procuring an order for the archbishop of Canterbury to retire to Lambeth, lest, as they apprehended, he might find means to vindicate the queen, if he had an opportunity of speaking with the king.

In such a perplexing condition as the queen's, it is no wonder she should be distracted in her mind; and that having no friend to advise with, she should be caught in the snares laid for her by her enemies. Lady Bullen, her uncle's lady, with whom she had had a difference of a long standing, was appointed to lie in the same chamber with her; and being employed to watch her, it appeared, that during her confinement, she said some things that confirmed the king's suspicions: however, upon trial, she positively denied that she had ever failed in her duty to the king; but being told that Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton had accused her, though she could not but see that this was an artifice to bring her to a confession, she notwithstanding thought it incumbent upon her to reveal what had passed between her and them.

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With regard to Norris, she said, That having one day asked him, why he deferred his marriage so long, he made answer, that he was in no haste. To which she replied, that she saw he was in hopes of having her in case the king should die. It is natural to infer from hence, that there was some familiarity between her and Norris: for, it is somewhat extraordinary, that a queen should talk in such a manner to one of her domestics.

As for Smeton the musician, she said that he never was in her chamber but when the king was last at Winchester, and that he then came in to play on the virginals. She said, that she never spoke to him after that, but on Saturday before May-Day, when seeing him standing in the window, she asked him why he was so sad? to which he answered, It is no matter: she answered, You cannot expect that I should converse with you as if you were a nobleman, since you are an inferior person. No, no, madam, said he, a look suffices me.

She seemed more apprehensive of Weston than any body else: for, on the Whitfun Monday last, he said to her, that Norris came more to her chamber upon her account, than for any body else that was there. She had observed, that he loved a kinswoman of hers, and reproached him with it, and with not loving his wife. But he answered her, that there were women in the house whom he loved better than them both. She asked him who she was? Yourself, answered he: upon which she said, she desired him.

The queen's misfortune was attended with the usual effects which persons in disgrace labour under; the whole court declared against her, and espoused the cause of the rising queen. But these arts were unknown to the archbishop of Canterbury;

bury; his generous soul was incapable of such baseness and ingratitude. He had received many obligations from her, and had conceived a high esteem for her, and therefore resolved not to forsake her in distress; he was, however, too well acquainted with the king's temper to offer a formal justification; he therefore wrote to him with all the caution that so tender a point required, and endeavoured to justify her, as far as was consistent with prudence and charity. But this effort of the pious prelate was fruitless, the king's new passion had utterly effaced all the remainders of tenderness for his late beloved queen.

The ministers continued to use all their art, in order to get farther evidence for the trial, which was not brought on till the 12th of May, when Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton were tried by a commission of oyer and terminer in Westminster-hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were found by two grand juries in the counties of Kent and Middlesex. The crimes which they were charged being said to be committed in both these counties. Smeton confessed, he had known the queen carnally three times: but the other three pleaded not guilty; however, they were all found guilty by the jury, and soon after executed. They were all beheaded but Smeton, who was hanged; it was generally said, that he was bribed into a confession by a promise of his life; but it was not thought advisable to let him live.

Norris had likewise a promise of life upon condition of confessing his guilt; but he generously rejected the offer, declaring, that, in his conscience, he believed the queen to be innocent; and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than ruin an innocent person.

On the 15th of May, 1536, the queen and her brother the lord Rochford, were brought to be tried by their peers: the duke of Norfolk being lord high steward on that occasion. With him sat the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-five more peers; of whom, the earl of Wiltshire, father to the accused, was one. It is not easy to determine, whether this unnatural compliance was imposed on him by the imperious king, or submitted to by himself, that he might thereby avoid being involved in the ruin which fell upon his family.

This is the first example which our history affords of a queen of England being called to the bar, and indicted of high-treason. The crimes she was charged with were, That she had procured her brother, and the other four to lie with her, which they had done often: That she had said to them, that the king never had her heart; and had said to each of them separately, that she loved them better than any person whatever; which was to the slander of the issue that was then begotten between the king and her: and this was treason, according to the statute made in the 26th year of this reign, so that, by an unaccountable fatality, the law that was made in favour of her and her issue, was made use of to destroy her. It was also added in the indictment, that she and her accomplices had conspired the king's death, but this was evidently put in to swell the charge; for, if there had been any evidence for it, there was no occasion for straining the other statute; or, if they could have proved the violating of the queen, the known statute of the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Edward III, would have been sufficient.

The queen and lord Rochford pleaded not guilty, and yet they were both condemned, without its being ever known upon what evidence the sentence

sentence was grounded. Judgment was given, that the lord Rochford should be beheaded and quartered. With regard to the queen, it was left to the king's discretion, whether she should be burnt or beheaded. Notwithstanding the severity of this sentence, the only surmise against lord Rochford was, that he had been once seen leaning upon the queen's bed; and it is notorious, that Smeton, whose confession bore so hard upon her, had been confronted with her.

The king, not satisfied with the sentence pronounced against Anne, carried his resentment against her so far, as to insist upon having his marriage with her annulled, and the issue declared illegitimate. He recollected, that the earl of Northumberland had formerly paid his addresses to her; and that he, when lord Piercy, had said to the cardinal, that he had gone so far before witnesses, that it lay upon his conscience, and he could not retract. This might probably have been some promises he made to marry her; which, tho' no pre-contract in itself, it seems the queen was afterwards made to believe it was one; tho' it is certain, that nothing but a formal contract could be of any force to annul the subsequent marriage.

The king availed himself of what the cardinal had told him, and pressed the earl of Northumberland to confess a pre-contract between the queen and him. But he took his oath before the two archbishops, that there had never been any contract, or promise of marriage between them, and received the sacrament thereupon, before the duke of Norfolk, and others of the privy-council, wishing he might drink his own damnation, if what he said was false.

Dr. Burnet informs us, that he saw the original declaration concerning this, written in the duke's
own

own hand. However, no confession of this contract could be extorted from the queen before sentence; for, if that could have been effected, the divorce would have preceded the trial, and then she must have been tried only as the marchioness of Pembroke. But, as she lay under so terrible a sentence, it seems probable, either that some hopes of life were given her, or that she was prevailed on by assurances of having that cruel part of her sentence of being burnt, mitigated into the milder one, of having her head cut off; so that she confessed a pre-contract, and, on the 17th of May, was conducted to Lambeth, where the afflicted archbishop of Canterbury sitting as judge, she, in the presence of several persons of quality, confessed some just and lawful impediments; by which it was evident, that her marriage with the king was not valid. In consequence of which confession, it was declared to have been null and void. The record of the sentence was burnt; but these particulars were repeated in the act passed in the ensuing parliament, touching the succession to the crown.

We have here a flagrant instance of the inconsistencies in which men are involved by iniquitous proceedings; the two sentences pronounced against the queen, the one of attainder for adultery, the other of divorce, on account of a pre-contract, contradict one another so grossly, that it is evident, the one, if not both of them, must have been unjust; for, in case the marriage between the king and her had been null from the beginning, then, since she was not the king's wedded wife, there could be no adultery: her marriage to the king was lawful, or it was not; if it was lawful, then the annulling of it was unjust; if it was not lawful, then the attainder was unjust:

for there could be no breach of that faith which was never given; so that, it is evident, the king was resolved to be rid of her, and to illegitimate her daughter; and, being blinded by a transport of fury, never once perceived, that the very method he took, discovered the injustice of his proceedings.

Two days after, having made the above confession, she was ordered to be executed in the Green on Tower-Hill. How she behaved upon receiving notice of this, and how she persevered in protesting her innocence, the reader will see by the following circumstances. The day before she suffered, upon a strict search of her past life, she recollected that she had played the step-mother too severely to lady Mary, and had done her many ill offices with the king: upon which she made the lieutenant of the Tower's lady sit down in the chair of state; which the other doing with some reluctance, she fell upon her knees, and, with many tears, charged the lady, as she would answer it to God, to go in her name, and do as she had done to the lady Mary, and ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had done her; adding, that till this was done, her conscience would not be at rest. But, though she herein discharged the duty of a Christian, the lady Mary could never forgive her, but retained her resentment as long as she lived.

This tenderness of conscience affords a great presumption in favour of the queen, that if she had been guilty of more heinous crimes, she would not have persisted to deny them to her last moments, and make protestations of her innocence. The same night she sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged herself much obliged to him for continuing to advance her. She said he had, from a private gentlewoman, first made her a marchioness, and then a queen; and now, since he could raise her no higher upon earth, was sending her

her to be a saint in heaven : she protested her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Her behaviour the day she died, will appear from the following letter, written by the lieutenant of the Tower ; concerning which, the reader may be assured that it was copied from the original.

The lieutenant of the Tower's letter.

S I R,

“ These should be to advertise you I have
 “ received your letter, wherein you would have
 “ strangers conveyed out of the Tower ; and so
 “ they be, by the means of Richard Gressum,
 “ William Cooke, and Wytspoll. But the num-
 “ ber of strangers past not thirty, and not many
 “ of those armed ; and the ambassador of the em-
 “ peror had a servant there, and honestly put out.
 “ Sir, if we have not an hour certain, as it may
 “ be known in London, I think here will be but
 “ few, and I think a reasonable number were best ;
 “ for, I suppose she will declare herself to be a
 “ good woman, for all men but for the king, at
 “ the hour of her death ; for this morning she
 “ sent for me, that I might be with her at such
 “ time as she received the good lord *, to the intent
 “ I should hear her speak, as touching her inno-
 “ cency always to be clear. And, in the writing
 “ of this, she sent for me, and at my coming, she
 “ said, Mr. Kingston, I hear I shall not die afore-
 “ noon ; and I am very sorry therefore, for I
 “ thought to be dead by this time, and past my
 “ pain. I told her it should be no pain, it was so
 “ sudden. And, then she said, I heard say the exe-
 “ cutioner was very good, and I have a little neck,
 “ and put her hands about it, laughing heartily.

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“ I have

* Meaning the blessed sacrament.

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“ I have seen many men, and also women, executed; and that they have been in great sorrow; and, to my knowledge, this lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and had been since two o'clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time; and thus, fare you well.

“ your's, William Kingston.”

On the 19th of May, the queen was brought to the scaffold a little before noon; there she made a short speech to a great crowd of spectators that were assembled to behold the last scene of this fatal tragedy. The chief persons present were, the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord-chancellor, secretary Cromwell, the lord-mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the city of London. She said, she was come to die according to the sentence of the law; that she would accuse no body, nor say any thing of the grounds upon which she was condemned. She prayed heartily for the king; and called him a most merciful and gentle prince, saying, that he had always been to her a good, gentle, sovereign lord; and, if any would meddle with her cause; she desired them to judge the best: and so she took her leave of them and of the world; and earnestly conjured them to pray for her.

After having passed some time in her devotions, her last words being, to Christ I commend my soul: her head was severed from her body by the executioner of Calais, who had been sent for as more dextrous at beheading than any in England: her eyes and lips were observed to move after her head was cut off. Her body was thrown into a common chest of elm-tree, that was made to put
arrows

arrows in, and was buried in the chapel within the Tower before twelve o'clock. Her brother likewise suffered, as well as the other four above-mentioned; but none of them were quartered.

Various were the opinions of people upon these proceedings, and different judgments were formed according to the diversity of interests. The popish party said, that the hand of God was visible in this event, and that it was but justice, that she that had supplanted queen Catharine, should meet with the like or harder measure, by the same means. Some interpreted her faint justification of herself upon the scaffold, as a proof that she was unable to deny a thing, for which she was so soon to answer at another tribunal. But others thought that this reserve was owing to the care of her daughter; (for she had observed that queen Catharine's obstinacy had drawn the king's indignation on her daughter) and that she spoke in a stile that could give the king no offence, for fear of involving her daughter in her misfortunes. However, in a letter which she wrote to his majesty while under confinement, she pleaded her innocence in a strain so eloquent and pathetic, that we need make no apology to our readers for inserting it at full length.

Queen Anne Bullen's last letter to king Henry.

“ S I R,

“ Your grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour, by such a one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy. I no sooner received this
I 3 “ message

“ message by him, than I rightly conceived your
 “ meaning ; and if, as you say, confessing a truth,
 “ indeed, may procure my safety, I shall with all
 “ willingness and duty obey your command.

“ But let not your grace ever imagine that your
 “ poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge
 “ a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof
 “ preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince
 “ had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true
 “ affection, than you have ever found in Anne
 “ Bullen, with which name and place I could wil-
 “ lingly have contented myself, if God, and your
 “ grace’s pleasure had been so pleased. Neither
 “ did I, at any time, forget myself, in my exalta-
 “ tion, or received queenship, but that I always
 “ looked for such an alteration as now I find ; for
 “ the ground of my preferment being on no surer
 “ foundation than your grace’s fancy, the least
 “ alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw
 “ that fancy to some other subject. You have
 “ chosen me from a low estate, to be your queen
 “ and companion, far beyond my desert or desire.
 “ If then you found me worthy of such honour,
 “ good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad
 “ counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely
 “ favour from me ; neither let that stain, that un-
 “ worthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your
 “ good grace, ever cast so foul a blot upon your
 “ most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your
 “ daughter. Try me, good king, but let me
 “ have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn ene-
 “ mies sit as my accusers and judges ; yea, let me
 “ receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no
 “ open shame ; then shall you see either mine in-
 “ nocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience
 “ satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world
 “ stopped, or my guilt openly declared : so that,
 “ what-

“ whatsoever God or you may determine of me,
 “ your grace may be freed from an open censure ;
 “ and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your
 “ grace is at liberty, both before God and man,
 “ not only to execute worthy punishment on me
 “ as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affec-
 “ tion, already settled, on that party, for whose
 “ sake I am now as I am ; whose name I could
 “ some good while since have pointed unto ; your
 “ grace being not ignorant of my suspicion
 “ therein.”

“ But if you have already determined of me,
 “ and, that not only my death, but an infamous
 “ slander, must bring you the enjoying of your
 “ desired happiness ; then I desire of God, that he
 “ will pardon your great sin therein ; and likewise
 “ my enemies, the instruments thereof ; and, that
 “ he will not call you to a strict account for your
 “ unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general
 “ judgment-seat, where both you and myself must
 “ shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt
 “ not (whatsoever the world may think of me)
 “ mine innocence shall be openly known and suffi-
 “ ciently cleared.

“ My last and only request shall be, that myself
 “ may only bear the burthen of your grace’s dis-
 “ pleasure, and that it may not touch the innocent
 “ souls of those poor gentlemen who, as I under-
 “ stand, are likewise in strait imprisonment for my
 “ sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight ;
 “ if ever the name of Anne Bullen hath been
 “ pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this
 “ request ; and I will so leave to trouble your grace
 “ any further, with mine earnest prayers to the
 “ Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping,
 “ and to direct you in all your actions.

“ From my doleful prison in the Tower, this
 “ sixth of May, your most loyal and ever
 “ faithful wife,

“ ANNE BULLEN.”

Every sentiment in this letter appears to come from the heart, and it breaths a confidence which guilt would have found it hard to counterfeit. It must be acknowledged, however, that the queen's behaviour was too free; and it seems probable, that some freedom and levity in her had encouraged those unfortunate persons to speak so boldly to her; since few have the presumption to make declarations of love to persons of so exalted a station, except they see something in their behaviour to excite them to it. However, it cannot be denied that a free and lively temper might, with great innocence, but without discretion, lead to all those things that were proved against her; so that, upon the whole, we must acquit her of lewdness, though we cannot acquit her of indiscretion.

But the king can by no means escape the imputation of cruelty, for having proceeded with such severity against a person whose chastity he had such strong proofs of, since she had resisted his addresses near five years, till he rendered them lawful by marriage. Her behaviour indeed had given him some cause of jealousy; and jealousy being the phrenzy of a man, it is no wonder that a king of his temper was transported to unjustifiable excesses, when he conceived it against one upon whom he had conferred such signal favours. However, the true cause of Anne Bullen's ruin appeared evidently from the king's marrying Jane Seymour the day after her execution.

Having thus given an account of the Life and Death of Anne Bullen, we shall here lay before the

the reader several curious particulars extracted from Monf. Bayle and other authors, which could not have been inserted in the above relation without interrupting the thread of the narrative, and too frequently calling the reader's attention from the more essential part of the history.

With regard to the circumstance of Anne Bullen's father having been amongst her judges, it has been much controverted: Dr. Burnet related it on the credit of Dr. Heylin; but he retracted it in his additions. He had found the register of the trial, and had not seen the earl of Wiltshire amongst her judges. It has, notwithstanding, been positively asserted by other authors. The bishop of Amelia asserts, that Thomas Bullen presided at the trial of his daughter. His words are these, "Pænæ
" ministrum filiae fortuna patrem dedit, qui fortê
" capitalium rerum judex adversus eam capitis sen-
" tentiam tulit." Fortune made the father the instrument of his daughter's punishment; and he, happening to be a judge in criminal causes, pronounced sentence of death against her. The same historian has advanced, that all those who were accused of having had commerce with her, confessed it at their examination: but he is herein contradicted by Burnet, and most of those who have wrote concerning this affair. It is generally acknowledged, that Smeton, the musician, was the only one who made any confession; and it seems highly probable that he was bribed into it by a promise of his life, as he said afterwards, at his execution, that he indeed well deserved to die.

It has been matter of surprize to several, that, during the long reign of queen Elizabeth, there never was any attempt made to justify her mother. The catholics made their advantage of this; but they were answered, that they would do better

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to praise and admire the prudence of Elizabeth and her ministers. She was apprehensive of weakening her rights by endeavouring to defend them; and would have been obliged to own some things relating to Anne Bullen which might have done harm.

With regard to Smeton's confession, it has been said, by a certain historian, that several English gentlemen had assured him, that Smeton the musician disowned what he had said, and repented of having destroyed the queen by a false accusation. But Monf. Bayle, who consulted that author, found no such matter in his work. He only says, That several English gentlemen had assured him, that Henry VIII. repented fully of the offences committed by him when he was at the point of death; and, amongst other things, of the injury and crime committed against queen Anne Bullen, falsely accused and convicted of what he imposed on her. However, little stress is to be laid upon the testimony of this obscure historian, as he does not name the gentlemen from whom he had his information.

The circumstances attending the queen's behaviour whilst in confinement and at her execution, are, by certain historians, related in a manner somewhat different from the account given above; but, though what they have advanced seems of doubtful authority, we shall here lay it before the reader, and leave him to judge for himself.

They tell us, that during her imprisonment she acted very different parts: sometimes she seemed devout, and poured forth abundance of tears; and immediately after fell into great fits of laughter: as soon as the judges who came to examine her were gone, she fell on her knees and wept,
and

and prayed often, "Jesu have mercy on me;" and then fell a laughing.

Gratiani, an historian who is by no means favourable to her, owns that she died with a great deal of resolution, and that she took care to throw her gown over her feet that she might fall decently. "Postremo genibus positus ultimos quoque pedes quo honestius procumberet veste contextit."

The same author relates another circumstance which appears very questionable; namely, that when she was led to the place of execution, she was in a great rage against the people who did her no honour, and declared to them, that she was their queen and should die so.

Amongst the many calumnies raised by the Roman Catholics against Anne Bullen, none seems more absurd and improbable than the following: That, during the love of Henry VIII. for her, Thomas Wyat, one of the principal lords of the court, appeared before the council, to depose, that he had to do with her at a time when he did not think the king had thoughts of doing her the honour to marry her; and, that Henry, not giving credit to this deposition, Wyat offered to make the king himself a spectator of the favours that he should receive from this strumpet; that Wyat was called impudent, and turned out of the court.

That this deposition never was made, is evident; because it appears, that Wyat was never in disgrace; but, that he was employed in foreign embassies as long as he lived. To prove this, Dr. Burnet cites an original piece, wherein Wyat's son attests, That his father was gentleman of the bedchamber to king Henry all the time of his marriage with Anne Bullen; that he never withdrew from court out of any caution; that the king did not seem jealous; and, that the queen was not offended

offended with his behaviour. That his father was afterwards ambassador at the court of Charles V.

Dr. Francis Goodwin has represented the case of queen Anne in the most favourable light. He tells us, that when she was committed to the Tower, she, on entering, fell upon her knees, and, with dreadful imprecations, disavowed the crime, whatsoever it was, with which she was charged: that, upon her trial, on the fifteenth of May, in the Tower, she answered all objections in such a manner, that, if the peers had given in their verdict according to the expectation of the assembly, she had been acquitted; but they, among whom the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, was the chief, wholly applying themselves to the king's humour, pronounced her guilty.

The authenticity of her letter to the king, which we have given the reader at full length, has been disputed. Mr. Addison assures us that the original is still extant in the Cotton Library; but lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his history of Henry VIII. tells us that it is no original. His words are as follow:

“ After which, another letter in her name coming to my hand from more than one part, I thought fit to transcribe it here, without other credit yet, than it is said to be found among the papers of Cromwell, then secretary; and for the rest seems antient and consonant to the matter in question.” And then having transcribed the letter, he concludes thus: “ But whether this letter was elegantly written by her, or any else heretofore, I know as little as what answer might be made thereunto.”

Mr. Collier, author of an ecclesiastical history of England, acknowledges, that this letter was said to be found among secretary Cromwell's papers,

pers, but maintains that it is not an original. His reason for this assertion is, that it is written with a great deal of genius and elocution, and not at all resembling her manner, either in her letters to Wolsey or her speech upon the scaffold. "It is possible," adds he, "that she might dictate the minutes, and some attendant of her's might draw it into length and give it a raised turn."

Varillas, a French historian, has done his utmost to blacken her. He tells us, that, though she made a cunning defence, she was condemned with four of her adulterers, and after that went to meet death with more of fierceness than of true greatness of soul; and died as exactly in all the maxims of the stoic philosophy, as if she had studied them. But this calumny is fully refuted by the report which the lieutenant of the Tower made of her behaviour.

If some historians have endeavoured to blacken her, others have vindicated her with equal zeal. Hollingshed, in his Chronicle, speaks of her in these terms :

" Now, because I might rather say much than
 " sufficiently enough in praise of this noble queen,
 " as well for her singular wit and other excellent
 " qualities of mind, as also for her favouring
 " learned men, zeal of religion, and liberality in
 " distributing alms to the relief of the poor; I
 " will refer the reader to Master Fox's volume of
 " Acts and Monuments; where he commendeth
 " her mild nature in taking admonition; proveth
 " her marriage lawful; defendeth her succession,
 " overthroweth the sinister judgments, opinions
 " and objections of backbiters against that virtu-
 " ous queen: sheweth her faith and trust in Christ
 " at her death; and, finally, how the protestants
 of

“ of Germany forfook king Henry for the fake of
 “ fo good a princefs.

Mr. Cambden, in the Introduction to his *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*, fays, That three years were fcarce fully expired after the king's marriage with Anne Bullen, when, falling into new loves, jealousies and rage, and meditating blood and flaughter, that he might make way for the new fancy which he had to Jane Seymour, he called the queen to a trial, accusing her upon a flight fufpicion of adultery, after fhe had mifcarried of a male-child fhe went withal; and, that the queen cleared herfelf fo far of the matters objected againft her, that the multitude which flood by judged her to be innocent and merely circumvented. One confideration makes the authority of this hiftorian doubtful; and that is, his known attachment to the memory of queen Elizabeth.

The lord Bacon, in his *Elogium on queen Elizabeth*, entitled *In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ, Angliæ Reginæ*, affures us, that the king had no refentments againft his queen, till he had entertained a new paffion; and, that he was naturally fubject both to love and jealousy, which urged him even to the fhedding of blood, in order to gratify his impetuous defires: fo that his name muft be inevitably ftigmatized to pofterity. That the accusations againft the queen were very improbable, on account of the quality of the perfon who charged her, and founded only on the flighteft conjectures. That there was a rumour to this purpofe at the very time; but, that the queen herfelf, juft before her death, afferted her innocence with great vigour of mind and in very remarkable terms. Lord Bacon here hints at her laft message to the king, which, as he informs us, was never carried,

Mr. John

Mr. John Speed, in his History of Great-Britain, tells us, That he will in no wise excuse her guilt, having had judgment and death by law; though others, and that upon just occasion, before him, had done it: "But I will speak," says he, "from them what they have said; and, namely, one that wrote thereof to a worthy and reverend person, in whose defence his words are these:

"It seemeth very plain, that the crimes supposed against the Christian queen Anne were matters contrived by the device of the pope and his instruments, her enemies; none of them all that were accused in the same treason confessing the act, even unto death; but have left direct testimonies, even in writing, to the contrary; one mean groom excepted; namely, Mark Smeton made confession, upon some promises of life belike, but had his head cut off before he was aware or had time to recall what he had said."

The like did Cromwell the secretary signify to the king, after the prisoners had been thoroughly examined in the Tower by the council, who wrote thus in his letter on the same day: "Many things have been objected, but nothing confessed; only some circumstances have been acknowledged by Mark Smeton."

The lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his life and reign of Henry VIII. speaks of Anne Bullen in the following terms:

"I do reject all those that would speak against her honour in those times she staid in France; but I shall as little accuse her in this particular of her affairs at this time. It is enough that the law hath condemned her; and that, whether she or any else were in fault, is not now to be discussed"

“ cuffed. This is certain, that the king had cast his
 “ affection already on Jane Seymour, daughter to sir
 “ John Seymour, knight, then attending on the
 “ queen. But whether this alone were enough to
 “ procure that tragedy which followed, may be
 “ doubted in this prince ; for I do not find him
 “ bloody but where law, or at least pretext drawn
 “ from thence, did countenance his actions.”

The same author afterwards observes, that when she was committed to the custody of sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower, much speech passed between them, as appears by an original of his ; yet, as her language was broken and distracted, between tears and laughter, for she used both, little can be inferred from thence ; only she seemed to exclaim against Norris, as if he had accused her ; when yet she said that they both should die together. She named others also, and thereupon confessed, though not enough to condemn her, yet such passages as might argue she took the utmost liberty that could be honestly allowed her. But whether she extended it to any further act is not there declared : for, amidst all her discourses, she still protested herself innocent.

By other originals also of Kingston's, it appears that he had made some difficulty to carry a letter from her to Mr. secretary, and that she wished her bishops were there ; for they, she said, would go to the king for her ; and that, if she died, a punishment would fall on the land. Meteren, a French historian, has given us an account of her sufferings, which differs, in some measure, from the relations of others. He had it from one Crispin a Frenchman, who then resided in London, and, as Meteren tells us, wrote without partiality.

We are informed by this writer, that a gentleman, having censured his sister for some lightness
 which.

which appeared in her behaviour; she said, that the queen did more than she did, for, she admitted some of her court to come into her chamber at undue hours; and named the lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton; and she said to her brother, that Smeton could tell much more.

All this was carried to the king, who having a great regard for Norris, advised him to confess, and promised him that he should suffer neither in person nor estate; but he refused it. Smeton accused her; but, upon her trial, she defended her honour and modesty in such a manner, as to soften the king, by her humble deportment, and induce him to favour her daughter. She had no advocate to assist her upon her trial, and spoke not much in her own defence; but the modesty of her countenance pleaded her innocence much more than the defence which she made, so that all who saw and heard her, believed her innocent. Both the magistrates of London, and several others who were present, declared that they saw no evidence against her. Mark Smeton only, confessed that he had deserved to die. When she heard how her brother and the other two gentlemen had suffered, and sealed her innocence with their blood; but that Smeton had confessed that he had deserved to die, she broke out into some passion, and said, "Has he not then cleared me of this public shame he has brought me to? Alas, I fear, his soul suffers for it; and that he is now punished for his false accusation. But, for my brother, and those others, I doubt not, but they are now in the presence of that great king, before whom I am to appear to-morrow." It must be acknowledged, that this account has a great air of probability.

Another historian, William Martyn, esq; recorder of Exeter, speaks in very favourable terms of Anne Bullen; he tells us, That she died innocently, as at her death she religiously protested, and all men present did believe; for that it was unjustly surmised, and falsely testified, that she had incestuously conversed with, and prostituted her body to the lord Rochford, her own brother, who likewise, with some others, received the like sentence, and were put to death.

Sir Richard Baker, in his Chronicles of the kings of England, tells us, That with regard to the crimes charged upon her, adultery and incest, there are no proofs of her guilt recorded, but many of her innocence. First, her own clearing of all objections at the time of her arraignment. Then Cromwell's writing to the king, after a full examination of the matter, that many things had been objected, but none confessed; only some circumstances had been acknowledged by Mark Smeton (and what was Mark Smeton but a mean fellow, one that, upon promise of life, would say any thing? and, having said something which they took hold of, he was soon after executed, lest he should retract it.) Lastly, they that were accused with her, all denied to the death; even Henry Norris, whom the king specially favoured, and promised him pardon, if he would but confess it.

The historian then observes, that she had many enemies, as being a protestant, and perhaps, in that respect, the king himself not greatly her friend; (for, though he had excluded the pope, he continued a papist still;) and then, who knows not, that Nature is not more able of an acorn to make an oak, than authority is able of the least surmise to make a certainty?

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We shall conclude this supplement, by laying before our readers, several particulars concerning the behaviour of Anne Bullen from the time of her commitment to the Tower to her execution, extracted by Mr. Strype, from the letters of the lieutenant of the Tower, and not to be met with in any other author.

The queen said to sir William Kingston, when she was committed to the Tower, "I hear I shall be accused by three men. And I can say no more but nay, tho' you should open my body; and therewith she opened her gown, adding, Norris, hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower with me; and thou and I shall die together. And Mark, thou art here too."

The lieutenant of the Tower observes, in his second letter, that she said to him, that she was cruelly handled at Greenwich by the king's council, particularly the duke of Norfolk, who said, in answer to her defence, tut, tut, tut, shaking his head three or four times. As for Mr. Treasurer, he was, said she, in the forest of Windsor. You know, added sir William Kingston, what she meant by that. She named likewise Mr. Comptroller, another of the council, to be a very gentleman. But that for herself, to be a queen and so cruelly handled, it was never seen. But, I think, says she, the king doth it to prove me; and then she laughed, and was merry. She said then, I shall have justice; Kingston answered, have no doubt therein. She replied, if any accuse me, I can but say nay, and they can bring no witness. She said to lady Kingston and Mrs. Cosins, if I die you shall see the greatest punishment for me, that ever came upon England: and then shall I be in heaven, for I have done many good deeds in my days. And she declared, it being a very dry season, that they

would have no rain till she was delivered out of the Tower. She said, with regard to the women that were placed about her, that the king wist well what he did, when he put two such about her as lady Bullen, and Mrs. Cofins. But that she defied them.

From these various accounts it is evident, that the opinion of the queen's being innocent, was more generally adopted, than that of her being guilty, and the many testimonies alledged in her favour, are greatly corroborated by the following consideration, namely, that no queen, in such a court as that of England then was, the household being the greatest in Christendom, could be guilty of so many disorders as were laid to her charge, without taking some woman into confidence; and yet none were either accused of it, or brought to witness it.

To conclude, it does not appear, as has been observed above, that the queen was chargeable with any thing more than indiscretion.

In the works of an anonymous author, who seems to have written near those times, we meet with the following account of the unfortunate lady whose memoirs we have been relating; which, as it contains many curious particulars, omitted by other writers, and as it is, probably, in very few hands, we hope it will not be unacceptable to our readers.

When the affairs of England and France obliged Henry VIII. and Francis I. of France, to resolve upon that famous interview made between Guines and Ardres. The king of England arrived at Guines with all his court, and, at the same time, the king of France with his court, at Ardres: the two kings saw one another, and spoke together; and such magnificence appeared on both sides,

sides, that ever since the place is called, The camp of cloth of gold. Both parties made feasts, and both nations often intermixed.

The fair Elizabeth Blunt, who was at that time the king's favourite mistress, and eagerly sought to gain his heart wholly to herself, brought with her an equipage worthy of her ambition. The duchess of Suffolk, who had been the wife to Lewis XII. but now wife to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, upon this occasion, appeared as the king's sister, and was one of the most beautiful ladies in the world. As for the queen, who was naturally modest, she did not affect the sparkling of gems, but was content with that of her dignity, and had with her many young ladies of the best families in England, whose parents had put them into an equipage suitable to her retinue; yet no sight there was comparable to the fair Anne Bullen, who went over into France with the princess of England when she was married to Lewis XII. and continued there till now. She eclipsed all the other beauties; and king Henry, who till then had never sighed for any lady but lady Blunt, felt, at the sight of Anne Bullen, that his soul was too great to be limited to one single passion, he found something so sweet and charming in her eyes, that in spite of Blunt's jealousy, he abandoned himself to the pleasure of beholding her.

Wolsey, who studied all his actions, soon perceived this passion, and, at the same instant, contrived a design to oppose her to Blunt, whose esteem began to disquiet him. But, as Anne Bullen was of the queen of France's retinue, and as there could be no pretence to withdraw her thence so suddenly, she returned to Paris, and Henry was much troubled to part with her.

There was, at that time, a continual intercourse between France and England, carried on by the nobility: some being incited by curiosity, and others in pursuit of their amours. Henry Piercy, son to the earl of Northumberland, followed the court of France, or rather Anne Bullen, with whom he was passionately in love: he was perfectly handsome, and had very great merit; although he was young, he had already shewn much valour in Brittany, and had followed the marquis of Dorset with much honour in the affair of Navarre: he now aspired at the honour to gain the heart of Anne Bullen, who had declined the suits of the most illustrious persons in France.

It was in this voyage that Piercy first acquainted her with the passion he had conceived for her at the interview of Guines. He was submissive and amorous, and he had perseverance, and a certain sweet and agreeable temper; which was altogether insinuating. Anne Bullen was tender and complaisant; her eyes found him worthy of her heart, and he found no difficulty in gaining her love, after he had assured her of his.

The arrival of Anne Bullen in England, was a most agreeable surprize to the king, who had conceived a great passion for her; her absence had only increased his desires to see her again, and now he abandoned himself intirely to her charms: but whether he feared Blunt, or had some respect for the queen, is hard to ascertain; but, however, he was a little cautious of shewing his change. Piercy, who went into France only for the love of Anne Bullen, staid not long after her return: at her arrival she was preferred to the queen's service, where the king had an opportunity to see her, and discourse with her without difficulty. Wolsey was now wholly bent to put her in the place of Blunt, who, in a short

short time, perceiving the king's inconstancy, was ready to die with grief, and doubted not, but it was all owing to the cardinal, which made her conceive an irreconcilable hatred against him.

Anne Bullen, although she perceived what influence her beauty had upon the king's heart, derived no vanity from thence, and found nothing but perplexity in her conquest. Piercy had smitten her in such an effectual and tender manner, that nothing was capable to alienate her from him; and as this was not the first time she had sacrificed considerable conquests to him; she easily determined to hear the king no farther than her condition obliged her to, and to answer him no otherwise than with respect and indifferency.

The rank she held with the queen was considerable, and she was descended from the ancient earls of Ormond by the father's side, and from the great house of Norfolk by the mother's: her wit, which was refined in the most gallant court of Europe, created her many friends, and Blunt, whose jealousy encreased, in proportion as the king's sentiments were declared in her favour, was the only person who sought not her friendship, notwithstanding she durst not permit her first fury to act openly against her; but contented herself to search into, and instruct herself in the affairs of Anne Bullen.

Fortune facilitated her way hereunto. The fair Anne had a brother, whose merit had gained him considerable reputation in king Henry's court, but whose unhappy destiny inspired him with a passion for Blunt. The king's constancy to her had hindered his discovery of it, but the levity which he now observed in him emboldened him: he took Blunt in one of those moments of despite, wherein she passionately desired to be

revenged on the king; and she, hoping for great advantages from such a lover as young Bullen, who could not probably be ignorant of his sister's secrets; bound him in a commerce of gallantry. He informed her of the engagement between Piercy and his sister: this knowledge was joyful to her, hoping that a marriage between these two persons would disappoint Wolfey, and heal the heart of the king, which she still desired to retain.

The cardinal had prospects quite opposite to Blunt; he designed to govern this prince by the means of Anne Bullen, whose beauty engaged him more and more; but he did not foresee the obstacle which Piercy's merit had brought to his pretensions.

The king, naturally inconstant, neglected not only Blunt, who before had so great power over him, but began also to have some sentiments of indifferency for the queen, which were soon changed into aversion: upon this matter, he opened his very soul to Wolfey alone: the cardinal, who did not love this princess, was glad of it, and began immediately to insinuate into the king's mind a divorce; not that he intended to make Anne Bullen queen; for he proposed the duchess of Alençon, sister to the king of France, for Henry, that so he might bring that prince over to his interests, and at the same time have a queen absolutely for him, and a mistress for the king, who was, in some measure, his creature.

The king, who thought Anne might content herself with his love, consented to the alliance with France, and left the breach of his marriage to Wolfey's care. The power which the cardinal had in England, his intrigues at Rome, and his intelligence in France, gave him great hopes for
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the divorce and the second marriage. But Anne Bullen, who had both virtue and resolution, was not of the humour to indulge the king's passion as he desired. She received his first overtures of it with more coldness than he expected. This resistance augmented his love, and, to render himself more agreeable, he had recourse to entertainments; he invented plays and feasts, which were always advantageous to Piercy, who appeared there with so much grace and activity, that Anne Bullen respected none but him, and was only sensible of his sighs.

The queen, who foresaw part of her misfortunes by the king's coldness to her, lived in a deplorable sadness. All the passions of young Bullen could not console Blunt for Henry's inconstancy. She saw every day her own credit fade, and her rivals flourish, and the immoderate ambition which possessed her, cast her soul into a state of perpetual fury and jealousy.

In the mean time every one began to speak of the king's change; the queen, Blunt, and all the court were convinced of it by his assiduous courtship of Anne Bullen; but they also observed, that she took no pains to avail herself of this conquest.

Piercy had too great an interest in this affair not to examine it carefully; he was persuaded of the fidelity of Anne Bullen, but such a rival as Henry was, notwithstanding, an unhappy cross; and, though he trusted she would prefer him, he had reason to fear the king's authority.

He saw Anne Bullen every day, and at all hours; he remarked some melancholy in her eyes, and, as he loved to such excess that her least troubles were the chief subject of his despair, he feared she had taken some secret displeasure, and conjured her

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tenderly to make no mystery of it to him. He found her one day so very melancholy, that he sigh'd several times, and she perceived it not. Finding something cruel to his love in this novelty, he broke a silence which began to make him impatient. "I know not, madam," said he, "what your heaviness presages to me, but it makes me fear it is something unlucky: there is no appearance that you have still the same love for me as you had before, yet I believe I have not rendered myself unworthy of it; nevertheless I see a surprising change in you: it may be said your eyes did not know me, or that they would not give themselves the trouble to look upon me: I see nothing in them but a cruel indifferency: it seems they never did know you have loved me. Can it be possible your court is agreed with those
"-----"

"No," she replied, interrupting him with a sigh; "do not expound a language which you have caused to my disadvantage. I love you with too much justice ever to cease loving you; and this trouble which you have observed by my silence and my melancholy, is only an effect of that tenderness I have for you."

"Do not hide my good fortune under such cruel appearances," replied Piercy. "Tell me the true cause of this condition wherein I now see you, if you love my repose."

"I fear," said she, "Fortune has no good will towards me, and I am jealous of her favours." "I know," says Piercy, "she hath created me a dangerous rival; but I am assured of your constancy, and I neither fear his merit nor his power." "You do me justice," said Anne Bullen, "and I do again reiterate my vows I have so often made to you, That I will never love any
" but

“ but yourself. But, Piercy, if that tendernefs
 “ which the king declares for me be not capable
 “ to move me, his authority, which obliges me to
 “ suffer it, will prove but a fatal experiment. I
 “ protest to you, that it is with great impatience
 “ that I am forced to spend those few moments
 “ with him which I would most willingly bestow
 “ upon you ; and, that he can see nothing in my
 “ eyes but a discontent which ought to repulse
 “ him.”

Piercy loved too well not to find a sensible de-
 light in this obliging discourse of Anne Bullen ; he
 returned her his thanks for it in the most passionate
 terms ; and continued his discourse, saying, “ Make
 “ my interest with your parents, madam, before
 “ the king explains himself, and I will secure my
 “ own ; and you can, by establishing my good for-
 “ tune, hinder the king from thwarting us.” Anne
 Bullen loved Piercy enough to consent to every
 thing that might secure herself for him.

Now it was openly discoursed that the king
 would divorce his queen, and marry the dutchess
 of Alencon ; and the opportunity was favourable
 enough to Piercy’s intentions, who declared them
 to old Bullen, and he accepted of this alliance
 without difficulty, as being very advantageous to
 his family.

Blunt learned this news of her lover with such
 joy, as for some time suspended her jealousy. But
 old Bullen would not consent to this marriage be-
 tween Piercy and his daughter, till the king, and
 the earl of Northumberland had approved of it.
 There was then a necessity to speak to them of it ;
 and, as Anne Bullen had great reason to fear some
 obstacles, she would not employ ordinary persons
 in this negotiation. She prayed the duchess of
 Suffolk (by whom she was tenderly beloved, as
 being

being her confident during her secret intelligence with Brandon) to make the king consent to Piercy's good fortune, it was not without some confusion that she explained herself to the duchess; but the interest of her heart got the better of her modesty.

The king had much friendship, and very great respect for the duchess of Suffolk: she suspected, as well as others, the designs that he had upon the heart of Anne Bullen; but, as he had never told her any thing of it, she feigned ignorance, and acquainted the king her brother, That she, having a great friendship and esteem for Anne Bullen, ardently desired to see her married to Piercy, a person of merit, and humbly begged his majesty to consent to it.

The king blushed at this discourse of his sister's, and judged, that Anne Bullen had given the princess this employ; and that from her only she had learnt to praise Piercy: his thoughts were mightily discomposed; and, being sensible of nothing but love and jealousy, he looked upon the loss of Anne Bullen as the greatest of evils which could possibly befall him. He could not hide his trouble from the princess, whom he desired to speak no more of this affair, for some important reasons, of which he would one day give her an account. But he enquired of her whether Piercy was beloved, and having learnt the truth, he immediately quitted the duchess of Suffolk, and sent for Wolsey, whom he commanded to think no more of the duchess of Alençon for his queen, but to employ all his art to preserve Anne Bullen for him.

The cardinal wished heartily that the king's passion had been a little more moderated; but, when he considered it was unavoidable, and that, in making Anne Bullen queen, he should, perhaps, gain
her

her absolutely, he took upon him to forward it. So, assuring the king of the success of his wishes, he took upon himself the charge to let Piercy know that he should discontinue his courtship, till such time as the king should declare his intentions to Anne Bullen.

In the mean time they secretly designed the divorce; and the queen, who had secret advice thereof, expected that assistance she stood in need of for the justice of her cause. Blunt, who believed the marriage of Piercy and Anne Bullen was concluded, flattered by her ambitious prospects, conspired the rupture of the king's marriage with the duchess of Alençon. She was big with great hopes of her young son, for whom the infanta of Portugal, with the Duchy of Milan for her portion, were already designed; and she doubted not, one day, to raise herself by this fortune to something more considerable.

As Wolsey was busied in the important affairs of the kingdom, and Piercy gave himself up intirely to his love, the cardinal could not acquit himself so soon of his promise to the king. The prince did not delay so long to explain himself to Anne Bullen: it was not many days after the duchess of Suffolk had spoke to him, that he stopped Anne Bullen as she was passing through the gallery into the queen's lodgings; and, taking her aside to a window, "I demand, of you, said he, a moment's audience, I have something to tell you of importance enough to oblige you to grant it me. Altho' my duty calls me to attend the queen, said she, I know the obedience I owe to your majesty, and am ready to hear whatever your majesty shall please to say to me." The king replied, "Is it true, that you would
" render

“ render Piercy the most happy of all men? I
 “ thought I had sufficiently made known to you,
 “ that I loved you so well as never to consent to
 “ it, you have an absolute power over my heart,
 “ give me some small part in your’s, and I will
 “ make you a present far more glorious than
 “ Piercy.”

Although Anne Bullen hearkened well to what
 the king told her, she could not refrain sighing;
 the happiness of her life was founded upon her
 passion for Piercy; she preferred him above all the
 fortunes of the universe. “ If your majesty, said
 “ she, had in the least intimated to me, that I
 “ should not love Piercy, at the time when my
 “ heart was at liberty, I had done all that was in
 “ my power to have prevented it, but it is now a
 “ long time since I declared my inclinations in
 “ his favour. I will oppose it all my life-time,
 “ said the king, extremely moved, you know he
 “ is my subject, and I can remove him from you
 “ when I list. She replied boldly, You can do
 “ something yet more unjust; but, in banishing
 “ Piercy from your kingdoms, or exposing him
 “ to any disgrace, you will not find the way to
 “ chace him from my heart, and any misfortune
 “ that he suffers for my sake will render me the
 “ more sensible for him. Your majesty obliges
 “ me to speak with that freedom which, perhaps,
 “ you may condemn, but I had rather commit
 “ that error than betray my just sentiments. A
 “ more passionate man than I, replied the king,
 “ would punish Piercy for the injustice you have
 “ done me; I hope, that a little reflection upon
 “ my proceedings will make you sensible you are
 “ in the wrong: abuse not my moderation, I am
 “ not exempt from some transports I would wil-
 “ lingly avoid; I love you enough to sacrifice all
 “ things

“ things to you, and I would not give place to the
 “ highest powers in the universe for you; the life of
 “ Piercy shall answer for what you make me suf-
 “ fer; therefore I leave it to you to manage my
 “ hopes.”

Anne Bullen entered the queen's presence much
 tormented at the king's last words. In the mean
 time Wolsey had a conversation with Piercy, and
 put his patience upon the anvil. “ It is a long
 “ time, said he to him, that I have sought for an
 “ occasion to let you know that I love you; I am
 “ persuaded of your exceeding great merit, and
 “ should be sensibly displeas'd, if you should give
 “ the least occasion to fortune to declare herself
 “ against you; I must give that advice which I
 “ would not have you neglect. You love Anne
 “ Bullen; the king hath some designs which agree
 “ not with your passion, endeavour to free your-
 “ self from it, and merit the king's esteem by this
 “ effort. What designs soever the king may have,
 “ answered Piercy, I see nothing that can hinder
 “ me from loving the person you speak of, and it
 “ is not my humour to renounce the least of my
 “ hopes. I know that you can love in spite of all
 “ the world, replied Wolsey; but I know also,
 “ that the king can command you not to look
 “ upon a person for whom he hath a particular
 “ esteem; and that it were better for you to re-
 “ linquish her, than to expose yourself to the in-
 “ dignation of your prince.”

“ I know not by what motive you act, said
 “ Piercy, whether in zeal for him, or pity for me,
 “ but I declare to you, That neither all the pow-
 “ ers of the earth, nor a whole age of reflection,
 “ can ever be able to make me change. Wolsey
 “ added, I thought you had not been so strictly
 “ engaged; but, since you resolve so blindly to
 “ destroy

“ destroy yourself, I must leave you to your passion. And I will follow the inclinations of it with pleasure, said Piercy, and I feel myself determined to a constancy that is proof against all things.”

Wolsey went away enraged with his foolish obstinacy, and resolved to punish him for it. Though he concealed his design from the king.

Piercy recounted to his mistress the discourse he had had with Wolsey; and she told him what had passed between the king and her; and, as these lovers were alarmed at the crosses prepared for them, so the pleasure of loving each other with such constancy did comfort them.

Wolsey, who was confident of the king's passion, and knew its violence, hearkening no longer to reason, which at first hindered him from indulging it, now only studied Piercy's misfortune.

Blunt, who looked upon the cardinal as the principal author of the king's infidelity, discovered her resentment upon all occasions. The cardinal knew her implacable temper, and was not ignorant of her artifices; and, as her credit was much diminished, he resolved to ruin her, to advance the fortune of Anne Bullen. He advised the king to recall the old earl of Northumberland out of Ireland, and to oblige his son Piercy to marry. At the same time that these orders were given, Henry declared openly the intention he had for the divorce. The tears and entreaties of the queen were fruitless, and Brian and Vane were sent to Rome to proceed in it.

Blunt doubted not but this great design was Wolsey's inspiration, and judged that he laboured to exalt her rival. The queen, who was upon the very point to receive so sensible an injury, was not less enraged against him; and, although she had

more

more moderation than Blunt, her hatred for the cardinal aspired no less to vengeance.

The king's affection for Anne Bullen began now to appear openly, and the arts of Blunt to decry her excited the people to murmur; so that the king was obliged to explain himself to an assembly of his lords at his palace of Bridewell, where he protested that it was purely a motive of conscience, and the desire he had to give them a successor to the crown, which moved him to this design of divorcing the queen. Some of them seemed satisfied herewith, but many of them were discontented. The subtle Wolsey, who feared some dangerous troubles might befall him upon it, persuaded the king, that whatsoever pleasure he took to see Anne Bullen, it was of vast importance for him to remove her for a time; that reasons of state, as well as those of love, obliged him to it; that it was to separate her from Piercy, and to facilitate the design he had to recall his father; that the queen murmured; and, that the discontent of the people, which was fomented by the jealousy of revengeful Blunt, was not less to be feared; and, that this retirement of Anne Bullen would effectually calm all things.

The king approved Wolsey's reasons, but found it difficult to yield to them; but the cardinal left him not till he made him consent to this exile, which he went immediately to denounce to Anne Bullen. "Madam," said Wolsey to her, "I come to offer a petition to you from the king, which will be surprizing, since the contents thereof is to banish yourself from the court, for no other crime than that you have appeared therein too beautiful. It is not without much regret that he removes you, since all the happi-

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“ness of his life depends upon seeing and pleasing
 “you. But the present state of affairs have so
 “ordered it, and it shall be for so short a time as
 “would not be discernible, but that all eyes are
 “upon you.”

Anne Bullen was haughty, and sensible of the least thing that concerned her honour; she took some offence at her undeserved exile, and their endeavour to banish her from the love of Piercy exciting her passion, she told Wolfey she should readily quit a place where she received so little satisfaction. “I pity his majesty’s weakness,” said she, “and I shall joyfully part from a court, where I am often forced to hear those things that displease me, to retire into a solitude, where I may with liberty entertain myself with those thoughts that please me.” “You may there make just reflections,” replied Wolfey, “upon the grand advantages which fortune has decreed you.” “Her favours,” said she, “are so light, that I wholly bend myself to despise them. Tell the king, I will be gone to-morrow; and, that I am extremely obliged to him for ordering me the thing which I desired with my whole heart.”

She would have no longer converse with him, but shut herself up in her chamber, and feigned an indisposition. The cardinal returned to the king, and, as he had always made it a rule to flatter him, he concealed the rage of Anne Bullen from him, and settled his mind in a peaceable condition.

Piercy received the news of Anne Bullen’s banishment with unspeakable grief. She exhorted him to support this beginning of their crosses with constancy, and said a thousand tender things to him, which something allayed his torment, but their

their separation drew many tears from both: Piercy had a manly heart, but could not refrain this weakness.

Anne Bullen retired about two days journey from London, to one of her father's houses, where she was only accompanied by her mother. The place was very agreeable, and proper to sooth her melancholy; her absence astonished every body. Blunt, who knew not the true causes hereof, was joyful at it, and believed it to be the beginning of her disgrace, and that she was withdrawn by rigour. But the queen, more penetrating, plainly perceived that her banishment was only to appease the people's murmuring and to facilitate the king's designs.

At this juncture, the old earl of Northumberland returned from Ireland, and was received with extraordinary testimonies of esteem and friendship. The king gave him new offices, augmented his revenues, and agreeably surprized him by the addition of favours, even beyond his hopes. Wolsey, who had advised with the king upon the conduct which ought to be observed in this affair, expressed to him, on his own part, how strong a desire he had to serve him, and gave him counsel how he might yet sustain and enlarge his fortunes. He convinced him at last, that the alliance of Anne Bullen would be no ways advantageous to his son, and proposed, by the bye, the only daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury for him, and made him easily apprehend how great credit this marriage would procure to his family. The only thing that made him pause, was to find means whereby to oblige his son, who was amorous and passionately beloved, to commit an infidelity. Wolsey, more crafty and less fearful, thought, with a little affront or foul play, it might easily be

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brought

brought to pass ; and that it was no hard matter to obstruct the most tender engagements.

Although the earl loved his son with a fatherly passion, and was persuaded of his constancy, yet he followed the cardinal's counsel, and proposed the earl of Shrewsbury's daughter to Percy, who answered his father with great emotion, and protested he would sooner seek his death in the utmost parts of the world, than renounce his love. The earl passed by this his first rashness ; but, whilst Percy, by a happy intelligence, entertained a commerce with Anne Bullen which cherished him, there was a treachery of cruel effects preparing for them both.

It was acknowledged that Anne Bullen was the only ornament of the court ever since her first arrival. The king was insensible of all pleasures, but those of love ; and Wolsey was obliged to hasten those affairs which might recall Anne Bullen.

Old Bullen, who was flattered with the hopes of seeing his daughter a queen, willingly assisted to deceive her ; and, whilst his more indulgent wife suffered her to continue her correspondence with Percy, he engaged with Wolsey and the earls of Northumberland and Shrewsbury.

Anne Bullen lived contentedly in her solitude, and seemed firmly resolved to continue in it ; but her father went himself to draw her out of it, and made use of all his authority to make her return to the court. She obeyed, but would not return to the queen ; and it was with great grief that she saw herself constrained to suffer the king's visits.

“ You fly from me,” said the king to her the first time he saw her ; “ will you always in this manner answer a passion which makes me undertake such extraordinary things ? ” “ You have explained
“ it.”

“ it,” she replied, “ in so extraordinary a manner,
 “ that I have great reason to doubt of it ; and
 “ there are but few lovers who would signalize
 “ their passion in banishing the creature they love.”
 “ The violence I acted on myself,” the king re-
 turned, “ in banishing you hence, ought to oblige
 “ you to pity me, and not to reserve such unjust
 “ resentment against me. I would labour securely
 “ for my repose and your fortune : for you alone I
 “ have engaged myself in this divorce which now
 “ so much surprizeth all Europe : in one word, I
 “ will make you queen.” “ It is a condition, she
 replied, interrupting him, “ too glorious for me ;
 “ and I am not in a condition to accept it. You
 “ owe your heart to the queen, who is a princess
 “ deserving all your affection ; do not, in aban-
 “ doning her, draw upon yourself those miseries
 “ which usually attend infidelity.” “ How cruel
 “ is your generosity ?” said the king ; “ or, rather,
 “ how unjust is your perseverance for Piercy ?
 “ He is not so worthy as you esteem him, and
 “ time shall shew you who is most your lover, he
 “ or I.”

In this manner the king explained himself, and Anne Bullen continued steadfast to the passion she had for her lover, who had left London to shun the persecution of his father, and was absent at her arrival ; but soon came up at the news of her return ; and she soon perceived she had committed an irreparable oversight in leaving the queen’s house. Her father forbid her to see Piercy, and sent him word of it, that so he might avoid the refusal which would be given him at the gate. This prohibition troubled her extremely, and she was under a necessity to make use of her courage. She dissembled before her father, and told him, with great indifferency, that she would obey his

commands; but she hoped, in doing this injustice to Piercy, it was not his resolution to employ the authority he had over her in favour of any other person. "As those whom I would serve in your behalf," said he, "have more power than I, I shall easily promise you to do nothing for them." At length he retired, and, as she doubted not but Piercy's impatience would soon bring him to her, she informed him of her father's orders by the following letter.

"IT is forbidden me to see you; it is a cruel necessity unto which I am forced to obey; but, my dear Piercy, they cannot hinder me from loving you. I conjure you submit yourself to those that have authority over me; avoid those rash carriages that may render us meritorious of our sufferings; I shall not see you, but I shall sacrifice to you what considerable thing soever fortune can offer me, attending the opportunity to give you more forcible demonstrations of my tendernefs."

He that delivered this letter to Piercy was an eye-witness of the transports it caused. He presently thought upon revenge, and to begin with Wolsey first, whom he looked upon as the principal cause of his misfortune; but, considering he was forewarned not to yield to the emotions of his anger, he was satisfied with afflicting himself, and thus he answered the letter of Anne Bullen.

"NO considerations could hinder my resentment, if the injustice of my enemies could have made me lose your heart; continue your bounty to me, which I prefer above all things. It would be unnecessary for me to repeat here how
" well

“ well I love you, and what I suffer for you. I
 “ will hope with you that the times may change:
 “ pity me, and believe that my passion shall never
 “ end but with my life.”

The messenger entrusted with the letters between Piercy and Anne Bullen, was perfidious; and, being corrupted by her father, never delivered her the answer he had sent. She was surprized at Piercy's coldness, notwithstanding she did not accuse him; but attributed this silence to his grief.

She feigned herself indisposed for a long time, as considering that, since she was forbidden to see Piercy at home, she could not be permitted to see him elsewhere; and, to avoid all occasions of giving her father cause to complain of her disobedience, and the world to give her trouble, she did not appear in any place, and Piercy sought after her in vain. In the mean time he was exposed to all the bad effects that a violent passion cruelly thwarted could possibly cause. The king, in the mean time, saw Anne Bullen every day. Piercy was not long ignorant of this: he knew well enough that her indisposition was feigned; and, believing that she had received his answer, bewailed himself that her first bounties should have so short a continuance. In this sort he passed away a month, and could do nothing but figure a thousand cruel things to himself. His jealousy began to make him fear that the king was happier than he, and the event of things confirmed him in his first suspicions.

The earl of Northumberland and old Bullen were equally agreed with Wolsey. The one aspired to see his daughter crowned, and the other to see his son matched into the most considerable family

in England. Piercy had a constancy which amazed them, and to remove it, Wolfey contrived with them a letter from old Bullen to the earl of Northumberland, which was in these terms.

“ THE obstacle which your son’s passion for
 “ my daughter hath hitherto put to the marriage
 “ you so much desire, is now wholly removed. I
 “ open my very heart, and impart my joy to you.
 “ Our persuasions have shaken Anne Bullen, and
 “ the king’s perseverance hath conquered her :
 “ the appearances of a divorce have flattered her
 “ ambition, and she hath now surrendered herself
 “ to the interest of her fortune, after a long fight
 “ she maintained for Piercy. If things succeed
 “ according to our hopes, a short time shall assure
 “ you that no person in the world has a higher va-
 “ lue for you than myself.

“ THOMAS BULLEN.”

The earl of Northumberland laid this letter upon the table in his closet, where his son usually came to speak with him, and left the door open. Fate acted what he desired ; Piercy having some business with the earl, went into the closet, and there found this counterfeit letter, which confirmed the loss of his repose. He read it often, and would have persuaded himself that it was not real ; but appearances, joined with so powerful an evidence, left him no room to doubt of his misfortune. “ The
 “ faithless creature has surrendered,” cried he ;
 “ and, whilst I despise real advantages, she hark-
 “ ens to an inconstant man, who himself will soon
 “ punish her for the perjury she hath done me.”
 He paused a long time upon this letter, and confirmed himself in his thoughts that he was betrayed. By these reflections he concluded that Anne Bul-
 len’s

len's letter to him was only an artifice to hinder him from seeing her; and, that she, agreeing with her father, had consented to writing of this to the earl of Northumberland, who at this moment came in, and judged, by the great consternation he found his son in, that he had seen Bullen's letter. He asked him, with an affected carelessness, if he had any thing to say to him. "Yes, my lord," replied Piercy, "I come to beg your permission that I may go for some time to suck in a more agreeable air than this of London." "Why will you," said the earl, "leave it, when all things require your continuance here? You are sensible of my designs, and of the complaisance I have hitherto shewed to your repugnancy to them; but, in short, Piercy, it is high time you should now satisfy me: you bear an illustrious name, my years are far spent, and the interest of our house solicits me to establish you." "I know, my lord," said Piercy sighing, that I ought indisputably to act whatever you please; but you have known my weakness, and I still crave your honour's pardon for it." "Your constancy is so ill rewarded," the earl interrupted him, "that I blush to see you sigh for a woman who abandons you, and pays those favours she only hopes from the king with such shameful advances." "I beseech you, my lord," replied Piercy weeping, "to spare Anne Bullen; she may have some levity, but can never fail of being virtuous, and I am persuaded she will never sacrifice me but to the crown of England." "There is no likelihood of what you say," continued the earl; "the divorce cannot be made; Campeggio is preparing to go to Rome, and the queen has better hopes than ever. Notwithstanding the king visits Anne Bullen every
" day,

“ day, and at all hours, he is very well satisfied with her, and has quite deserted Blunt.”

Some persons that came to pay a visit to the earl interrupted this conversation, which continued long enough to put Piercy to cruel trials; his father would not in policy speak to him of this letter, as not doubting but he had seen it; but gave him liberty to go and make doleful reflections upon it.

He passed one of those terrible nights, wherein sensible disquiets take up the place of repose; and, far from finding relief, he heard on the morrow that the king had created Anne Bullen marchioness of Pembroke, old Bullen earl of Ormond and Wilton, and his son viscount Rochfort. He doubted not that these favours from the king were rewards for the favours he received from Anne Bullen, and in spite of himself he fell into unjust suspicions of her.

The earl of Northumberland quickly perceiving the disorder of his mind, and the impression that all these things had made upon it, did not neglect so favourable a conjuncture. Piercy's constancy was attacked in many different places, they made him apprehend that he ought to engage himself before the intrigue of the king and Anne Bullen was made public. The earl of Shrewsbury's daughter was young and beautiful; he believed he might find some repose with a person so amiable, and married her, after he had so long resisted the commands of his father; but time made him know his love was only hid under a resentment of short continuance.

In the mean time, the business of the divorce did not advance; the cardinal Campeggio, who was mediator for Rome, had orders to proceed slowly; the king's love made him impatient; Anne Bullen

Bullen was not of the same character with Blunt, but adhered more strictly to her honour.

But how great was her surprize when she heard of Piercy's marriage, although she had murmured at his silence, she did not fear his fidelity: she gave no credit for a great while to this intelligence, and thought it was only a trial they had put her upon; but at length she was forced to yield, and persuade herself of that thing which all the world confirmed. Her own conduct did not in the least reproach her, yet she believed his distrust of her constancy had been the cause of his change. She employed all her care to hide her grief, but she succeeded not so well therein, but the king perceived it, and reproached her with the kindness she retained for so faithless a man. In fine, all her spight was turned upon Wolfey; she had not the power to wish Piercy any harm to avenge herself. Blunt was not less enraged against Wolfey than she; she understood by her correspondence with viscount Rochfort that Piercy had not been deceived but by the cardinal.

These two formidable enemies undertook a thing that seemed impossible; that is to say, the utter overthrow of Wolfey's fortune. The queen, who had much juster reasons to hate him, had the same intentions to ruin him, and laboured on her part to destroy this audacious favourite.

Piercy found not that tranquillity in his marriage which he expected; although he believed the marchioness of Pembroke was inconstant, and honour-obliged him to withdraw his affections from her, yet he found a greater disposition in himself to love her now than ever. The perplexity of finding himself every day sensible of his first passion, occasioned him a dangerous fit of sickness: in the height of his fever it was discoverable that he retained

tained the same passion: but his youth, and the great care that was taken of him, surmounted that distemper which every body judged to be mortal. However, he continued in a languishing condition, which time could never effectually restore him from.

As angry as Anne Bullen was with him, she could not forbear to wish his recovery; his crime appeared altogether detestable to her, but she thought upon his person with pleasure. They had not seen one another from the time his majesty had commanded her to retire from London, till they accidentally met one day by the side of the river Thames with equal emotion of spirit. She could hardly know him, he was grown so pale and dejected, that he moved rather pity than anger. She gave a shriek when she perceived it was he, who took her surprize to be her aversion.

“Madam,” said he to her, “I did not design to give you any trouble here; my grief conducted me hither, as a place proper for no other company but itself; at a more happy time, perhaps, you might have seen me with less horror.”

“In a more happy time, replied the marchioness, with looks which expressed more of sorrow than wrath, I should certainly have found the most sensible of all pleasures to have seen the faithful and generous Piercy; but I ought to have nothing but horror for a man, who, after his dearest to me, is become inconstant, perfidious, and, in one word, the son-in-law to the earl of Shrewsbury. You have taught me to change, answered Piercy dolefully, but unfortunately for me, my condition is only changed, my heart is altogether the same it was. You are married, she added, can you say that I have
“given

“ given you examples of levity ; I, whom neither
 “ king, father, favourite, nor fortune herself, could
 “ be ever able to shake, nay even since you have
 “ betrayed me.” “ And have not you, said Piercy,
 “ repaid the king those dignities he hath showered
 “ on your whole family, with that same heart you
 “ stole from me ?” “ No, unjust Piercy, said she, I
 “ have not done what you say, I have loved you
 “ with too much perseverance ; and, if I ought to
 “ be reproached with any thing, it is that I have
 “ writ you a letter full of tenderness, which you
 “ would not vouchsafe to answer.” “ Have you not
 “ received my answer, cried he ? I am betrayed,
 “ madam, I am too courteous, not to acknow-
 “ ledge the honour you did me ; I have watched
 “ a thousand times to see you since, but you did
 “ not appear ; the king has been continually in
 “ your company, has overwhelmed you with his
 “ favours, and all the world spoke of his good for-
 “ tune. Your father has confirmed it, and despair
 “ has precipitated me into this state I am in at
 “ present.”

“ I see, said the marchioness, we owe all our
 “ miseries to the artifices of Wolsey, and, without
 “ reproaching your weakness, I shall be content
 “ to comfort myself with that liberty I have pre-
 “ served : I merit much greater evils than those I
 “ have, and I well see, that time has destined me
 “ enough of them.”

“ But as for you, madam, said Piercy, put
 “ an end to those which may menace you ; for-
 “ get an ungrateful man, who ought not to give
 “ you a moment’s trouble, and no longer refuse
 “ that glory the king offers you ; marry him, if
 “ he can make you queen ; you shall have in me
 “ a most unfortunate subject, who will retain for
 “ you sentiments of respect and adoration to the
 “ last

“ last minute of his life, and who shall find comfort in any condition, when he shall see you in a state worthy of yourself. I conjure you to this, continued he, prostrating himself at her feet, if a truly sincere penitence can merit any thing of you.”

She interrupted him, shedding some tears, “Go, Piercy, and let it suffice you to have caused me the chief of all evils, do not solicit me to render it yet greater. You have been more dear to me than fortune, and you are still too much so; let us put a period to this conversation which afflicts us, and can give us no other subject but that of repentance; reserve yourself for those persons to whom you stand obliged, and endeavour to forget me, for your own quiet sake.”

At these words the marchioness parted from him, and he had not courage enough to detain her; she never appeared more beautiful to him, and he never found himself more amorous. He continued some time after in the place; he murmured against his father, detested Wolsey, accused the earl of Ormond, made a thousand reproaches to himself, and returned to his house full of grief and distraction.

This discourse of Anne Bullen and Piercy gave them knowledge of their misfortunes, and incensed them against the cardinal. The pope's sickness, which happened at this time, made him neglect the divorce, and employ himself entirely in secret intrigues, by which he intended to secure the succession to the see of Rome. The king perceived something, and pressed the two cardinals earnestly to determine this famous affair, because they had full power do it. But the pope, recovering this sickness, recalled Campeggio, without giving him leisure to satisfy the king. The king, notwithstanding

Standing, resolved to appear in court, with the queen, before the judges: nothing was more smart and touching than what the queen pleaded in her defence; she implored justice of the king, and went out of court in despair, and made her appeal from the cardinals to the pope.

The king accused Wolsey of his delay, and that he had betrayed him secretly; but the cardinal moderated his indignation by his rhetoric; the king, nevertheless, looked upon him as a man of little sincerity.

Cardinal Campeggio departed from London; and the king, who knew the pope and the emperor were reconciled, feared his designs, queen Catharine being aunt to the emperor, who interested himself strongly in her cause. Wolsey's slackness, whilst he was in prospect of being elected pope, caused much disquiet to the king, who ordered Campeggio to be stopped at the sea side, under pretence of searching his goods; but, in effect, it was to see if there could be found amongst them any writings concerning these affairs.

His departure raised the queen's hopes, but gave fear to those that were interested for the marchioness of Pembroke. Blunt was not displeased with these delays, knowing the king's present inclinations: and Anne Bullen was joyful thereat, in hopes to be revenged on Wolsey; which followed soon after.

The king had murmured against him with high displeasure; every one perceived his favour was upon the decline, and the enemies his haughtiness had raised him, now threw off constraint; the people cried out upon this injustice; the lords complained of his pride, and the queen of the sorrows he had caused her. She even proved that he designed to betray the king, keeping secret intelligence

The LIFE and DEATH OF

ice with the pope and the emperor, it was made early to appear, that he oppressed the nation by his vanity, which he supported by tyrannizing over the people; Anne Bullen was too much interested against him not to second the multitude, and vindictive Blunt acted with no less resentment.

He was then accused, and arraigned according to the usual forms of justice, yet he continued to sit as chancellor, hoping, by his presence, to disperse this storm; but the king was informed, that a person accused as a criminal ought not to officiate the most important charge of the kingdom; who sent the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to him to demand the great seal from him; which he refused, fiercely telling them his majesty had honoured him with the office of chancellor for his life; but, the king wrote to him the next day to send it, and to quit London. He obeyed the order of his sovereign, returned the seal, and immediately went to Asher, a very fair house, that he built after he had given Hampton-Court to the king, commanding his steward to deliver up to the king, or his orders, all his moveables which were the richest that ever any subject possessed.

Norris, who had been educated at court, took Wolfey's place of favourite and confidant. The quality of agent in amorous secrets, was more agreeable to his character than to the gravity of a prelate: he was, by experience, perfectly skilled in love intrigues; he had excess of complaisance and found the true way to please the king.

Wolfey's process was made with great precipitation; all his goods were confiscated, he convicted of treason against the king, and execution of the laws of the kingdom, but the d

Of his person was left to the pleasure of his sovereign: if he had been more submissive, or less dangerous, he had undoubtedly found more friends, but his fortune and his pride had raised him up irreconcilable enemies; he was soon after ordered to attend the sequel of his destiny at Asher. The king, who could not all at once renounce the kindness he formerly had for him, left him in possession of the archbishopric of York and bishopric of Lincoln; sent Norris privately to him, to assure him that he pitied his misfortune; and, to give him a ring, which the cardinal received upon his knees. He gave Norris a magnificent present, and afterwards acquainted him (with a great deal of eloquence and resolution) that he was a striking example of Fortune's inconstancy: he conjured him to assure the king of his respect and gratitude; and fell dangerously ill, upon hearing by the intelligence he kept at court, that the queen's friends, Blunt's industry, and the credit of Anne Bullen, every day alienated the king's remaining affections for him. The king, in the mean time, was concerned at his illness, he sent persons to visit him, and obliged even the marchioness of Pembroke to testify some candour to him; he was permitted to go from Asher to Richmond, but was arrested on the road upon new accusations of treason, and carried to Cawood castle.

Some time after he was taken out of the castle to be brought to London, but grief and a fever ended his life upon the road: he died with a great deal of constancy, and signified no other regret, but the loss of his prince's friendship: he had a prodigious genius, and had, in some measure, governed all Europe; no enemies but women could have caused the fall of such a man.

The king had been more affected with his death, had he been less taken up with love; but he thought upon nothing but the means whereby he might possess Anne Bullen: he gave every day some fresh mark of his bounty to those of her family; her father was raised to the highest dignities, and her brother, viscount Rochford, made the greatest figure of any man at court; he was permitted to see Blunt every day, but she had, nevertheless, hatred and jealousy against his sister.

Piercy led a most deplorable life; his passion for Anne Bullen had renewed all its force since their interview upon the river side; she tasted more sweetness in finding him less culpable than she could imagine; but, the greater she found her tenderness for him, the more she avoided meeting him, not finding in herself strength enough to hide her inclinations. Norris soon made himself considerable to all the world, by the credit he had acquired with the king; he often visited the marchioness of Pembroke, in delivering the king's amorous messages to her; but he took a little too much pleasure in this commerce, and unhappily found his heart was too tender to serve as an agent for another, without some self-interest with the most beautiful person in the world.

The esteem which the kings of England and France had reciprocally one for the other, joining with some reasons of state, obliged them to make another interview. Henry met Francis at Boulogne, and Francis accompanied Henry afterwards to Calais, where the two courts made the most glorious company in Europe. They made many feasts, and the marchioness of Pembroke appeared so beautiful in a masquerade, at which the two kings were present, that she made a conquest

conquests. Norris was so charmed with her, that he could not forbear saying to one of his most particular friends when the feast was over: "How fair is the marchioness of Pembroke! and how unhappy is a man to have a heart so sensible of it as mine!" The king passed by him at that instant, but the place was dark, and he not speaking it very loud, his voice could not be discerned.

Henry made the king of France his confident in the passion he had for Anne Bullen, and told him he was resolved to marry her, as soon as ever the divorce should be determined. This prince, far from condemning his design, acknowledged to him that he had passionately loved her, and that, in the same condition, he should have done the same thing; that he could assure him by experience, she had virtue, which made her worthy of the honour he intended for her, and he offered him his assistance, if he stood in need of it upon this occasion; an authority of such importance could not but cause a sensible joy to Henry. The two princes mutually promised an inviolable friendship, and being willing to demonstrate it even in their subjects, Henry gave the order of the garter to the constable of Montmorency and the admiral Brion; and Francis gave the order of the golden fleece to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk.

At the return from this voyage, the king of France, whose counsel the marchioness respected, solicited her for the king of England: she could no longer oppose so great difficulties; her parents, her acquaintance, and Piercy himself, who conjured her to it, at length shook her resolution. She consented to marry the king, and Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Litchfield,

privately celebrated the ceremony in presence of archbishop Cranmer, a number of persons to whom the king imparted this secret, and some of the family of Anne Bullen. The publication of the divorce was made shortly after; queen Anne was presently crowned, and queen Catharine ever after called the princess dowager.

Never was any person more satisfied with his own fortune than Henry, nor more worthy of hers than the beautiful queen; she reserved so much sweetness and modesty in this exaltation, that she charmed all those that approached her. Piercy, who continually adored her, was consoled, in some measure, by his mistress's glory: queen Catharine expected it too long to be surprised; but Blunt's fury, who foresaw it as well as the queen, gave her terrible agitations at the news: her hatred to the sister extended to the brother, and she detested both the one and the other. It was somewhat terrible to her, to see her rival elevated to the same degree of honour that she had fixed her hopes upon, and no enterprize appeared difficult to her, in order to pull her down.

In the interim, the young queen was with child, and was delivered of a daughter, who was afterwards the admiration of all Europe, the illustrious queen Elizabeth.

The divorce was so far from being confirmed by the pope, that it was declared null at Rome, where king Henry was sentenced to retake his queen, upon penalty of excommunication in case of refusal. It would be superfluous here to repeat the whole series of a matter so well known: the grief of queen Catharine was very violent; so she had hoped, that, after the king had satisfied his love, he would be reduced by reason; but
wh

when she saw him persevere, she gave herself up to discontent, and fell into a distemper, whereof she died.

She wrote such tender and affecting letters to the king, that he was touched with some remorse for his injustice to her. She left him one daughter, who was afterwards queen Mary.

Norris sought by all means to keep in the king's favour; but he had an interest to manage: his heart was strongly fixed upon the queen, but the king's constancy to her robbed him of all hopes to discover his passion to her: he knew the king was capable of new amours, and he took a great deal of care to make him observe the beauty of a young lady that waited upon the queen, insomuch, that he perceived the king was insensibly smitten with her; a full and quiet possession oftentimes palls the appetite of the most passionate lover, and the enjoyment most commonly is sufficient to obliterate the merit of the person. Thus, whilst the queen performed her duty, faithfully loving the king, and forcing herself to forget unfortunate Piercy, love revenged Blunt, and prepared misfortunes for the queen, from which nothing could secure her.

Although her beauty was nothing diminished by marriage, the king could not forbear following his inconstant inclinations, and fell in love with Jane Seymour. The perfidious Norris, who gave occasion to this, endeavoured to make a merit of the queen, and acquainted her with the king's new amours, in hopes to please her by his officiousness: she told him, that since his majesty had been pleased to honour her with his tendernefs, and rendered her condition so glorious, he was not obliged to confine all his affections to her person; and she should be so far from perplexing herself

2 The LIFE and DEATH of

ith fruitless jealousy, that she should be joyful to see him reach his satisfaction.

Norris explained the queen's discourse to his particular sense; he believed that she did not love the king, and that her indifference had caused her to speak in this manner: "Your majesty has reason, said he, thus to despise his injustice, and you will have no less reason to use him with the same inconstancy: thus your majesty ought to revenge your beauty, and you cannot do amiss herein, since he hath given you a precedent: if I had so great a share in your majesty's esteem, as I have passion for your interests, I should take the liberty to tell your majesty."—"If I had the least esteem for you, replied the queen coldly, and you should have a real zeal for me, it should be neither your friends nor your counsels, that should regulate my conduct: I know the king's goodness, and shall never recede from the acknowledgment and respect I owe to him: I do not penetrate the reasons that oblige you to speak this; be more discreet for the future, and do not force me to advertise the king that you betray his secrets."

The queen left Norris in despair, at the ill success of his infidelity; the king's new inclination was not long kept secret; Blunt was immoderately overjoyed at it, hoping, that if she could chase Anne Bullen from the king's heart, she might also easily dispossess her of the throne, where she could not look upon her without extreme grief. The tenderness she had for the viscount Rochford was utterly blotted out, by his keeping the marriage of his sister a secret, and never acquainting her with it; and she made no scruple to sacrifice him, so that she might but destroy his sister, who was her rival. She had so good intelligen-

Court, and had so wedded herself to fortune, that she had power to act greater things than any other ; she knew that it was now high time to second the indifference that the king began to have for the queen, and she caused a hundred things to be published against the virtue of this princess, who, tho' she kept not the least correspondence with Piercy, they affirmed that she saw him every day, and retained a great kindness for him. The fury of this enemy proceeded yet farther ; and she reported in several places, that viscount Rochford was passionately in love with the queen his sister, and received favour enough from her.

These reports were spread abroad every where, and tales, which never lose any thing in carriage, were now augmented according to the old custom. They at last reached the king, who gave ear to them, rather to authorise his change, than because he thought there was any truth in them.

Piercy had seen her sometimes after she was queen, but had his passion been never so earnest to have entertained her with discourse, it was impossible for him to succeed in it. But destiny once granted him this advantage at Greenwich : the queen was sitting there one evening in a green arbour, which gave a prospect of the Thames, and Piercy's melancholy conducted him to the same place, not dreaming whom he should meet there.

The queen was meditating upon the unhappy state of her condition ; for, though she had no extraordinary passion for the king, she had yet so much as to create in her a most sensible grief for his inconstancy. She was looking towards the river side, when Piercy came into the arbour, and he did not immediately know her, till at the noise of his coming in she turned herself ; and then,

notwithstanding the obscurity, they perceived each other.

The queen being alone, would have gone away; but Piercy, with a little earnestness stayed her. "Ah! madam," said he, casting himself at her feet, "refuse not one moment of your presence to a man, whose grief for the loss of you, hath reduced him to a condition that deserves your pity." "If what you ask could be capable to re-establish your repose," replied the queen, "I should grant it with pleasure; but Piercy, you can be never the happier for it, but will become the more criminal; we live under those laws that leave us not to ourselves, why do you sollicit me to pursue a weakness, which can do you no service?" "Will you then command me to renounce all manner of hopes," interrupted Piercy, "and give me leave to persuade myself, that your hatred makes you act thus? I know the difference that there is now between your rank and mine; and that, perhaps, I commit a great error in saying I ever loved you, but I can never forget that equality of sentiments which heretofore united us. Can it be possible, that so much of that passion should continue in my heart, and that nothing of it should remain in yours? I acknowledge that I have deserved my misfortune, but you have formerly found me worthy of your tenderness, and the remorse that my crime hath cost me, ought, in some measure, to expiate it." "If I hated you," replied the queen, "I should take less care to avoid you; it is the inclination I have for you that obliges me to shun you: I know myself, Piercy, and that I am not proof against your sighs; they have heretofore com-

posed

posed all the happiness of my life; perhaps, at
 this time, I should be but too sensible of them;
 I have enemies that have a vigilant eye up-
 on me, and the least failure may attract the
 greatest miseries, which would make you de-
 spair to have caused me: quit me then, indis-
 pensably tied to what I owe the king." "But
 he betrays you," interrupted Piercy, "and
 Seymour enjoys him intirely." "His proceed-
 ing may afflict me," added the queen, "but
 ought not to make me incur a guilt." "So I
 ought not to hope," said Piercy, "that love will
 do any thing for me?" "It is a passion, re-
 plied the queen, "which can procure us nothing
 but misfortunes: retire, Piercy, I conjure you,
 for I have some presages of a direful conse-
 quence; at this very moment that I speak to
 you, I feel my heart and my whole body to
 tremble, without knowing the least reason for it."
 "I will obey you till death," replied Piercy most
 lamentably, "and I hope, when I have fought
 it, it will cut off the intail of all my mis-
 ries." At this the queen could not forbear
 shedding tears. Piercy found great pleasure in
 looking upon her, but could not long enjoy it,
 she commanding him to retire.

Fortune, who took Blunt's part, acted more
 for her than she could hope, and placed her near
 the arbour where Piercy conversed with the
 queen; she failed not to misrepresent this innocent
 interview, which mere chance had given occasion to.
 The king heard of this as well as others; and, as he
 wished nothing more than the liberty to indulge
 his new passion, he gave strict order to observe the
 queen, that so she might be convicted upon some
 pretence or other. This did not hinder him from
 publishing

publishing a famous tilting at Greenwich, with orders to all the nobility to appear at it.

The queen, though very melancholy, and little disposed to take pleasure in such entertainments, was obliged to appear at them, but did it with a great deal of negligence. The king would only be a spectator of these jousts; viscount Rochford, the queen's brother, was defiant; and Norris, the king's favourite, defendant. All the young lords had magnificent equipages and gallant devices: there came an innumerable crowd of English and strangers to Greenwich; the Thames was covered with gilded barges, wherein the ladies were to return to London after the solemnity was over. Blunt, who foresaw that this day would end very agreeably to her, was bedecked after an extraordinary manner, and filled one of the chief balconies with her attendants. Young Seymour, proud to see herself adored by the king, and to give occasion to such entertainments, took care to adjust whatever art could contribute to her natural beauty, and both sexes this day made the most splendid appearance imaginable.

Piercy, who had renounced all sorts of pleasures, and whose last conversation with the queen had reduced to despair, resolved, but with a dreadful design, to be one of the tilers. He sought death, and the kingdom being in peace, he resolved in this day of pleasure not to avail himself of his own skill, but to suffer his adversary to practise his skill upon him. Having formed this design, he gave order for his equipage to be all in black, only a little edged with gold.

The day of solemn jousts being come, they were began with much vigour; the viscount Rochford won much honour, and gained great advantages
against

against the first that presented themselves; but it was much doubted he would not keep it when Piercy appeared, whose skill was well known. The queen wept when she saw him: he was so pre-occupied with his design, that he never regarded the different objects placed round about him. His first encounter against the viscount Rochford was very fine; they began the second, and Piercy, whose despair hurried him on, run himself upon the viscount's lance, which entered him for want of his armour, and made him fall with a deep wound. This misfortune was followed with a general cry. The viscount Rochford, who had done it undesignedly and against his intention, ran presently to Piercy, who had lost a great deal of blood, and was followed by many friends of the wounded: but whilst thus so many people shewed the affection they had for Piercy, the queen demonstrated hers by more evident affliction. The sight of Piercy's blood had chilled all hers, and a mortal grief robbed her of her soul; and that love which was lodged in her heart, in spite of all her attacks to chase it thence, made her feel her power at this time more than in the whole course of his life; she had not strength to resist so cruel a blow, but fell down in a swoon into the arms of the dutchess of Suffolk, who was near her.

This second accident quite put an end to the solemnity. The king found matter of perplexity and rage herein, which obliged him to retire into his palace at Greenwich, where the queen was also brought; whilst, on the other side, care was taken, of Piercy's preservation, which appeared at present very uncertain.

The king was no sooner alone, but he made reflections upon this adventure. The rumours that the cruel Blunt had sowed of viscount Rochford's
love

love for the queen, and of the continuance of her tenderness for Piercy, passed for current in his opinion. He believed that Rochford, having heard of the conversation the queen had with Piercy in the garden at Greenwich, was agitated with jealousy, and intended rather to kill Piercy than to conquer him; and the queen's grief sufficiently demonstrated her love,

The king was thus making refinements upon his first resentment, when an officer came in and presented him with a letter he had taken up at the lists, which he knew to be Norris's writing, wherein he read these words;

“ I am more enamoured with the queen than
 “ ever any person was: when I acquainted you
 “ the first time at Calais of my inclination for
 “ her, I did not believe it was able so far to trans-
 “ port me. Pity the condition wherein I am, and
 “ make some vows in favour of a passion which
 “ must certainly kill me, unless it find some en-
 “ couragement.”

This knowledge of a third lover of the queen's made the king absolutely determine to destroy them; and it was no small surprize to see the queen's barge stopped in returning to London, from which she was taken out and sent to the Tower with viscount Rochford and Norris.

But how great was the joy of Blunt, when she saw the disgrace of her rival? She promised herself that the queen's first going out of the Tower should be to the scaffold; and she prepared herself to act a terrible part in this tragedy.

Immediately were published some of the reasons which the king said he had to complain against the queen; whereupon she was severely examined,
 but

but nothing could be found capable to condemn her. She looked upon this as a relapse of the same fortune which had raised her to that height, and saw that it was the king's inconstancy alone which had caused it. The affection which she retained for Piercy was innocent enough to prevent her blushing, though all the world was privy to it; and as for her brother and Norris, she could not comprehend the meaning of it.

She submitted to the king's orders without suffering the least murmur against his injustice to escape out of her mouth; and, protesting that she was innocent, she only accused fortune of her ill treatment.

But, although she appeared so reserved to the public, she did not forbear to give her grief a liberal current, when the lords arrested and carried her to the Tower. The remembrance of her first engagements with Piercy, and the endearing correspondence that created them so many happy days, now returned afresh into her imagination. She considered that the king had been the only interrupter of that happiness, and that his pretending to raise her to a throne had been the sole foundation of all her miseries: she detested the condition of a queen, and the memory of Wolsey, who had ruined her by his artifices.

The viscount Rochford could not in the least imagine what should be the cause of his imprisonment; he accused the king's new passion of it, and judged that his sister's misfortune was only the effect of her husband's levity, and that fortune, who had made him participate in her favour, would involve him in her troubles. The connexions he had had with Blunt, and his knowledge of her aversion to the queen, made him despair of her assistance,

assistance, neither did she employ her cruelty against him for his own sake.

As for Norris, who some days before saw himself in that happy state, that attracted the envy of all the courtiers, and having himself carried on the intrigue betwixt Seymour and the king, much less apprehended such a return as should wholly overwhelm him at one instant, not imagining that a letter, which he had written to an old confidant of his, concerning his secret passion for the queen, should fall into the king's hands: however, that was not the only cause of his disgrace, for the king, in reading that, called to mind what he had heard him speak in going from the ball at Calais.

But whilst these three persons expected the event of this affair, all the court interested themselves herein differently. The king, possessed with his new amours, gave himself up entirely to those pleasures which his inconstancy led him to, and the queen's imprisonment hindered him not from prostrating himself at Seymour's feet.

Blunt, hoping to take an advantage of this juncture, employed all her charms and arts to recover the heart of the king; but, seeing all was labour lost, and, although she knew that in destroying the queen she did but labour to advance Seymour, yet she chose rather to serve that rival of hers, who revenged her, than she who stole the king's heart from her; and her bloody incompassionate soul furnished her with means for the most black and horrid infidelities.

As the viscount Rochford had most passionately loved her, he often wrote to her in the height of their correspondence; but to hide that commerce which any lost letter might discover, he stiled her
sister.

sister. She conveyed two of the most tender of these letters into the queen's closet, by seducing to her interest those who had an opportunity to do it, and never hesitated to destroy a person whom she had adored, to be revenged of her rival. The king searched all the queen's papers, amongst which he found these two letters, which were written in these terms.

L E T T E R I.

“ YOU well know, dearest sister, that I love
 “ you in so passionate a manner, that I should pre-
 “ fer the advantage of pleasing you above all the
 “ fortunes of the universe; and I shall esteem my-
 “ self the most happy of all men, if I could but
 “ one day make you forget the king. I possess
 “ neither his rank nor his merit, but I have more
 “ love, and more fidelity than he: make trial
 “ thereof, and you shall find my words are as sin-
 “ cere as my heart.”

L E T T E R II.

“ THE king beheld you yesterday with so
 “ great application, that I am alarmed thereat:
 “ you promised that you would have no amorous
 “ aspects for any person but myself, and yet I see
 “ you seek his with too much diligence. I avow
 “ to you, dearest sister, that I am jealous of you:
 “ Have I deserved that you should break your
 “ word with me; and will you renounce those boun-
 “ ties which I have had reason to praise? Manage
 “ yourself with the king, since fortune will have
 “ it so, but remember that all your tenderness is
 “ due to me, and that a few happy minutes are
 “ not

“ not sufficient for the repose of my life, and that
 “ I expect a continuance of your favours to assure
 “ me of the possession of your heart.”

All that was in these two letters, might very well be supposed as written to the queen; and the king had no sooner read them, but he felt himself transported with present revenge; but, considering at length that he was obliged to keep some measures herein, he gave orders that the queen's process, viscount Rochford's, and Norris's, should be drawn up according to the usual forms. His passion for Seymour, and some little remorse for queen Catharine, destroyed all the small pity wherewith Anne Bullen could inspire him; and, though she was much more amiable than any thing that he could ever love, nothing interceded more for her; but that destiny which caused her loss, created greater woes, and suffered them to reign.

As soon as the queen had notice that her process was forming, she wrote to the king in a very affecting manner, though her letters had not the desired effect, for he was wholly occupied with the desire of possessing Seymour, and the queen was now forced to despair of his heart: he shut his eyes to every thing that might favour her, and fixed them only on what could ruin her; he was persuaded that Piercy was passionately loved by her, and the letters which the perfidious Blunt had produced, left him no room to doubt of her guilt: he believed that jealousy was the only cause that made Piercy engage with the viscount Rochford; and, that their design in coming to the solemn justs, was to fight in earnest. Norris's letter was yet a farther subject of disquiet; and, if the queen was kind to Piercy, and received her own brother into the number of her gallants, it might justly be believed that

Push forwards 16 leaves.

that Norris, being young, handsome, and extreme amorous, was not ill treated by her.

Those who were friends to Seymour, confederates with Blunt, and some ungrateful persons, whom the queen had favoured, conspired together to destroy her. She was accused before the dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and some other peers, and constrained to plead for herself, all the world having thus abandoned her. She defended her innocence in a most persuasive manner, and explained herself with extraordinary moderation in respect of the king, and testified an entire resignation to his pleasure.

But, notwithstanding the force of her defence, she was brought in guilty, and condemned to lose her head, together with the viscount Rochford and Norris, who in a few days saw all his favour and the fairest hopes in the world, expire in a shameful death.

The queen heard her sentence with a most surprising constancy, and no woman ever manifested more greatness of soul; insomuch that they who would have comforted her, had greater need of consolation themselves. “ I receive this death to which my judges,” said she to them, “ by his majesty’s will have condemned me, as an addition to his former bounties; and I have lived long enough to die with constancy: I do protest that I quit this life without regret, and that it has been too grievous to me to make it desirable. Tell his majesty, if you please, that he has no reason to blush for having loved me; that I have acted nothing to render me unworthy that honour to which he was pleased to raise me: tell him, that I have honoured him as my prince, and loved him as my husband; and I call Heaven to witness before you, that I have never failed in

YOL. I. N “ my

“ my duty to him, neither as his subject nor as his
 “ wife. Add to this, I conjure you, that I am so
 “ far from murmuring at his severity, that I be-
 “ lieve him too just to have hated me without
 “ cause, and condemned me without reason; and
 “ I only accuse those enemies, which his former
 “ bounties have raised me, of my misfortunes. I
 “ leave him a daughter which is most dear to me,
 “ because she has the honour to be of his blood.
 “ I hope he will take pity on her youth; that my
 “ misfortunes will not disturb her infancy, and
 “ that, besides the tenderness he owes to her,
 “ she may still find in him what she loses in me.
 “ I retain neither hatred nor resentment against any
 “ of those who have betrayed me; and, if any
 “ thing can trouble the tranquility of my soul, it
 “ is the grief I have for being the cause of my
 “ brother’s death.” After these words, and some
 tokens of remembrance for those that had served her,
 she disposed herself for death with the same courage.

The viscount Rochford shewed a little more
 weakness, and inveighed against the king and the
 judges: he had truly loved the queen his sister,
 but no farther than the ties of blood and her virtue
 obliged him; he deplored the misfortune of this
 princess, and moved the hearts of the people that
 heard him.

Nothing appeared in Norris, but passion and
 despair; but who can express that of Piercy? for,
 from the time of the tournaments at Greenwich
 he had heard nothing of what had passed, till one
 of his servants indiscreetly told him this dismal
 adventure of the queen’s; at which his wounds
 opened again, and a torrent of blood issued out
 at this emotion, which threw him into a re-
 lapse of his first weakness, to which a fever join-
 ing made him light-headed; and, thinking he al-
 ways

ways saw the queen dying, he uttered many things which testified the condition of his heart, and the disorder of his reason: he would fain have leaped out of his bed and run to the succour of this princess; but, if they had not opposed this design, he had not strength to execute it.

In the mean time, the king was not without some inquietude: the affair in agitation caused him some troubles which he could in no wise avoid; but his passion for Seymour soon dispersed them, and no sooner was he touched with some remorse, but his fickle heart extinguished all its force.

The queen was beheaded in the Tower, to avoid that murmur which pity often excites amongst the multitude upon those sad occasions: but although this cruel action was executed in a private manner, there were many persons whom a barbarous curiosity drew to be spectators. Blunt failed not to be present at the place where she promised herself so much pleasure; she appeared there with the same splendor as if it had been a gallant festival; she was so obdurate as to display the magnificence of her apparel in the face of a mourning scaffold, and with her gaiety insulted an assembly wholly devoted to tears and grief.

The queen appeared with the same grace that was constantly admired in her. Her countenance was undisturbed, and nothing could be seen in her aspect but serenity and majesty: she was veiled all over with mourning; and, in the midst of all these dismal objects, her looks, which were cast upon all her spectators, infused grief and despair into all their hearts: even Blunt herself, that fierce and implacable enemy of the queen's, now felt that guilt hath its limits, and that fear and trembling are constantly its attendants; the resolution of the princess made her shiver, and she

could not avoid considering that she was the cause of all those evils. These reflections wrought a befeeming pensiveness upon her; and, if her eyes had been examined, they would have appeared much more troubled than the queen's. The maids of honour to this princess were extreme disconsolate; she exhorted them oftentimes to be constant according to her example, and seeing the executioner attended only her order, she spoke in particular to her divine, and afterwards addressed herself to all that could hear her.

“As I die your queen,” said she, “and the
 “artifices of envy cannot bereave me of that
 “quality, although they have robbed me of the
 “king's tenderness, which was much more dear to
 “me; I am joyful that I can assure you, in the
 “last moments of my life, that I have never dis-
 “honoured him either in my actions or thoughts;
 “but, in protesting my own innocence to ye I
 “do not pretend to render his majesty criminal;
 “I do declare, that I have great cause to extol
 “him, and his great favours to me do sufficiently
 “persuade that, without most powerful reasons,
 “he had never abandoned me to so deplorable a
 “fortune. I die without repining; imitate my
 “steadiness, and pardon yours as I do my ene-
 “mies; and let that pity which my misfortunes
 “can create in you, be declared in the favour of
 “a little princess, whom I leave to the king-
 “dom, and who is now going to be left to the
 “hatred of the king her father, and to the cruelty
 “of those who have destroyed me: her birth is
 “illustrious; and, although my blood is not so
 “noble as the king's, yet, at least, it merits the
 “esteem and protection of honest people: assist
 “one day, if there be occasion, those legitimate
 “rights which her condition hath given her. I
 “recon-”

“ recommend her, in general, to the people, to
 “ the nobility and gentry, and, in particular, to
 “ all those who are concerned at my misfortune.
 “ After this, I die praying for prosperity to the
 “ king, and peace and plenty to his kingdoms.”

After these words, she turned her last thoughts towards Heaven, and received her death like a true heroine. Blunt beheld her head severed from her body with horror, to which was joined a more sensible amazement when she saw the viscount Rochford appear.

She had loved him as far as her ambition was able to permit her. The deplorable condition in which he was; his innocence, which she so well knew; and his sad and languishing countenance, stabbed her to the heart. He fixed his eyes upon her, and, reserving a large proportion of kindness for her (notwithstanding all her intrigues) he sighed at the remembrance of their former pleasures; and, not being able to comprehend that a person whom he had adored should come to be an eye-witness of his death, and of a death of this nature, he expressed to her, by his dying looks, the astonishment that her cruelty had caused him; he uttered many sighs which reached Blunt's ears, and pierced her heart, which till then had been impenetrable. On her seeing the fatal blow given to the viscount Rochford, she felt all the injustice he suffered; remorse bereaved her of her senses; a mortal paleness spread itself over all her face, and, not being able to continue longer upon this dismal place, she was carried off before the execution of Norris, which followed the queen's and viscount Rochford's.

The king heard the news of this catastrophe not without some confusion, and would have been touched with it, but flatterers, who always make

it their chief business to extol the weaknesses of kings, soon stifled these motions, and exhorted his majesty to be resolute. In this they so well succeeded, that the queen was scarcely expired, but he married Jane Seymour.

The fury of queen Anne's enemies was extended even to her daughter, and they obliged the king to declare his marriage with her null, as he had that of queen Catharine, and the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, illegitimate.

After the queen's death, Piercy lived but a few languishing days. He quitted the court, and sought for employments answerable to the sad state of his condition. As for Blunt, she was punished for all her crimes by the king's inconstancy, and by the death of her son, upon whom she had laid the foundation of so great hopes, and to whom Fortune had decreed such glorious advantages. She died suffering that misery her cruelties had justly deserved, being despised by the king, and hated by all the world.

Anne Bulken was generally bewailed, and, notwithstanding all that her enemies said against her, many respectable persons who knew her virtue, retained a just veneration for her memory, and inspired the same sentiments into succeeding ages: she was not only beautiful, generous and beneficent, but was endowed with a true and real wisdom, and was altogether worthy of that grandeur to which she was raised, and from which she so unfortunately fell.



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
L O R D R O C H F O R D.

LORD Rochford is scarce mentioned in history, but as the brother of Anne Bullen, to his relation with whom he owed his dignity and misfortunes. That natural affection, which a sister has for her brother, and which is not only innocent but laudable, gave rise to the blackest calumny against both the queen and him, and soon brought about the ruin of both.

The lord Rochford was one of the handsomest men of his age; but, by a fatality which is but too frequently seen in marriages, he was joined in wedlock with a woman, who was so far from being worthy of him, that she was a disgrace to human nature, and deserved even a severer fate than she afterwards met with. This monster of iniquity was unfaithful to her husband's bed, notwithstanding his great merit and accomplishments, which may be very naturally accounted for by that observation of Shakespear's:

“ As virtue never will be woo'd,
“ Tho' lewdness tempt it in a shape of heaven;
“ So vice, tho' to a radiant angel link'd,
“ Will fate itself in a celestial bed
“ And prey on garbage.”

She was, upon this account deservedly hated by the queen who tenderly loved her brother, and being, at the same time apprehensive that her enormities might be brought to light, and highly incensed against the queen; she did her utmost to persuade the king, that she was disloyal, and charged her with being guilty of the abominable sin of incest with her brother. The king did not fail to listen to this horrid accusation, because it conspired with his inclinations, as he had then conceived a passion for Jane Seymour, and was grown weary of the queen. However, the circumstance of lord Rochford's being accused by his wife, will go a great way to vindicate him in the opinion of all the rational and judicious. A wife that accuses her husband from her own mere motion, shews herself intirely unworthy of credit, as she, by that very action, discovers herself to be destitute of all principle and sentiment. We shall leave it to the casuists to decide in what case a wife may accuse her husband; but we make no doubt, but every reader will readily allow, that a wife that accuses her husband upon mere surmises, is altogether inexcusable.

Such was the success of her insinuations, that the king, immediately after the justs at Greenwich, ordered lord Rochford, Norris, Weston, Breerton, and Smeton to be apprehended, and the queen to be conveyed to the Tower.

Historians are generally agreed, that it is not known with certainty what happened at the justs to give occasion to the manifestation of the king's jealousy. It appears to us highly probable, that the whole scheme had been concerted before-hand, and was not till then ripe for execution. Be that as it will, lord Rochford was committed to the Tower, and it seems highly probable, he did not even

Even know what would be laid to his charge : but his ruin was determined as well as the queen's, and innocence itself could avail them nothing.

When lord Rochford received information of the crimes laid to his charge, he easily conjectured who so black a calumny was raised by, and being aware of the alteration in the king's sentiments began to despair of his own life, as well as of that of the queen, for whom he was equally concerned, as he had always loved her, though, as he declared himself ; and, it seems highly probable, that his affection never exceeded the limits to which a brother's love for his sister should be confined.

Lord Rochford, in this melancholy situation, without friends to advise with, and debarred from all correspondence with his sister, abandoned himself to despair, both upon her account and his own. After having a long time languished in confinement, he was brought to his trial with the queen, on the 12th of May, 1536, at Westminster-hall. He pleaded not guilty, as well as the queen ; but was not very prolix in making his defence ; and certain it is, that had he spoke ever so well in his vindication, it would have been to no purpose, as his death was resolved upon as well as the queen's. The only circumstance that could be alledged against him, in proof of his having carried on an incestuous commerce with his sister, was, that he had been once seen leaning upon her bed. But such trivial circumstances were, in that age, of sufficient weight with courts whose proceedings were entirely regulated by the king's pleasure.

He received sentence to be beheaded, though it was never known upon what grounds, either the queen or he was condemned. Thus this unfortunate youth saw himself doom'd to an ignominious death, and his only crime was being brother to a woman

woman, whose transcendent merit had raised her to the throne of England, and who, in her elevated station, could not forget that he was her brother. But, in that age, those of the first quality were exposed to the greatest dangers, the true principles of government were not understood, and the same despotic spirit that influenced the prince, was blindly submitted to by the people.

It appears from history, that he never owned any thing that could countenance the proceedings against the queen; but maintained to the last; that he was entirely innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, and that he believed her to be equally innocent. It has been observed above, that Breckton, Norris, and Weston asserted the queen's innocence also, though it is not to be doubted but the king's emissaries had done their utmost to prevail upon them all by promises of pardon, to confess a crime they never were guilty of.

With regard to his behaviour whilst under confinement, we are told, that he discovered great symptoms of fear and anxiety, and did not wait death with half the resolution and intrepidity of the queen. This furnishes a farther presumption in favour of the innocence both of him and his sister, as it is not at all probable, that a person of so timid a disposition, could have resisted the allurements of offered life, if the condition had not been such as he could not possibly comply with. Nothing but conviction of the queen's innocence, and his own, could have made him resist the importunities of those who were employed by the king, to prevail upon him to make a confession, which would have vindicated the king from the imputation of cruelty and injustice, in his arbitrary proceedings against the queen. But lord

Rosh-

ford, weak as he was, constantly maintained the queen's innocence, though he knew that he had no hopes of escaping death, but by complying with the will of the court.

He was beheaded in the year 1536, and Brereton, Norris, and Weston were executed after him. On the scaffold he declared, that he had never conferred with the queen, but in the company of others; and that he was persuaded, that she never admitted the addresses of any of those with whom she was suspected. His head being severed from his body, he was buried in the chapel within the Tower. When we reflect upon the unhappy catastrophe of this nobleman, we cannot help applying to him those emphatical words of the poet:

“ Mors sola fatetur quantula sint hominum
Corpuscula ”

Death, death alone, which ends life's narrow span;
Can fully shew how weak is mortal man.

Though he had shone the admiration of the court; though he had enjoyed the favour of the king, and distinguished himself in the most brilliant theatre of Europe in those days, he at last fell ingloriously by the hand of an executioner.

T H E

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T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
T H O M A S F I T Z G E R A L D.

THOMAS FITZGERALD was son to the earl of Kildare, lord-deputy of Ireland, who, having given the king reason to be dissatisfied with his conduct, went over to England in order to vindicate himself. Upon his arrival he was immediately committed to the Tower, till he should clear himself of the crimes with which he was charged.

Before his departure from Ireland, he received orders from the king to chuse out a successor whose fidelity he could answer for; whereupon he very injudiciously laid this important charge on the weak shoulders of his eldest son, Thomas Fitzgerald, who was at that time scarce twenty-one years of age. The earl invested his son with this dignity at Droghedagh, in the presence of the king's council. At the same place he afterwards embarked for England.

It is hard to say which is most worthy of censure, the father for making choice of so young and unexperienced a man to fill such an office, or the son for undertaking what he was so unequal to. One may apply to him what Ovid makes Apollo object to Phaeton,

*Magna petis, Phaeton, et quæ non viribus istis
Munera conveniunt nec tam puerilibus annis.*

The

The consequences of this step were such as might have been expected. The exaltation of Thomas proved destructive to his family and himself; for his enemies, upon this occasion, had recourse to fraud and deceitful artifices. They industriously spread a report that no sooner was the earl cast into prison but he was beheaded; and, that the same fate threatened Thomas, his two brothers and uncles.

This inconsiderate youth fell into the snare that was laid for him, and giving credit to these falsehoods, on the eleventh of June hastened towards St. Mary Abbey, near Dublin, being guarded with one hundred and forty well-armed horse. At the abbey he resigned the sword and robes of state, the lord-chancellor Cromer endeavouring to dissuade him from it, but in vain.

Having now no longer any measures to keep, he broke out into open rebellion, and having gathered a tumultuous crowd of soldiers together, he destroyed and laid waste the lands of those that did not favour his enterprize; he moreover seized on some of the nobles and persons of the first quality, whom he compelled to swear to him; and such as absolutely refused to do it, he ordered to be apprehended and secured in prison at Maynouth.

The mayor and citizens of Dublin having received notice of this, sent a small body of armed men to way-lay those who conducted the prisoners and rescue them by force; but, as the advantage in number was on the other side, they lost eighty in the skirmish, and were obliged to return without having effected their purpose. It is not with certainty known how many of the Geraldines fell upon this occasion.

These troubles excited such terror, that many fled over to England: those of the greatest note among

among them, were Sapley, bishop of Meath, and Rawson, the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem in Ireland; also Alan, archbishop of Dublin, together with Tinglais, chief baron of the exchequer, withdrew to the castle of Dublin, which John Fitzsimon, one of the aldermen of the city, had victualled at his own expence.

The archbishop proposing to fly to England soon after, took ship by night near Dame's gate; but, whether it was owing to contrary winds, or the negligence of the mariners, he was driven ashore near Clantarf, from whence he went to Jartain, or Arditin, a village not far distant, where he intended to conceal himself for a time.

Thomas Fitzgerald no sooner heard of this, but, being elated by his success against the citizens of Dublin, he went thither next morning early, accompanied by his two uncles, John and Oliver, and many attendants. John Teling and Nicholas Wafer were immediately sent to bring Alan with them. These men forcing into the house, violently dragged the aged prelate out of his bed, and led him away half-naked to their master. When Alan came into his presence, he fell upon his knees, and earnestly entreated him to spare his life: but when he found there was no hopes of mercy, he betook himself to his devotions, and, whilst he poured forth his prayers to God, he was most barbarously murdered, his brains being dashed out in the sight of his enemy.

This murder was committed on the twenty-eighth of July, 1534; but the principal and his accomplices did not escape with impunity, as will appear from the sequel. Two of the latter were consumed by diseases; Teling died of the leprosy, and Wafer of the pox. A little before Alan's death, there happened an earthquake in Dublin
about

about five o'clock in the morning. Such accidents are so rare in Ireland, that when they happen they are looked upon as prodigies.

The earl of Kildare being informed of these proceedings in prison, was seized with despair, and died a few days after, in the month of September, 1534. He was buried in the chapel of the Tower at London.

But to return to his son, who was commonly called Silken Thomas, he laid siege to Dublin in the month of August, but in vain; for the city was bravely defended. Francis Herbert signalled himself in such a manner upon that occasion, that he was afterwards knighted for his extraordinary valour, and chosen one of his majesty's privy-council in Ireland.

Thomas Fitzgerald ineffectually solicited the lord James Butler, eldest son to the earl of Offory, to join with him, promising him one half of the kingdom of Ireland in case he would take up arms against the king; but, when he saw that his importunities were to no purpose, he destroyed with fire and sword the lands of Offory and his friends, being assisted by O Neal and others. In one of the skirmishes the lord Butler himself was wounded and put to flight. He soon after sent Charles Reynolds, archdeacon of Kells, to pope Paul III. and Dominick Poer to the emperor Charles V. to demand succours of them, but without success.

The king being informed of this rebellion again, made sir William Skeffington lord-deputy of Ireland, and appointed him an army to quell the Geraldines and their abettors. At the same time Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, was removed from the chancellorship, and John Bamewell, baron of Trimlestone, was substituted in his stead. Pa-
trick

trick Finglas, chief-baron of the Exchequer, was then made lord-chief-justice of the King's-Bench; Thomas Lutterel was declared chief-justice of the Common-pleas; Gerald Aylmer, chief-baron of the Exchequer; and William Brabazon, a Leicester-shire man, vice-treasurer.

On the fifteenth of October, sir William Breton, a Cheshire man, being sent before with five hundred soldiers, arrived at Dublin. Musgrave and the two Mamertons followed Breton with some small supplies of men. These arrived at Houth three days after, and in their way to Dublin were met by Thomas Fitzgerald and two hundred horse near Clantarf, by whom being far more numerous, they were slain fighting valiantly together with nineteen common soldiers: the rest were carried prisoners to Maynouth. It is said that Thomas in this skirmish was hurt in the forehead by one of the Mamertons.

Soon after, on the twenty second of October, Skeffington himself landed at Dublin, being very well furnished with warlike preparations: with him came Leonard, lord George Grey, youngest son to Thomas, marquis of Dorset, the king's cousin, lately deceased, appointed marshal of Ireland.

He was received with great joy by the mayor and citizens of Dublin, to whom he immediately delivered the king's gracious letters, returning them thanks for their approved fidelity. He afterwards received the sword of state from the lord-baron of Trimlettone, and wholly bent his thoughts to provide all things necessary for the expedition against Thomas Fitzgerald, who was instantly declared traitor by public proclamation; but, as Skeffington soon after fell sick, and likewise received notice of Fitzgerald's supplies and machinations

with

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with O Neal, O Connor, and others; and as he moreover waited for a supply of men and money, the sinews of war, out of England, the winter now approaching, he deferred his purpose to the ensuing spring.

In the mean time a great part of the English Pale, so called as if it were fenced round with Pales, was burnt and destroyed by the rebels. At the same time Fitzgerald had six garrisoned castles; viz. Maynouth, Postlester, Rathangan, Catherlagh, Ley, and Athy; whereof Maynouth and Ley were the principal places; as being not only better stored than the rest were with household-stuff and goods, but also better furnished with men and warlike preparations. Some report a truce to have been made between Skeffington and Fitzgerald until the fifth of January.

In the beginning of the spring, Skeffington resolved to besiege the castle of Maynouth, Thomas Fitzgerald's chief fortress, ten miles distant from Dublin, which Thomas had fortified with a strong garrison. He therefore repaired thither with the flower of his army, and on the fifteenth of March beleaguered the place. Favourable conditions were in the beginning offered to the besieged; but they being refused, the castle walls were battered with the cannon. After about a week's battery, Christopher Pareis, collector to Thomas Fitzgerald, to whose fidelity and care the guard of the castle was principally committed, being blinded with avarice, privately agreed with Skeffington to deliver up the castle for a certain sum of money. He also certified him of the time and manner thereof: but in doing this, he was even so indiscreet as not to provide for his own security.

The appointed night being come, he made the guard drunk, who being "fomno vinoque sepultis", buried in sleep and wine, the castle was easily won. The scaling-ladders being applied to it a little before day, Brereton was one of the first that mounted the walls, and the few that resisted were slain. In the castle was found great store of household-stuff, besides provision and warlike instruments.

Pareis having received the sum promised him, was put to death on the same day. Some more of the prisoners were put to death at the same time, amongst whom the dean of Kildare is mentioned.

After this transaction, a new garrison being left in the castle, Skeffington returned in triumph to Dublin. In the mean time Thomas returned to Connaught, assisted by O Connor and other persons of great power, having, as it is said, an army of seven thousand men, with which he made haste to raise the siege: but being on his journey apprized of the taking of the castle, his heart began to fail him, and many of the soldiers, as is generally the case upon such occasions, slunk away and returned home. Notwithstanding all this, he continued his journey.

Skeffington having notice of his approach, committed the government of Dublin to Brereton, and advanced against him to the Naas, in the county of Kildare. But before the armies joined battle, two or three cannons being discharged, a considerable number of the Geraldines were slain, which so terrified the rest, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, first a few, and lastly the whole body; as they fled, many were slain, and some taken. Skeffington soon after compelled
Rathangan,

Rathangan, and other castles of Fitzgerald's, to surrender themselves.

In the mean time, a new supply of men was sent out of England, under the command of William Sentlo. These he placed in garrisons for the defence of the English pale. Fitzgerald was now daily straightened, inasmuch that he was compelled to shift places, and to support himself and his men by depredations, which were generally made by night. About the same time he lost John Burnell, one of his chief counsellors, who being apprehended by James lord Butler, was sent into England, there to plead to his charge, where he suffered death.

In these difficulties he was admitted to a parly by Leonard lord Grey, who marched against him with an army to the borders of Munster. He acknowledged his offence, and implored the lord Grey's assistance to beg his pardon of the king. Some have gone so far as to assert that Grey did promise him a pardon.

Be that as it will, Thomas surrendered himself to Grey, and was brought to Dublin, and from thence, about autumn, he was sent prisoner to England, with letters to the king in his behalf: but in his way to Windsor, where the king then resided, he was arrested by his ministers, and committed to the Tower of London, where he remained for some time.

Soon after, Thomas Fitzgerald's five uncles, viz. James, Oliver, Richard, John, and Walter, surrendered themselves to Grey, who sent them prisoners for England.

Thus, at length, this rebellion of the Fitzgeralds was ended; in which the king had spent out of his treasury in England, twenty thousand

sand, or, according to others, forty thousand pounds.

There was a report current that three of the uncles, viz. James, Richard, and Walter, at first gave good and wholesome advice to their nephew, exerting their utmost efforts to dissuade him from so dangerous and detestable a design; yet, at last, they all fell off and sided with the rest.

They always entertained hopes of escaping till they were told in their passage, by the owner of the vessel wherein they were carried, that the ship was called the Cow. Upon hearing this, they were quite disheartened, on account of a prophecy which they had heard, that in process of time an earl's five sons should be wafted to England in a cow's belly, but should never return.

Though this story seems to be rather an instance of the superstition inseparable from a barbarous age and nation, the annalists of Ireland represent it as deserving of credit as an article of faith. This is by no means surprizing, since Europe was at that time only just beginning to emerge from a state of barbarity.

To return to the Fitzgeralds, both the nephew and the uncles were found guilty of high-treason in England, and condemned; and, on the third day of February following, they suffered the punishment due to traitors.

The behaviour of Thomas at his execution was as pusillanimous, as his former conduct had been insolent and audacious. This does not seem at all surprizing, as cowardice seems generally to be an ingredient in a sanguinary and cruel temper.

It may not be amiss to take notice in this place, that the family of the Fitzgeralds did not become extinct by this execution; for Gerald, Thomas's
young

THOMAS FITZGERALD. 263

young brother, a boy of thirteen years of age, was stole away by his careful nurse, and committed to the charge of Thomas Levereus, afterwards bishop of Kildare, by whose assistance he at length procured means to escape, first into France, thence into the Low-Countries, and lastly into Italy, to cardinal Poole, with whom he resided, being honourably treated by him. He was afterwards restored to his possessions by Edward VI. and to his title by queen Mary.

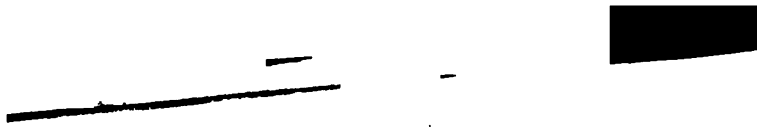


THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
THOMAS CROMWELL.

THOMAS Cromwell, or Cromwell, afterwards created earl of Essex by Henry the Eighth, was the son of one Cromwell, a blacksmith at Putney, near London, who was, in his latter days a brewer: after his father's decease, his mother was married to a sheerman in London. He inherited a robust constitution from his honest parents; this, accompanied by excellent natural abilities, and an uncommon industry, raised him to that eminent and distinguished rank which he afterwards attained to. He was educated in a private school, where all the learning he acquired, was (according to the standard of those times) only reading and writing and a little Latin. When he grew up, he conceived a strong passion for travelling, and accordingly went into foreign countries; but, it is not known who supported him whilst abroad; this afforded him an opportunity of seeing the world, of gaining experience, and of learning several languages, which afterwards proved of great service to him.

Upon his arrival at Antwerp, where a considerable English factory was established, he was retained by it as clerk or secretary: but that office being too great a restraint to his roving inclinations, he





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he ardently wished for an opportunity of travelling to Rome. Such an opportunity offered soon after, upon the following occasion. There was at that time a famous gild of our Lady in the church of St. Botolph, at Boston in Lincolnshire, to which several popes had granted very considerable indulgencies, upon which people at that time set a high value; the brethren and sisters of that gild desired earnestly to have those indulgencies renewed, and confirmed by Julius II. who was then pope; they therefore dispatched two persons to Rome, with a considerable sum of money, to apply for the desired confirmation: these taking Antwerp in their way there, became acquainted with Thomas Cromwell, and, perceiving that he was much better qualified to obtain what they desired from the court of Rome than they were themselves, they prevailed on him to go along with them. They could not have had recourse to a person more capable of serving them. He availed himself of the pope's foible, in order to procure them what they desired. Being informed that he was a great epicure, he presented him with fine jellies made after the English fashion, which was not then known at Rome: the pope was so well pleased with them, that he made no difficulty to grant Cromwell and his companions what they requested of him.

Cromwell, during his stay in Italy, served for some time under the duke of Bourbon, and was present at the sacking of Rome; and, at Bologna, he helped John Russel, esq; afterwards earl of Bedford, to make his escape, when he was in danger of being betrayed into the hands of the French, whilst he was employed in a secret commission by the king of England. Cromwell, at

this time, exhibited an example of extraordinary application, by learning Erasmus's translation of the New Testament by heart, in his journey to and from Rome.

The famous cardinal Wolsey took him into his service upon his return to England, and perceiving in him equal capacity and diligence, made him his solicitor, and frequently employed him in affairs of great importance. He was a principal instrument in the foundation of the two colleges begun at Oxford and Ipswich by that magnificent prelate, and in suppressing, in 1525, small monasteries for the endowment of them.

When his master the cardinal was disgraced in 1529, he neglected no means in his power to have him restored to the king's favour: and, when articles of high treason against him were sent down to the House of Commons, Cromwell, who was a member of it, defended his master with so much strength of reason and eloquence, that no treason could be laid to his charge. From this Cromwell derived great reputation, and his genius and abilities were soon taken notice of.

The cardinal's household being afterwards dissolved, the king took Cromwell into his service, upon the recommendation of sir Christopher Hales, afterwards master of the Rolls, and sir John Russel, knight, abovementioned. They represented him as the fittest person to manage the disputes which the king then had with the pope, and succeeded notwithstanding his enemies, who had endeavoured to prejudice his majesty against him on account of his defacing the small monasteries which were dissolved for endowing Wolsey's colleges. But he made himself acceptable to the king, by acquainting him that his authority was abused within his own realm, by the pope and his clergy,

clergy, who being sworn to him, were afterwards dispensed from their oath, and sworn anew to the pope; so that he was but half their king, and they but half his subjects in his own kingdom; which, as Cromwell justly observed, was derogatory to his crown, and altogether prejudicial to the common laws of his realm; declaring thereupon, that his majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, nay, as much as all the clergy in his realm was worth, if he pleased to take the occasion now offered.

The king giving ear to this, and approving entirely of his advice, asked him if he could confirm what he said. All this he could, he said, prove to be certain; and thereupon shewed the king the oath which the bishops took to the pope at their consecration; wherein they swore, to help, retain, and defend against all men, the popedom of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the regalities of St. Peter, &c.

These discoveries were so agreeable to the king, that he received Cromwell into the highest favour, and having taken his ring or signet off his finger, sent Cromwell with it to the convocation; who, placing himself among the bishops, began to declare to them the authority of a king, and the duty of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under public laws; which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended, in derogation of the king's royal estate, falling in the law of præmunire, in that they had not only consented to the power legate of cardinal Wolsey, but also because they had all sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king; and therefore had forfeited to the king, all their goods, chattels, lands,

lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had.

The bishops hearing this, were not a little surpris'd, and at first attempted to excuse themselves, and deny the fact. But, after Cromwell had shewn them the very copy of the oath they took to the pope at their consecration, the matter was so plain, they could not deny it: and, to be quit of that præmunire by act of parliament, the two provinces of Canterbury and York were forced to make the king a present of one hundred eighteen thousand, eight hundred and forty pounds.

In 1531, Thomas Cromwell was knighted, made master of the king's jewel-house, with a salary of fifty pounds per annum, and constituted a privy-councillor. The next year he was made clerk of the hanaper, an office of good profit and repute in Chancery; and, before the end of the same year, chancellor of the Exchequer: as also, in 1534, principal secretary of state, and master of the Rolls. About the same time he was chosen chancellor of the university of Cambridge: soon after he was elected, there followed a general visitation of that university; at which the several colleges delivered up their charters, and other instruments, to sir Thomas Cromwell. The year before he levied the fines laid upon those, who having forty pounds a year estate, refused to take the order of knighthood.

In 1535, he was constituted visitor-general of the monasteries which were to be suppressed throughout the kingdom; and, in the execution of his office, he and his under-agents incurred the censure of having forced several abbies, by threats, and other instances of violence, into a surrender. Some, indeed, they gained over by promises and large pensions; but most they terrified into a compliance,
by

by suborning the monks, not only to accuse their governors of the most horrid and unnatural crimes, but also to inform against each other.

We are told, in particular, that the canons of Leicester were threatened by the commissioners with a charge of adultery and buggery, in case they refused to submit: and Dr. London, one of the visitors, told the nuns of Godstow, that because he found them obstinate, he would dissolve the house by virtue of the king's commission, in spite of their teeth. The monks of the Charterhouse near London being refractory, were sent to Newgate, where they were so cruelly treated, that three of them died, and five more lay at the point of death, as the commissioner signified. It is even asserted, that there were some agents employed to seduce the nuns, and afterwards accuse them for being guilty of incontinence.

Several monasteries granted to sir Thomas Cromwell large sums to save them from ruin; but all to no purpose. The king, however, was highly pleased with this procedure, and, for the services he did him herein, constituted him, on the second of July 1536, lord-keeper of the privy-seal, when he resigned his mastership of the Rolls. On the 9th of the same month, he was created a baron of the realm, by the title of lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandshire; and six days after took his place in the House of Lords.

When England had shaken off the yoke of papal tyranny, lord Cromwell was made on the 18th of July, vicar-general and vicegerent over all the spirituality under the king, who was declared supreme head of the church. It is easy to judge of the design and extent of this commission, from the following clause of the act for regulating precedency; namely, that for the good exercise of the said most royal dignity

dignity and office, the supremacy, his highness hath made Thomas lord Cromwell, and lord Privy-seal, his vicegerent, for a good and due ministration of justice, to be had in all causes and cases touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and for the godly reformation and redress of all heresies and abuses in the said church.

A speech made in parliament by Cromwell, when possessed of this office, shews with what zeal he promoted the measures of a master, who so ill requited his services. He in this declared, “ That
 “ there was nothing which the king so much de-
 “ sired as a firm union amongst all his subjects,
 “ in which he placed his chief security. He knew
 “ there were many incendiaries, and much cockle
 “ grew up with the wheat. The rashness and li-
 “ centiousness of some, and the inveterate super-
 “ stition and stiffness of others, in the ancient con-
 “ ceptions, had raised great dissensions, to the sad
 “ regret of all good Christians. Some we called
 “ papists, others heretics; which bitterness of
 “ spirit appeared the more strange, since now the
 “ holy scriptures, by the king’s great care of his
 “ people, were in all their hands in a lan-
 “ guage understood by every body. But these
 “ were grossly perverted by both sides, who
 “ studied rather to justify their passions out
 “ of them, than to direct their belief by them.
 “ The king leaned neither to the right nor the left
 “ hand, neither to the one nor the other party,
 “ but set the pure and sincere doctrine of Christi-
 “ anity before his eyes; and therefore was now re-
 “ solved to have this set forth to his subjects, with-
 “ out any corrupt mixtures; and to have such
 “ decent ceremonies continued, and the true use
 “ of them taught; by which all abuses might be
 “ cut off, and disputes about the exposition of
 “ the

“ the scripture cease, and so all his subjects might
 “ be well instructed in their faith, and directed in
 “ the reverent worship of God; and resolved to
 “ punish severely all transgressors, of what sort or
 “ side soever they were. The king was resolved
 “ that Christ, that the gospel of Christ, and the
 “ truth, should have the victory: and therefore
 “ had appointed some bishops and divines to draw
 “ up an exposition of those things that were ne-
 “ cessary for the instruction of a Christian man;
 “ who were the two archbishops, the bishop of
 “ London, Duresm, Winchester, Rochester,
 “ Hereford, and St. David’s; and doctors Thirle-
 “ by, Robertson, Cox, Day, Oglethorp, Red-
 “ mayn, Edgeworth, Crayford, Symonds, Robins
 “ and Threlham.

“ He also had appointed others to examine what
 “ ceremonies should be retained, and what was
 “ the true use of them: these were the bishops of
 “ Bath and Wells, Ely, Sarum, Chichester,
 “ Worcester, and Landaff. The king had also
 “ commanded the judges, and other justices of
 “ the peace, and persons commissioned for the
 “ execution of the act formerly passed, to proceed
 “ against all transgressors, and punish them ac-
 “ cording to law.”

And he concluded with a high commendation
 of the king, “ whose due praises,” he said, a man
 “ of far greater eloquence than himself was, could
 “ not fully set forth.”

Lord Cromwell being invested with this office,
 when a convocation was held this year, sat above
 the archbishop, on account of his being the king’s
 representative: he availed himself of his power to
 the utmost, in order to destroy popery, as far as
 he possibly could, and to establish a reformation in

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the kingdom. He therefore caused certain articles, which differed in many essential points from the established system of the Roman Catholic religion, to be promulged and enjoined by the king's authority. Seven sacraments were received in the church of Rome, but the new articles mentioned only three, namely, the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of the altar. Add to this, that they enjoined all bishops and preachers to teach the people committed to their charge, to believe and maintain all those things to be true, which are comprehended in the whole body and canon of the bible; and, in the three creeds, that of the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian, without the least mention of tradition: and, that they should prevent the people from offering incense to, kneeling to, and worshipping images, lest they should be led astray by idolatry and superstition. That they should teach them to worship God only, and to pray to his honour, even when before images. Moreover, purgatory was, by these articles, declared uncertain by scripture.

In September following, lord Cromwell enjoined all deans, parsons, vicars, and curates, to preach up the king's supremacy; not to employ their eloquence, in extolling images, relicks, miracles, or pilgrimages, but rather exhort their people to serve God, and provide for their families. To remind parents, and other directors of youth, to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in their mother tongue: to procure a bible in Latin and English to be laid in the churches, for every one to read at their pleasure: he moreover encouraged the translation of the bible into English; and, when

it was finished, enjoined, that one of the largest size should be provided for every parish church, at the expence of the minister and the parishioners.

These innovations in religion brought about by the contrivance of Cromwell, together with the dissolution of the monasteries, and his demanding, at the same time, subsidies for the king, both from the clergy and the laity, occasioned very great murmurs against him. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that the rebels of Yorkshire should demand, among other things, that the lord Cromwell should be brought to condign punishment, as one of the subverters of the good laws of the realm.

The popular clamour, however, was so far from alienating the affection of the king from him, that it only served to confirm his esteem for him; for, in the year 1537, his majesty constituted him chief justice itinerant of all the forests beyond Trent; and, on the 26th of August the same year, he was elected knight of the garter, as also, dean of the cathedral church of Wells. The year following, he obtained a grant of the castle and lordship of Okeham, in the county of Rutland; and was also made constable of Carebrook-castle, in the Isle of Wight.

In September, he issued forth new injunctions, directed to all bishops and curates, wherein he gave orders, that a bible of the largest volume in England, should be set up in a convenient place in every church, where the parishioners might have an opportunity of reading the same: that the clergy should, every Sunday and holy day, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners, twice or thrice at a time, one article of the Lord's-Prayer,

or

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or Creed, in English, that they might learn the same by heart: that they should preach, or cause to be preached in their churches, one sermon every quarter of a year at least, wherein they should purely and sincerely expound the very gospel of Christ, and exhort their congregation to the works of charity, mercy, and faith; not to pilgrimages, kissing, or licking of images: that they should, without delay, take down all images, to which pilgrimages, or offerings were wont to be made: that they should appoint able curates in all benefices where they were not themselves resident: that they, and every parson, vicar, or curate, should keep one book of register for every church, wherein they should write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, within their parish, and therein set every person's name, that should be so wedded, christened, or buried.

There were two injunctions more, which deserve to be taken notice of; one is, ye shall discourage no man privily or openly, from the reading or hearing of the bible, but shall expressly excite, and exhort every person to read the same, as being the lively word of God, that every Christian is bound to embrace, believe and follow, if he expects to be saved. The other is as follows; item. Forasmuch, as by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tythes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tythes, or be his own judge, but shall truly pay the same, without any restraint or diminution.

Lord Cromwell having been so highly instrumental in promoting a reformation, and pulling down the monasteries in this kingdom for three years together, was amply rewarded by the king in 1539, with many noble manors and large
estates,

stated, that were formerly the property of those dissolved houses.

On the 10th of April, he obtained a grant from the king, in fee, of the dissolved monastery of St. Osythes, in Essex; with all the houses, buildings, church, and other appurtenances thereunto belonging; as also of the manors and lordship of Chich, St. Osythe, Barnton, Coketwyke, Wigburgh, Erle's-Hall, Westwyke, Howke, Lewyke, Wyrerhall, alias Wethston-hall, Cannon, alias Cannon-hall, Broke-hall, and Birch-hall; together with many other lands and advowsons of churches, which belonged to some one or other of the then suppressed religious houses.

On the 17th of April the same year, he was advanced to the dignity of earl of Essex; and, soon after, created lord high chamberlain of England. Cromwell's aspiring to, or even accepting of these two great honours, drew upon him a great deal of envy and ill will. For there were then alive several branches of the noble Bouchier, the last earl of Essex, who broke his neck by a fall from a young unruly horse; and these might justly think that they were entitled to the dignity of earl of Essex.

The office of lord high-chamberlain had likewise been for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable family of the De Veres, earls of Oxford; so that, upon the death of John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord chamberlain, the heirs of it could not but be highly incensed against lord Cromwell, for robbing them of what their ancestors had so long enjoyed.

On the day that lord Cromwell was created earl of Essex, Gregory, his son, was, by his interest, made baron Cromwell of Okeham.

On the 12th of March, 1540, he was put in commission with others, to sell the abbey-lands, at twenty years purchase; which was a thing he had advised the king to do, in order to stop the clamours of the people, to conciliate their affections, and to bring them to a liking of the dissolution of the monasteries.

Lord Cromwell's prosperity had been hitherto uninterrupted; he had, from a low condition, risen gradually to a very high pitch of honour: but his ruin was occasioned by an unhappy precaution he took to secure his greatness, and the greater his exaltation was, the more sudden and dangerous was his fall. Perceiving that some of his bitterest enemies, particularly Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, began to be more in favour at court than himself, he exerted himself to the utmost to bring about a marriage between the king and Anne of Cleves; for, he imagined, that a queen of his own making would powerfully support his interest, and, as the friends of Anne of Cleves were all Lutherans, he thought her marriage with the king would contribute greatly to bring down the popish party at court, and to recover the credit which he and Cranmer had lost. But, we may apply to him upon this occasion those emphatical words of the poet.

Nescia mens hominum fati, fortisque futuræ.

VIRGIL.

The very thing upon which he depended for safety gave rise to his destruction: for the king, who was very delicate in love affairs, conceived an invincible antipathy to Cromwell the chief promoter of the marriage; and, it was not long before he found an opportunity to sacrifice Cromwell

to his private resentment, and to the malice of his revengeful enemies. Many concurring circumstances contributed to his ruin. The meanness of his birth had rendered him odious to all the nobility: Stephen Gardiner, and the Roman Catholics detested him, for having been so active in the dissolution of the monasteries. The reformers themselves were not very strongly attached to him, as they saw he was not able to put a stop to the persecution against them; and the nation in general was discontented with him for his having demanded and obtained a subsidy of four shillings in the pound from the clergy, and one tenth and one fifteenth from the laity, notwithstanding the immense sums which had lately flowed into the Treasury upon the dissolution of the monasteries.

Henry being influenced by these considerations, and finding that several other articles were brought against him, resolved to give him up, since he could no longer be of any service to him. He therefore gave ear to all the accusations of his enemies, which could not but turn upon very important points; it being impossible, that any man, who meddled so much in great and public affairs, should not, upon many occasions, through error of judgment, forgetfulness, or human frailty, act in such a manner as to lay himself open to the law, were his conduct to be scrutinized with rigour.

The king having procured sufficient proof against Cromwell, caused him to be arrested at the council-table, by the duke of Norfolk, on the tenth of June, when he did not in the least suspect it. He however obeyed, and was committed to the Tower. He doubted the less of his impending ruin, because the duke was uncle to the lady Catharine Howard, for whom, the king, at that time, began to entertain a passion.

Whilst under confinement, he writ two letters to the king, one to vindicate himself of the crime of treason, which he was accused of, and another concerning the marriage with Anne of Cleves.

In the first he expresses himself to this purpose, with regard to the crime of high-treason, whereof he had been accused to his majesty.

To that I say, “ That I never, in all my
 “ life, thought willingly to do that thing that
 “ might, or should displease your majesty, and
 “ much less to do or say that thing, which of it-
 “ self is so high and abominable an offence ; as
 “ God knoweth, who, I doubt not, shall reveal
 “ the truth to your highness. Mine accusers, your
 “ grace knoweth, God forgive them: for, as I
 “ ever had love to your honour, person, life, prof-
 “ perity, health, wealth, joy, and comfort ; and
 “ also, your most dear and entirely beloved son,
 “ the prince his grace, and your proceedings: God
 “ so help me in this mine adversity, and confound
 “ me if ever I thought the contrary. What
 “ labours, pains, and travels I have undergone,
 “ according to my most bounden duty, God also
 “ knoweth ; for, if it were in my power, as it is
 “ in God’s, to make your majesty to live, ever
 “ young and prosperous, Christ knoweth I would ;
 “ for so am I, of all others, most bound : for your
 “ majesty hath been the most bountiful prince to
 “ me that ever was king to his subject : yea, and
 “ more like a dear father, your majesty not of-
 “ fended, than a master.

“ Such hath been your most grave and godly
 “ counsel towards me at sundry times. In that I
 “ have offended I ask your mercy. Should I now,
 “ for such exceeding goodness, benignity, libe-
 “ rality, and bounty be your traitor, nay then, the
 “ greatest pains were too little for me. Should
 “ any

“ any faction, or any affection to any point, make
 “ me a traitor to your majesty, then all the devils
 “ in hell confound me, and the vengeance of God
 “ light upon me, if I should once have thought it,
 “ most gracious sovereign lord!

“ Sir, as to your commonwealth, I have, after
 “ my wit, power, and knowledge, travailed there-
 “ in, having had no respect to persons, your ma-
 “ jesty only excepted, and my duty to the same :
 “ but that I have done any injustice or wrong
 “ wilfully, I trust God shall bear me witness, and
 “ the world not be able to accuse me. Neverthe-
 “ less, sir, I have meddled in so many matters,
 “ under your highness, that I am not able to an-
 “ swer them all. But one thing I am well as-
 “ sured of, that willingly and wittingly I have not
 “ had will to offend your highness: but hard it
 “ is for me, or any other, meddling as I have
 “ done, to live under your grace, or your laws,
 “ but we must daily offend.”

After this, he proceeds to vindicate himself from some particular charges brought against him; and concludes the whole with these words; “ writ-
 “ ten with the quaking hand, and most sorrowful
 “ heart of your most sorrowful subject, and most
 “ humble servant and prisoner, this Saturday at
 “ your Tower of London.”

The king having caused this letter to be read to him twice, appeared somewhat affected with it. But the charms of Catharine Howard, and the endeavours of the duke of Norfolk, and of the bishop of Winchester, prevailed.

The other letter he wrote by the king's express commands, that he might declare what he knew of that marriage. Amongst other particulars, he says, That after the king had seen her at Rochester, he told him [Cromwell] that if he had known so

much before as he then knew, she shou'd not have come within this realm; saying, in a complaining manner, "what remedy?" And, the day after the marriage, his majesty told him, "I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worse; for I have felt her belly and her breasts, and thereby, as I can judge, she should be no maid; which struck me so to the heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any farther in other matters; saying, "I have left her as good a maid as I found her."

This letter concludes with these words: "beseeching most humbly, your grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to consider, that I am a most woeful prisoner, ready to take death, when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your grace for mercy and grace for mine offences; and thus, Christ save, preserve and keep you."

"Written at the Tower this Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave T. C. Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy."

But, all his intreaties and application for pardon availed him nothing: notwithstanding the great severity with which he was treated, he is by no means an object of compassion, as he had himself been instrumental in the ruin of several, who were attainted, without being admitted to speak for themselves; and as he had caused the condemnation of others, through a servile compliance with the king's pleasure, it was but just that he should fall

All a victim to the tyranny which he had contributed to support.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that divine vengeance is conspicuous in the fall of most of those who were executed in this reign, as there were few of them but had caused the death of others. Such events eminently prove, that the "Lord made all things for himself, yea, even the wicked for the day of wrath."

The earl of Essex's guilt, however, does not disculpate his enemies, who blindly resolved to follow that abominable precedent of condemning a person unheard; and, it is probable, that their reason for so doing was, that they knew, that if he were brought to a trial, he would so justify himself, by producing the king's orders and warrants for what he had done, that it would be very difficult to condemn him.

The bill of attainder was brought into the House of Lords the 17th of June, and read the first time; and on the 19th, was read the second and third times, and sent down to the Commons. Here it did not pass with the same rapidity as it had done in the upper house, but stuck ten days. At last, a new bill of attainder was framed in the House of Commons, and sent up to the lords.

The articles exhibited against him in the bill of attainder, were as follows:

1. That his majesty having received Thomas Cromwell, a man of very base and low degree, into his service, advanced him to the estate of an earl, and very much enriched him, yet the said Thomas Cromwell had proved the most false and corrupt traitor and deceiver that had been known in that reign.

2. That he had set at liberty, without the king's command or assent, several persons convicted and

attainted of misprision of treason, and others that were imprisoned for suspicion of treason.

3. That he had, for money, granted great numbers of licences, or passports, for carrying money, corn, horses, tallow, metals, &c. out of the kingdom, without any search.

4. That he had appointed and deputed commissioners, in many great, urgent, and weighty affairs, without the king's knowledge or consent.

5. That he pretended to have so great an ascendancy over the king, that he did not scruple boasting, "That he was sure of him."

6. That being a detestable heretic, he had secretly set forth and dispersed throughout the kingdom, a great number of false, erroneous books, written against the sacrament of the altar.

7. That being the king's vicegerent, he had, without his majesty's assent and knowledge, licensed, under seal of his office, several persons detected and suspected of heresies, to preach openly within this realm.

8. That he had caused sheriffs, and other persons, to set at large many heretics; some of whom were indicted, and others apprehended, and in custody: and, being a maintainer and supporter of heretics, had, divers times, terribly rebuked their accusers, and persecuted and imprisoned some of them.

9. That he had great numbers of retainers, whom he had infected with heresies.

10. That, when Robert Barnes, and others of the new preachers, were prosecuted and imprisoned, he the said Thomas Cromwell, hearing of it, said, on the last day of March 1539, "If the king would turn from it, yet I would not turn; and, if the king did not turn, and all his people, I would

“ I would fight in the field, in mine own person,
 “ with my sword in my hand, against him and all
 “ others.” And then pulling out his dagger, and
 holding it up, he added, “ or else this dagger
 “ thrust me to the heart, if I would not die in
 “ that quarrel against them all ; and I trust, if I
 “ live one year or two, it should not lie in the
 “ king’s power, to resist, or let it, if he would ;”
 and then swearing a great oath, he said, “ I will
 do so indeed.”

11. That, on the last day of January, 1539, being
 put in mind how others, guilty of the same trea-
 son as he himself, had been served by the parlia-
 ment, he declared, “ That if the lords would
 “ handle him so, he would give them such a
 “ breakfast as never was made in England ; and
 “ that the proudest of them should know.”

12. Finally, That he had acquired innumerable
 sums of money and treasure ; by oppression, bri-
 bery, and extortion, which made him despise the
 rest of the nobility.

Bishop Burnet speaks with great judgment con-
 cerning the reasons why Cromwell was not admit-
 ted to answer the charge brought against him.
 “ Most of the articles of impeachment, says he,
 “ related to orders and directions he had given,
 “ for which, it is very probable, he had the
 “ king’s warrant. And, for the matter of heresy,
 “ the king had proceeded so far towards a refor-
 “ mation, that what he did that way was, in all
 “ probability, done by the king’s orders : but the
 “ king now falling from these things, it was
 “ thought they intended to stifle him by such an
 “ attainder ; that he might not discover the secret
 “ orders or directions he had given him for his
 “ own justification. For the particulars of bri-
 “ bery

“ bery and extortion, they being mentioned
“ in general expreffions, feem only caft into
“ the heap to defame him. But, for thofe
“ treasonable words which were alledged a-
“ gainft him, it was generally thought that
“ they were a contrivance of his enemies ;
“ fince it feemed a thing very extravagant,
“ for a favourite in the height of his greatnefs,
“ to talk fo rudely. And, if he had been guilty
“ of it, Bedlam was thought a fitter place for his
“ restraint than the Tower. Nor was it judged
“ likely, that he, having fuch great and watchful
“ enemies at court, any fuch difcourfes fhould have
“ lain fo long fecret ; or, if they had come to the
“ king’s college, he was not a prince of fuch a
“ temper, as to have forgiven, much lefs em-
“ ployed, and advanced a man after fuch dif-
“ courfes. And, to think, that during fifteen
“ months after the words were faid to have been
“ fpoken, none would have had the zeal for the
“ king, or the malice to Cromwell, to repeat them,
“ were things that could not be believed.

“ The formality of his drawing his dagger
“ when he uttered the expreffion, Or elfe this
“ dagger thruft me to the heart, if I would not
“ die in that quarrel againft them all, rendered
“ the fufpicion of calumny ftill ftronger; for this
“ was to affix an overt-aft to thefe words, which,
“ in the opinion of many lawyers, was neceffary
“ to make words treasonable. But, as if thefe
“ words had not been bad enough, fome writers
“ fince have made them worfe; as if he had faid,
“ He would thruft his dagger in the king’s heart :
“ about which Fuller hath made another ftory to
“ excufe thefe words, as if they had not been
“ meant

“ meant of the king, but another. But all that
 “ is founded on a mistake; which, if he had looked
 “ in the record, he had corrected.”

Like other persons in disgrace, he was deserted by most of his pretended friends. Archbishop Cranmer, however, did not abandon him in his distress, but wrote to the king very warmly in his behalf. In his letter he expressed himself to this purpose, Who cannot but be sorrowful and amazed that he should be a traitor against your majesty; he that was so advanced by your majesty; he whose surety was only by your majesty; he who loved your majesty (as I ever thought) no less than God; he who studied always to set forward whatsoever was your majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your majesty; he that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had; he that was so vigilant to preserve your majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If the noble princes of happy memory, king John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had such a counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned and overthrown, as those good princes were. But the duke of Norfolk, and the rest of the popish party baffled all the application that was made in favour of the earl of Essex, who was, in pursuance of his attainder, brought to a scaffold erected on Tower-hill. Before his execution he made the following speech.

“ I am come hither to die, and not to purge
 “ myself, as may happen some think that I will;
 “ for, if I should so do, I were a very wretch and
 “ miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and
 “ thank

“ thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this
 “ death for mine offence ; for, since the time
 “ that I had years of discretion, I have lived a sin-
 “ ner, and offended my Lord God ; for the which
 “ I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not
 “ unknown to many of you, that I have been a
 “ great traveller in this world, and, being but of
 “ a base degree, was called to high estate ; and
 “ since the time I came thereunto, I have of-
 “ fended my prince, for the which I ask him
 “ heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray
 “ to God with me that he will forgive me. O
 “ Father, forgive me ! O Son, forgive me ! O
 “ Holy Ghost, forgive me ! O Three Persons in
 “ One God, forgive me.

“ And now I pray you that be here, to bear me
 “ record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting
 “ in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in
 “ any sacrament of the church. Many have slan-
 “ dered me, and reported, that I have been a
 “ bearer of such as have maintained evil opi-
 “ nions ; which is untrue : but I confess that,
 “ like as God by his holy spirit doth instruct us
 “ in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us ;
 “ and I have been seduced : but I bear witness,
 “ that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church :
 “ and I heartily desire you to pray for the king’s
 “ grace, that he may long live with you, in health
 “ and prosperity, and after him that his son prince
 “ Edward may long reign over you. And once
 “ again I desire you to pray for me, that so long
 “ as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing
 “ in my faith.”

Having uttered this speech, which seems to
 have been dictated by the weakness natural to a
 dying

dying man, he passed a few moments in his devotions, and then was beheaded, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1540.

Thus fell Thomas, lord Cromwell, oppressed by the weight of his inconstant and cruel master's displeasure. It cannot, however, be denied that he served him with great fidelity, courage and resolution, in the most hazardous, difficult, and important undertakings. But it was the policy of that prince to chuse his favourites from amongst the meanest of the people, who being less scrupulous than others, and ready to do every thing that could promote their advancement, yielded a plenary obedience to his commands; but when he had gained his ends by their servile compliance, he was always ready to sacrifice them, in order to appease popular discontent.

Various and opposite characters have been given of lord Cromwell; and this is not to be wondered at, considering the influence which party-spirit has upon the opinions of men. The catholics have done their utmost to blacken him; the protestants, on the other hand, may be suspected of having spoken too favourably of him. The former represent him as a crafty, cruel, ambitious and covetous man; and moreover brand him with the odious appellation of heretic. If we may give credit to the latter, he was a person of an uncommon capacity and equal diligence and industry. His apprehension, they tell us, was ready and clear; his judgment, methodical and solid; his memory, tenacious; his eloquence, fluent and pertinent; his deportment, graceful and obliging; his heart, noble and generous; his temper, patient and cautious; his correspondence, well-judged and constant; his conversation, insinuating and judicious;

nestly recommending to them to avail themselves of their opportunities, because he said he was too great to stand long: providing for them as carefully as for his own sons, by his purse and credit, that they might live as handsomely after his death as they had done during his life.

To conclude his character, we are assured, that, for piety towards God, fidelity to his king, prudence in the management of affairs, gratitude to his benefactors, dutifulness, charity, and benevolence, there was not any one in England that surpassed him in that age.





CATHERINE HOWARD
Queen of K. Henry VIII.

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
CATHARINE HOWARD.

CATHARINE HOWARD, the duke of Norfolk's niece, had the same fate with Anne Bullen: like her, she gained the affections of the king, and her exaltation brought her to the same end: her lewdness, however, was fully proved: whereas, Anne Bullen fell a victim to jealous surmises.

On the eighth of August 1540, she was publicly declared queen, but the king had married her privately some time before. She was so devoted to the duke her uncle, and to the bishop of Winchester, that she followed their advice implicitly in every thing. Such was her influence with the king, that she would, in all probability, have prevailed on him to resign himself to the guidance of those two ministers, whose aim was, by her, to bring about a revolution in religious matters; but all their schemes were defeated by her fall. They, however, availed themselves to the utmost of their power of this opportunity to strike at the reformation and the reformed.

Cranmer was at that time in a very precarious condition: he could not but be sensible, that those who had effected the ruin of Cromwell, were equally bent upon procuring his. He was at that time generally decried; and a member of par-

liament declared openly in the house, that he was the protector and head of the innovators in religion. His ruin would have been inevitable, if his enemies had had time to take proper measures; but, as they were aware of the king's esteem for him, they thought it more advisable to proceed slowly, as they saw that they could not press his ruin so openly as they had done Cromwell's, without running the risk of undoing themselves. Add to this, that they could attack Cranmer only on the score of religion, and he had been always very cautious and reserved upon that head.

To return to the new queen: she was daughter of Edmund Howard, third son of Thomas, duke of Norfolk, by Joyce, daughter of sir Richard Culpeper of Hollingburn in Kent. Her advancement at court was attended with consequences which were soon perceived by all parties. The commissioners who were appointed to draw up an exposition of the christian doctrine, having presented their work to the king, he ordered it to be published without delay. In pursuance of this order, it was immediately printed, with a preface written by those who had been employed to write it. In this the true nature of faith was stated, and then the apostles creed was explained, with practical inferences. They next proceeded to examine the Seven Sacraments, after which followed an explanation of the Ten Commandments. To this was added an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Then followed an Exposition of the Angel's Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, and an Explanation of the Ave Maria. The next article is about free-will, which was positively asserted to be in man. After this they treated of justification.

Though this explanation corrected sundry abuses, the Popish party had so far prevailed, that, instead
of

of promoting the reformation, it visibly obstructed it. However, as several principles were inculcated by it, which might be of more use in a more favourable juncture, the reformers comforted themselves with the hopes that these principles would serve one day to destroy the errors which were established in the exposition. On the other hand, the popish party thought they had acquired a considerable advantage, because they found doctrines advanced which, in all probability, the reformers would never approve of, and because they hoped that this opposition would draw the king's indignation upon the whole party. With regard to themselves, as their complaisance to the king had always been unlimited, they proposed to continue the same conduct, that they might bring him to be entirely disposed as they wished him.

Other commissioners who were employed to reform the missals, made so slight alterations, that, excepting a few razures of those collects in which the pope was prayed for, there was nothing changed; so that it was not necessary to reprint the mass-book.

Thus, by the credit of the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner, seconded by the new queen, archbishop Cranmer, and all those of his party, saw a storm gathering over their heads, which would probably overwhelm them in the end; but, happily for them the king was diverted for some time from attending to religious matters.

Archbishop Cranmer was at the head of the reformers. The king had always held him in great esteem on account of his uprightness and integrity. But his uncommon sincerity made him unfit for political affairs in a court where the business was not to hearken to reason, justice and equity, but to yield implicit obedience to the will of the sovereign.

sovereign. The duke of Norfolk, uncle to queen Catharine, was at the head of the opposite party. He was reckoned a good general, but he was still a better courtier: ever devoted to the king, he, in outward appearance, approved of every thing he commanded him; but he was in reality afflicted at all the late innovations in religion, and detested both the reformation and the reformed. It would have given him great pleasure to see the king reconciled to the pope; but the little likelihood there was of it, made him very cautious how he offended a master who did not easily forgive. However, as the king's resolutions were not always the same, the duke had many opportunities of serving his party, especially when the business was to punish those who disapproved of the Six Articles, and were indiscreet enough to discover their sentiments. In a word, he was chief of the pope's partizans, and of all those who adhered to the old religion; but he carefully concealed from the king his inclination for the former; and, as for the latter, he exerted his zeal only in maintaining what the king had retained. Queen Catharine blindly followed the directions of the duke her uncle, and used all her influence with the king to support the credit of the enemies of the reformation.

It is not to be wondered at that the catholics then triumphed over the reformed, since king Henry was so highly enamoured of queen Catharine, that, ever since his marriage, he blessed God every day for the happiness he enjoyed in being possessed of such a spouse, and, upon many occasions, publicly testified the extreme satisfaction he felt. But it will appear from the sequel, that kings are no more secure from conjugal infidelity than other men, and that the observation of Shakespear is perfectly just,

'Tis

“ 'Tis the plague eat ones,
“ Prerogativ'd are they less than the base.”

The king, thinking himself secure of happiness, since possessed of Catharine Howard, went a progress over the kingdom with his fair and beloved queen; and, when he came to York, he issued out a proclamation, that all who had been aggrieved for want of justice, by any person whom he had formerly employed, should come to him and his council for redress. This was done to put all miscarriages upon Cromwell, and to put the people in hopes of better times.

The king, being still infatuated with his passion for Catharine Howard, on All Saints day, when he received the sacrament, openly gave God thanks for the good life he led, and trusted still to live, with her; and desired his ghostly father to join with him in the same thanksgiving to God. All this shews the esteem and tender affection he had for the queen, who seemed to have the same fondness for him. But this joy was not of long continuance; for, when he came to London, he heard things which it had been better for his quiet he had never known.

On the day after his return, the archbishop of Canterbury came to him, and gave him a doleful account of the queen's ill life, as it had been brought him by one John Laffels, who, when the king was in his progress, had told him, that his sister, who had been an old servant of the duke of Norfolk's, under whose care the queen was brought up, said to him, that the queen was lewd, and that one Francis Deirham had enjoyed her several times; as also one Mannock, with many odious and shocking circumstances not fit to be related.

The archbishop communicated it to the lord-chancellor, and the other privy-counsellors that were at London. It was agreed, that the archbishop should open it to the king, which office he, with great reluctance, undertook, being aware of the danger he exposed himself to if the accusation could not be made good: but, upon such an occasion, it was full as dangerous to say nothing, as the monarch, like other jealous husbands, was always most solicitous to discover the secrets which were most fatal to his peace.

Cranmer being puzzled how to execute his commission, chose to set down the accusation in writing, and put it in the king's hands, desiring him to read it in private. When the king read it, he was at first extremely perplexed, and then seized with the utmost consternation; but, so tenderly did he love the queen, that he could not help looking upon it as a calumny, and resolved within himself to punish the authors of it with the utmost severity.

The archbishop was upon this occasion in extreme danger; for, if full evidence had not been brought, it would certainly have been turned against him to his ruin. Henry resolved to sift the matter to the bottom meerly with a view to detect and punish the authors of the forgery; but he thought proper to observe the most profound secrecy; so the lord privy-seal was sent to London to examine Lassels, who stood to what he had said upon his sister's report. The same lord was then sent to Suffex, where Lassels's sister lived, to try if she would justify what her brother had reported in her name; and she owning it, he ordered Deirham and Mannock to be arrested upon some other pretences. These, upon their examination, not only confessed what was informed, but revealed
some

Some other circumstances that shewed the queen had laid aside all sense of modesty as well as all fear of a discovery. They owned that they had frequently laid with the queen, and likewise declared, that three court-ladies, her confidants, were commonly eye-witnesses to her lewd practices. One of the three was the lady Rochford, who had accused the lord Rochford, her husband, of a criminal correspondence with queen Anne Bullen his sister.

This report threw the king into the most profound dejection: he burst out into tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortune. The archbishop of Canterbury, and some other counsellors, were sent to examine the queen. She at first denied every thing; but when she perceived that all was known, she made a full confession, and signed it with her own hand.

Certain it is, there were strong presumptions, that she intended to continue the same course of life; for having taken Deirham into her service, she got one of the women who had been formerly privy to their familiarities, to serve about her bed-chamber.


One Culpeper was also charged upon vehement suspicion; for, when the king was at Lincoln, by the lady Rochford's means, he was brought into the queen's chamber at eleven of the clock at night, and staid there till four the next morning. The queen, upon that occasion, made him a present of a gold chain and a rich cap. He being examined confessed the crime for which both Dierham and he suffered.

It is recorded by some historians, that the queen, upon a second examination, not only confessed the crimes laid to her charge, but likewise owned, that

she had before marriage prostituted herself to several different persons.

On the 16th of January, 1542, a new parliament met; to which the bishops of Winchester, Chester, Peterborough, and Gloucester, were summoned. On the twenty-eighth of January, the lord-chancellor moved the house of lords, to consider the case the king was in by the queen's ill carriage; and, that there might be no ground of suspicion or complaint, he proposed, that some of their number shou'd be sent to examine the queen: whereupon, the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the bishop of Winchester, were sent to her. How much she confessed to them is not very clear, either from the journal or the act of parliament, which only says that she confessed, without mentioning the particulars. However, the commissioners reported, that the facts she was accused of were sufficiently proved.

Upon this, the processes of those who had formerly been attainted, being brought as an evidence, the act passed in both houses. In it they petitioned the king, first, not to be troubled at the matter, since that might be a means to shorten his life: secondly, to pardon every thing that had been spoken against the queen: thirdly, that the queen and her accomplices might be attainted of high-treason, for her taking Deirham into her service; and another woman into her chamber, who had known their former ill life, by which it appeared what she intended to do; and then admitting Culpeper to be so long with her, in a vile place, so many hours in the night; therefore it is desired, that she and they, with the bawd, and the lady Rochford, should suffer the pains of death; fourthly,



fourth ; that the king would not tr
to give his assent to this act in his own
grant it by his letters patent under ; ha a
great seal : fifthly, that the duchess de
Norfolk, countess of Bridgewater, th
William Howard, and his lady ; the four her men
and five women, who were already attainted
by the course of common law (except the duchess of
Norfolk, and the countess of Bridgewater) that
knew the queen's vicious life, and had concealed
it, should be all attainted of misprision of treason.
It was also enacted, that whosoever knew any
thing of the incontinence of the queen, for the
time being, should reveal it under the pains of
treason ; and, that, if the king, or his successors,
should intend to marry any woman upon the sup-
position of her being a virgin ; if she not being so,
did not declare the same to the king, it should be
high-treason ; and all who knew it, and did not re-
veal it, should be looked upon as guilty of mis-
prision of treason. That, if the queen or the prin-
cess of Wales, should procure any, by messages or
words, to know her carnally ; or any others, by
messages or words, should solicit them ; they,
their counsellors and abettors, are to be adjudged
high-traitors.

The servile compliance of the parliament, who
did not dare to condemn the queen and her accom-
plices, without knowing whether the king would
be pleased to let them be punished, will undoubt-
edly raise the indignation of every judicious reader.
The parliament at that time seemed to be as tame
and abject as the Roman senate in the reign of
Tiberius, who, though he found his account in
its base submission to his tyrannical caprices, could
not but scorn men who were mean enough to pre-
sent their necks to the yoke ; and was often heard,
upon

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On quitting the senate-house, to exclaim, “O homines in servitutum paratos!” O men ripe for slavery!

They did not proceed in the same manner with regard to Anne Bullen and the lord Rochford, because the king's authority was not so overgrown as it was at the time of this transaction. The act being assented to by the king's letters patent, the queen and the lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill the twelfth of February, 1542.

The queen confessed the miscarriages of her former life before the king had married her, but positively denied all that was alledged against her after that; and protested to Dr. White, afterwards bishop of Winchester, that she took God and his holy angels to witness, upon the salvation of her soul, that she was guiltless of the act of defiling her sovereign's bed, for which she was condemned to death. But the disorders of her former life had been such, that people were inclined to believe all the ill which could be reported of her.

With regard to the lady Rochford, she died unlamented by all; every body considered her fall as an instance of divine vengeance, since she had been the chief instrument in the death of Anne Bullen and her own husband: and, as her character was now laid open to the world, her infamy served to raise the reputation of those to whose fall her spite and malicious artifices had contributed. She had been a lady of the bedchamber to the four last queens, but now it fully appeared how unworthy she was of that trust.

The excessive severity of the parliament to the queen's relations was greatly censured by the public. It was thought unnatural to punish a father and mother for not discovering their daughter's shame; but if people pitied her parents

old duchess of Norfolk, under whom she had been bred, was still more severely dealt with, for not telling the king her grand-daughter was a whore; which would have been inconsistent with the rules of justice and decency. The king was by these clamours prevailed upon to pardon the duchess of Norfolk, and most of the rest, though some of them remained in the Tower long after.

With regard to that clause of the act which obliged a woman to reveal her own former incontinence, if the king intended to marry her, which, by a mistake lord Herbert says was passed in another act (taking it from Hall, and not looking into the record) it was looked upon as a grievous piece of tyranny; since, if a king, especially one of so imperious a temper as Henry VIII. should deign such an honour to any of his subjects, who had been guilty of miscarriages in the former part of their life, they were reduced to the shocking alternative of making themselves infamous by publishing so scandalous a secret, or expose themselves to the danger of being afterwards attainted of treason. Some turned the matter into a jest, and said, that the king of England would be able, for the future, to marry only widows, there being no reputed maid who would venture to expose herself to the cavils a king might make, if he happened not to like her.

In the history of the life and reign of king Henry VIII. wrote by lord Herbert of Cherbury, we meet with an original letter sent from divers of the council to William Paget, who at that time resided in France in the character of English ambassador. As this letter gives a circumstantial account of the whole affair, we need make no apology for laying it before the reader.

“ AFTER

" AFTER our hearty commendations, by
 " these our letters, we be commanded to signify
 " unto you a most miserable case, which came
 " lately to revelation; to the intent that if you
 " shall hear the same spoken of, you may declare
 " the truth as followeth.

" When the king's majesty, upon the sentence
 " given of the invalidity of the pretended matri-
 " mony between his highness and the lady Anne
 " of Cleves was earnestly and humbly solicited by
 " his council, and the nobles of his realm, to
 " frame his most noble heart to the love and fa-
 " vour of some noble personage, to be joined
 " with him in holy matrimony, by whom his ma-
 " jesty might have some more store of fruit and
 " succession, to the comfort of this realm; it
 " pleased his highness, upon a notable appearance
 " of honour, cleanness and maidenly behaviour,
 " to bend his affection towards mistress Catharine
 " Howard, daughter to the late lord Edmund
 " Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk,
 " insomuch as his highness was finally contented
 " to honour her with his marriage, thinking now,
 " in his old days, after sundry troubles of mind
 " which have happened unto him by marriages, to
 " have obtained such a jewel for womanhood
 " and very perfect love towards him, as should
 " not only have been to his quietness, but also
 " brought forth the desired fruit of marriage, like
 " as the whole realms thought the semblance;
 " and, in respect of the virtue and good behavi-
 " our which she shewed outwardly, did her all ho-
 " nour accordingly.

" But this joy is turned into extreme sorrow;
 " for when the king's majesty, receiving his Maker,
 " on Allhallow's day last past, then gave him
 " most

“ most humble and hearty thanks for the good
“ life he led, and trusted to lead with her; and
“ also desired the bishop of Lincoln, his ghostly
“ father, to make like prayer and give like thanks
“ with him.

“ On All-souls day, being at mass, the arch-
“ bishop of Canterbury having a little before
“ heard that the same Mrs. Catharine Howard
“ was not indeed a woman of that pureness and
“ cleanness that she was esteemed; but a woman
“ who, before she was joined with the king’s ma-
“ jesty, had lived most corruptly and sensually;
“ for the discharge of his duty opened the same
“ most sorrowfully to his majesty, and how it was
“ brought to his knowledge, which was in this
“ form following:

“ Whilst the king’s majesty was in his progress,
“ one John Lassels came to the said archbishop of
“ Canterbury, and declared unto him, that he
“ had been with a sister of his married in
“ Suffex, who sometimes had been servant with
“ the old duchess of Norfolk, who did also bring
“ up the said mistress Catharine; and being with
“ his said sister, chanced to fall in communication
“ with her of the queen; wherein he advised her,
“ because she was of the queen’s old acquaint-
“ ance, to sue to be her woman; whereunto his
“ sister answered, that she would not do so; but
“ she was very sorry for the queen: Why? quoth
“ Lassels: Marry, quoth she, for she is light both
“ in living and conditions. How so? quoth Laf-
“ sels. Marry, quoth she, there is one Francis
“ Deirham, who was servant also in my lady of
“ Norfolk’s house, who has lain in bed with her
“ in his doublet and hose between the sheets an
“ hundred nights; and there hath been such puff-
“ ing and blowing between them, that once a
“ maid

“ maid which laid in the house with her said to
 “ me, she would lie no longer with her, because
 “ she knew not what matrimony meant. And fur-
 “ ther said unto him, that one Mannock, sometime
 “ also servant to the said duchess, knew a privy
 “ mark of her body.

“ When the said Lassels had declared this to
 “ the said archbishop of Canterbury, he, consider-
 “ ing the weight and importance of the matter,
 “ being marvelously perplexed therewith, con-
 “ sulted in the same with the lord-chancellor of
 “ England and the earl of Hertford, whom the
 “ king’s majesty, going in his progress, left to
 “ reside at London to order in his affairs in those
 “ parts; who having weighed the matter, and
 “ deeply pondered the gravity thereof, wherewith
 “ they were greatly troubled and unquieted, re-
 “ solved finally, that the said archbishop should
 “ reveal the same to the king’s majesty; which,
 “ because the matter was such as he hath sorrow-
 “ fully lamented, and also could not find in his
 “ heart to express the same to the king’s majesty
 “ by word of mouth, he declared the information
 “ thereof to his highness in writing.

“ When the king’s majesty had read this infor-
 “ mation thus delivered unto him, his grace, be-
 “ ing much perplexed therewith, yet, nevertheless,
 “ so tenderly loved the woman, and had conceived
 “ such a constant opinion of her honesty, that he
 “ supposed it rather to be a forged matter than of
 “ truth: whereupon it pleased him secretly to call
 “ unto him the lord-privy-seal, the lord-admiral,
 “ sir Anthony Brown, and sir Thomas Wriothesly,
 “ to whom he opened the case, saying he could not
 “ believe it to be true; and yet, seeing the in-
 “ formation was made, he could not be satisfied
 “ till the certainty thereof was known; but he
 “ would

“ would not in any wise, that in the inquisition any
 “ spark of scandal should rise towards her. Where-
 “ upon it was by his majesty resolved, that the
 “ lord-privy-seal should go strait to London, where
 “ the said Lassels that gave the information was
 “ secretly kept; and with all dexterity to examine
 “ and try whether he would stand to his saying;
 “ who being so examined, answered, that his sister
 “ so told him, and that he had declared it for the
 “ discharge of his duty, and for none other respect;
 “ adding, that he knew what danger was in it;
 “ nevertheless he had rather die in declaration of
 “ the truth, as it came to him, seeing it touched
 “ the king’s majesty so nearly, than live with the
 “ concealment of the same: which asseveration be-
 “ ing nearly thus made by the said Lassels, the
 “ king’s majesty being informed thereof, sent the
 “ lord-privy-seal into Suffex to examine the wo-
 “ man, making a pretence to the woman’s hus-
 “ band of hunting, and to her for receiving
 “ hunters; and sent the said Wriothesly to London
 “ at the same instant both to examine Mannock,
 “ and also to take the said Deirham upon a pre-
 “ tence of piracy, because he had been before in
 “ Ireland, and had been noted before for that of-
 “ fence; making these pretences to the intent no
 “ spark of suspicion should rise of these examina-
 “ tions.

“ The said lord-privy-seal found the woman in
 “ her examination constant in her former say-
 “ ings; and sir Thomas Wriothesly found, by the
 “ confession of Mannock, that he had commonly
 “ used to feel the secrets and other parts of her
 “ body, before ever Deirham was so familiar with
 “ her; and Deirham confessed that he had known
 “ her carnally many times both in his doublet and
 “ hose

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“ hofe between the sheets, and in naked bed ; al-
“ ledging ſuch witneſſes of three fundry women,
“ one after another, that had lain in the ſame bed
“ with them when he did the acts, that the mat-
“ ter ſeemed moſt apparent.

“ But what inward ſorrow the king’s majeſty
“ took, when he perceived the information true,
“ as it was the moſt woeful thing that ever came to
“ our hearts to ſee it ; ſo it were too tedious to
“ write it unto you : but his heart was ſo pierced
“ with penſivenefs, that long it was before his ma-
“ jeſty could ſpeak and utter the ſorrow of his heart
“ unto us : and, finally, with plenty of tears,
“ which was ſtrange in his great courage, opened
“ the ſame. Which done, ſhe then was ſpoken
“ withal in it by the archbiſhop of Canterbury,
“ the lord-chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, the
“ lord great-chamberlain of England, and the
“ the biſhop of Wincheſter ; to whom, at the
“ firſt, ſhe conſtantly denied it ; but the matter
“ being ſo declared unto her, that ſhe perceived it
“ to be wholly diſcloſed, the ſame night ſhe diſ-
“ cloſed the ſame to the archbiſhop of Canterbury,
“ who then took the confeſſion of the ſame in
“ writing, ſubſcribed with her hand. Then were the
“ reſt of the number, being eight or nine men and
“ women, which knew of their doings, examined,
“ who all agreed in my tale.

“ Now may you ſee what was done before the
“ marriage ; God knoweth what hath been done
“ ſince : but ſhe had already gotten this Deirham
“ into her ſervice, and trained him upon occaſions,
“ as ſending of errands and writing of letters when
“ her ſecretary was out of the way, to come often
“ into her privy chamber. And ſhe had gotten
“ alſo into her privy chamber, to be one of her
“ chamberers,

monarch in Europe, by anticipation, and to carry on the same commerce with her paramours after marriage.

The infatuation of Henry for Catharine Howard seems almost equal to that of Claudius for Messalina. He returned thanks to God for the great blessing he had bestowed on him by giving him the queen for a wife; and Claudius, in like manner, had caused public sacrifices to be made in all the temples of Rome, in thanksgiving to the gods, who had blessed him with the peerless Messalina: but both the king and the emperor found themselves equally mistaken; and the queen and empress were fated to the same unhappy end. Messalina was stabbed by one of the prætor's guards, who had been employed to dispatch her by a freedman of Claudius; and Catharine Howard fell by the hand of an executioner, as hath been shewn above.

Lady Rochford, who was a more abandoned woman than the queen herself, was executed with her. It were to be wished that some historian had given a particular narrative of her life, as the cause of virtue is never more effectually promoted than by shewing vice in its genuine deformity. But as history affords no information concerning her, except what is to be found in this and the former lives, we shall not attempt to make a separate article concerning her; it being our intention to advance nothing but what we can support by authentic memoirs and historical evidence.





THE
L I F E A N D D E A T H
OF THE
EARL OF SURRY.

HENRY HOWARD, earl of Surry, was eldest son of Thomas, third duke of Norfolk, by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham. He married Frances, daughter of the earl of Oxford; by whom he had two sons, Thomas and Henry, and three daughters.

His father, the duke of Norfolk, being desirous of forming an alliance with the Seymour family, importuned his son to marry the earl of Hertford's daughter: but this his son would never consent to.

Henry being advanced in years, and almost choaked with fat, perceiving likewise that the disorder which had attacked his leg began to encrease, plainly saw he had not long to live. Thus persuaded, he considered the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surry as two lords who might greatly embarrass the prince his son during his minority. The duke of Norfolk was as it were the head of the Romish party and the old religion, though, like a good courtier, he had conformed outwardly to all the innovations the king had been pleased to make.

Henry was satisfied with this external compli-

nexions with the pope, whose party was still very strong in England; and he was convinced that his son the earl of Surry was of the same way of thinking. This was sufficient to inspire him with a well-grounded fear, that, after his death, these two lords, assisted by the pope, the emperor, and their friends, would do their utmost to place the crown on the head of the princess Mary; and so the whole building, which he had been at so much pains to raise during the whole course of his reign, would at once be thrown to the ground: and, indeed, he could not question that, if that party prevailed, his divorce from Catharine of Arragon would be considered as null and void: in which case, Mary would pass for his only lawful issue, and the prince his son be looked upon as a bastard. He could hope for no redress from the parliament, having learned, by many years experience, with how much ease that body, consisting of so many members, was carried away by the prevailing party.

He therefore thought that the best and shortest way to obviate these evils, and to get rid of his fears, was not to let these two lords survive him, as he made no doubt but that they were both able and willing to disturb the minority of the prince his son, and even to rob him of the crown.

For this reason their ruin was determined, and then nothing remained to be done but to find a pretext; and this is seldom wanting to those who have the power in their hands. As soon as it was perceived that his affection was alienated from the father and son, there were persons ready to insinuate that they had formed pernicious designs against the state, and that they only waited for his death to put them in execution: that the earl of Surry had refused several good matches since he
lost

lost his countess, and it was currently reported, that he aspired to the princess Mary: that it was not without some private reason that he bore the arms of Edward the confessor, though the duke his father had taken them out of his; that, however, the duke himself left a blank quarter in the place, that he might resume them at a proper season.

Upon these general accusations the king ordered both father and son to be arrested and sent to the Tower. Which done, care was taken to insinuate to the public that they who had any thing to say against the prisoners should be favourably heard, and that the king would pardon any person who was concerned in any plot with them, and would come and make discovery thereof.

Lord Herbert of Cherbury gives us a circumstantial account of the proceedings against the duke of Norfolk and his son, and the execution of the latter. According to that historian, the duchess Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, having for many years entertained jealous suspicions of the matrimonial affection and fidelity of the duke her husband; and her jealousy having at last manifested itself in bitter reproaches, many occasions of scandal were given; insomuch that, not satisfied with having surmised a long while since two articles against him, she again, in several letters to the lord-privy-seal, maintained the articles, and openly accused some of his minions; repeated several instances of cruel treatment which she pretended to have received from them; and, in fine, discovered all the ordinary passions of an offended woman.

This being urged at a time when the king was in his declining age, and moreover possessed with

scruples that the duke's greatness or interests might in process of time interfere with his measures, was not unwillingly heard: so that, notwithstanding his many important and faithful services, both at home and abroad, the duke, and his son Henry, earl of Surry, were exposed to the malignity and detraction of their accusers.

This too fell out at an unlucky time; for, besides that the lady his duchess had now for above four years been separated from him, his son, the earl of Surry, was but newly, and perhaps not perfectly, reconciled to him: his daughter Mary, duchess of Richmond, not only inclined to the protestant party, which was by no means favourable to the duke, but was grown a bitter enemy to her brother: so that there was not only a sort of intestine division in his family, but this was moreover fomented by many secret ways.

One Holland, thought to be the duke's mistress, exerted herself with great industry upon the occasion, being resolved to preserve herself at any rate. Add to this, that many of the king's council had an animosity against him; and, particularly the earl of Holland, who was aware, that after the king's death, now thought to be approaching, none was so capable to oppose him in the place which he aspired to of protector. All which circumstances concurring, and being noised abroad, encouraged many of his adversaries to declare themselves.

The first that manifested himself was sir Richard Southwell, who said that he knew certain things of the earl that touched his fidelity to the king. The earl, before the lord-chancellor Wriothesly, the lord St. John, the earl of Hertford, and others, vehemently affirmed himself to be a true man,
desiring

desiring to be tried by justice, or else offering himself to fight in his shirt with Southwell; but the lords for the present only committed them.

Mean time the duke, hearing his son was in trouble, sends to several of his friends to know the cause, and particularly to the bishop of Winchester. These letters, it is probable, fell into the hands of the king's council, but could not preserve him from being involved in his son's misfortune; so that he was sent for, and the same day, not long after his son, committed to the Tower.

Several persons also were examined concerning his affairs. Mrs. Elizabeth Holland in her depositions confessed, That the duke had told her, that none of the king's council loved him, because they were no noblemen born themselves; as, also, because he believed too truly in the sacrament of the altar: moreover, that the king loved him not because he was too much loved in his country: but that he would follow his father's lesson; which was, that the less others set by him, the more he would set by himself: as, also, that the duke complained, that he was not of the most secret, or, as it is there termed, the privy-council: and, that the king was much grown of his body, and that he could not go up and down the stairs, but was let up and down by a device: and, that his majesty was sickly, and could not long endure; and the realm like to be in an ill case through diversity of opinions; and, that, if he was a young man, and the realm in quiet, he would ask leave to see Vernacle, which he said was the picture of Christ given to women by himself when he was going to death. As touching his arms, that she had not heard the duke speak of his own but of his son's,

that he liked them not, and that he had gathered them himself knew not from whence; and, that he had placed the Norfolk's arms wrong, and had found fault with him, and therefore she should take no pattern of his son's arms to work them with her needle in his house, but as he gave them. Furthermore she confessed that the earl of Surry loved her not, nor the duchess of Richmond him, and that she addicted herself much to the said duchess.

Mary, duchess of Richmond, being examined, confessed, That the duke her father would have had her marry sir Thomas Seymour, brother to the earl of Hertford; which her brother also desired, wishing her also to endear herself so into the king's favour, as she might the better rule here as others had done; and that she refused: and, that her father would have had the earl of Surry to have matched with the earl of Hertford's daughter, which her brother likewise heard of, and that this was the cause of her father's displeasure, as taking Hertford to be his enemy: and, that her brother was so much incensed against the said earl, as the duke his father said thereupon, his son would lose as much as he had gathered together: moreover, that the earl her brother should say, these new men loved no nobility; and, that if God called away the king they should smart for it; and, that her brother hated them all since his being in custody in Windsor castle; but that her father seemed not to care for their ill-will, saying, his truth should bear him out. Concerning arms, she said, that she thought her brother had more than seven rolls, and that some thought he had added more of Anjou and of Lancelot Dulac; and that her father, since the attainder of the duke of Buckingham, who bore

bore the king's arms, where the arms of her mother, daughter to the said duke, were razed in his coat, had put a blank quarter in the place; but that her brother had reassumed them: also, that, instead of the duke's coronet, was put to his arms a cap of maintenance, purple, with powdered fur, and with a crown, to her judgment, much like to a close crown; and underneath the arms was a cypher, which she took to be the king's cypher, H. R. as also, that her father never said that the king hated him, but his counsellors; but, that her brother said, the king was displeas'd with him, as he thought, for the loss of the great journey; which displeasure, he conceived, was set forward by them who hated him for setting up an altar in the church at Boulogne: and, that her brother should say, "God long save my father's life; for if he were dead, they would shortly have my head:" and, that he reviled some of the present council, not forgetting the old cardinal: also, that he dissuaded her from going too far in reading the scriptures. She likewise repeated some passionate words of her brother's, as also some circumstantial speeches, little for his advantage, yet so as they seem'd much to clear her father.

Sir Edmund Knevet being examined, declared, that he knew no untruth directly by the earl of Surry, but suspected him of dissimulation and vanity; adding, that a servant of his had been in Italy with cardinal Poole, and was received again at his return. Moreover, that he kept one Pasquil, an Italian, as a jester, but more likely a spy, and so reputed. He mentioned also one Peregrine, an Italian, entertained by the said earl; adding, that he loved to converse with strangers, and to conform his behaviour to them; and,

and, that he thought he had therein some ill device.

One Thomas Pope also informed the council, that John Freeman told him, that the duke, at Nottingham, in the time of the commotion in the north, should say, in the presence of an hundred persons, that the act of uses was the worst act that ever was made, and that Freeman affirmed those words before the lord Audley, late lord-chancellor.

These depositions, together with others, as it seems, being brought to the king's judges at Norwich, they signified, by their letter to the lords of the council, dated January the seventh, that the king's solicitor and Mr. Stamford had brought the indictments, and that they were found true, and the duke and his son indicted thereupon of high-treason: and that they made haste to bring the said indictment to London; desiring further, to know whether sir Thomas Paston, sir Edmund Knevet, sir John Peer, and others, should be of the same jury.

Upon the thirteenth, the king being dangerously sick, the earl of Surry was arraigned in Guildhall, London, before the lord-chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commissioners; when the earl, as he was of a deep understanding, ready wit, and much resolution, defended himself variously; sometimes denying their accusations as false, and at the same time weakening the credit of his adversaries; sometimes interpreting the words he had spoken in a sense very different from that in which they had been represented.

For the circumstance relating to the arms he bore (among which those of Edward the confessor are mentioned) he alledged that he had the opi-
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tion of heralds therein : and, finally, when a witness, in giving evidence against him, *vivâ voce*, pretended to repeat some high words of the earl's, to which the said witness returned a braving answer, the earl replied, by appealing to the jury, whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the earl of Surry, and he not strike him. Thus far lord Herbert.

We are informed by Dr. Burnet, that the earl of Surry being much provoked at the earl of Hertford's being sent over to France in his room, had said that within a little time they should smart for it ; with some expressions that favored of revenge, and a dislike of the king, and hatred of the counsellors.

His ruin, according to the same author, was promoted by the Seymours, who could not but see the enmity which he bore them ; and they had just grounds to be jealous of the greatness of his family, which was not only become too much for subjects, but was raised so high, by the dependance of the whole popish party, both at home and abroad, that they were likely to be very dangerous competitors for the chief government of affairs when the king should be out of the way ; and his disease was growing so fast upon him, that it could not be expected that he would live many weeks. It therefore seems highly probable, that the king's jealousy of the earl of Surry was greatly encreased by the suggestions of the Seymours.

The earl of Surry being but a commoner, was brought to his trial at Guildhall, and put upon an inquest of commoners, consisting of nine knights and three esquires, by whom he was found guilty of treason : his defence availing nothing, as his destruction had before been determined, upon rea-

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sons of state, for which it was not difficult to find a pretext.

Sentence being passed upon him, he was executed on Tower-hill the nineteenth of January, 1547.

His execution was generally condemned as an act of high injustice and rigour, which loaded the Seymours with a popular odium that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a man of extraordinary abilities, and great personal courage, with many other noble qualities.

The emperor Charles of Austria had, during his residence in England, created the earl of Surry admiral of his fleet in the year 1522; and, as he proposed staying some time longer in this kingdom, the earl, taking with him both the English and Flemish fleets, made two descents upon France, and carried off a rich booty. Then he returned, and convoyed the emperor to Spain.

In the year 1523, Henry VIII. intending to get the duke of Albany removed from the regency of Scotland, ordered the earl of Surry to march thither, in order to let the Scots see what they were to expect, if they did not comply with his desire. The Scots being without a leader, and unprepared for the invasion, sustained great damages during the campaign. The earl took Tedworth, and carried fire and sword a good way into the country, without meeting any opposition.

In the mean time, Henry's partisans in Scotland ceased not to cry that a peace must be made with England, since it was the only way to preserve Scotland from destruction. Henry seconded them, by offering the king of Scotland, who was his nephew, his only daughter Mary in marriage, and by exaggerating the advantages which would ac-

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crue to the Scots from this alliance ; but he at the same time required of them that they would break the engagements which they had entered into with France.

It does not, however, seem in the least probable that he had seriously formed a design to give his daughter to the king of Scotland, as she was affianced to the emperor, with whom he was strictly united. Add to this, that such a marriage would have been of no advantage to himself or the nation.

Those of the opposite faction replied to this, that the king of England desired to disunite Scotland and France, on purpose that he might more easily ruin the kingdom ; and, that the consequence of abandoning France to make an alliance with England, would be, that they would become slaves to the English : that this was not the first time the kings of England, by such marriages, had attempted to make themselves masters of Scotland ; and, that the worst was to be feared from neighbours who had all along aspired to the possession of all Great-Britain. In fine, that carrying fire and sword into a country whose friendship was courted, was a strange way of demanding an alliance, and proposing a marriage.

Those of the opposite faction were not backward in answering these reasons : but the only effect this had, was to encrease disorder and confusion among the Scots to such a degree, that it was impracticable for them to come to any resolution.

Meanwhile Henry, whose sole view was to terrify them, by making them feel the force of his arms, ordered the earl of Surry to quit Scotland and return to England. But scarce had he sent his men into winter quarters, when the Scots made inroads on the borders of England, which constrained

strained him to march a second time into Scotland, where he became master of Jedborough.

In the mean time the duke of Albany, hearing what passed in Scotland, was inflamed with a desire to repair thither, to appease by his presence the troubles caused by the partizans of the king of England, and to reinforce the French party, which was in danger of being outdone by the other. Francis I. had granted him an aid of three thousand foot and two hundred men at arms, to enable him to make a diversion upon Henry from that quarter: but it was not possible to transport these troops to Scotland, whilst the English fleet kept the sea on purpose to obstruct their passage: recourse, therefore, must be had to stratagem.

To that end, he pretended to give over his design of going to Scotland, and sent his troops into quarters at a good distance from the coast, with orders, however, to be in a readiness to march on the first notice. The transport ships were likewise sent away to certain ports, from whence they were ordered to sail to the place of rendezvous appointed, as soon as they should hear from the duke.

This stratagem deceived the English admiral, who receiving advice from his spies that the duke of Albany was returned to court, and had dismissed his troops and vessels, thought there could be nothing more to fear this year, and so carried back the fleet to England.

No sooner was the duke informed of this, but he drew together his troops and ships, and embarking about the middle of September, he arrived in Scotland on the twentieth, the very day the earl of Surry became master of Jedborough. The regent's arrival revived the drooping spirits of the French party, and caused the king of
England

England to be deserted by several persons who had sided with him merely through fear.

Some time after, the regent summoned the nobility to Edinburgh, and did his utmost to persuade them that the kingdom of Scotland would be in great danger, unless the designs of Henry were timely and vigorously opposed: but his eloquence had very little effect upon the minds of those who preferred Henry's pensions to all the arguments that could be alledged. Nevertheless, he drew together an army, and advanced towards the borders, where he arrived the twentieth of October: but when he marched into England, he had the same difficulties to encounter which had retarded him the year before: that is to say, the generals and officers of the English party refused to follow him, urging that it was manifestly against the interest of Scotland to provoke the English, and therefore it was enough to stand upon the defensive. They added, that if the design was to serve France, it could not be promoted more effectually than by keeping an army on the frontiers, which would lay the English under a necessity of having one in the same parts: but that, in the present circumstances, it would be highly indiscreet to run the risque of a battle, the loss whereof would be attended with the ruin of the whole kingdom.

The regent finding it would be to no purpose to endeavour to persuade them to follow him, ordered Werk castle to be assaulted by the French troops; but they met with a vigorous repulse. Meanwhile, upon notice of the earl of Surry's approach, at the head of a numerous army, he did not think it advisable to wait his coming, but chose to retire. It would, indeed, have been an unpardonable

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unpardonable rashness to have given battle with an army wherein the English had so many friends. The season being no longer fit for one or the other to keep the field, the earl of Surry, satisfied with having checked the progress of the Scots, sent his troops to winter quarters; and the regent followed his example.

Thus ended this campaign, which we thought it necessary to give a circumstantial account of, as the earl of Surry headed one of the armies; tho' it must be owned, he neither signalized himself in this, or indeed in any other command. This, however, by no means proves him to be defective either in skill or courage, as the ablest generals have not always been the most successful.

In the winter of the year 1546, the war against France still continuing, the earl of Surry commanded at Boulogne, where having intelligence that the French were conducting a convoy of provisions to the fort of Outreau, he sallied out with part of the garrison in order to intercept it. But he succeeded so ill, that, instead of taking the convoy, he was himself defeated, and forced to retreat in very great disorder.

The king was greatly afflicted at this news, not being accustomed to receive the like. Whether he thought it was owing to the earl's misconduct, or whether he suspected him of some hidden design, he immediately recalled him, and sent the lord Grey to command in his stead. A few days after he ordered the earl of Hertford to set out with about ten thousand men, and endeavour to cut off the communication between Boulogne and Calais.

The indignation which the earl of Surry conceived at seeing the earl of Hertford thus preferred
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to him, drew from him those expressions which have been taken notice of above, and which were afterwards urged against him on his impeachment.

It must, however, be acknowledged that he was neither deficient in conduct or personal courage, though he never commanded with much success: but, as the observation of the Roman historian, “*Eventus stultorum magister est*,” the weak and ignorant judge entirely by events, it is not to be expected but that his reputation, as a general, will be always very much controverted; but his innocence will undoubtedly be universally acknowledged, as it appears evidently from all the circumstances of the proceedings against him, that none of the unhappy sufferers who fell victims to the calumny of accusers, and rigour of tyranny, in this reign, were more cruelly dealt with.

His fortitude, which appeared eminently in his behaviour when under examination, was equally conspicuous at his execution; which should brand the memory of Henry VIII. with greater infamy than any of his other arbitrary and unjust profecutions, as he was worn out with old age, and almost upon the verge of eternity, when he sought to deprive this nobleman of life and honour.

A temper so hardened will surprize; but this surprize will cease, if we duly consider the justness of that maxim of the noble author of the *Characteristics*, that “*vices grow with age, and the oldest villain is generally the greatest.*”

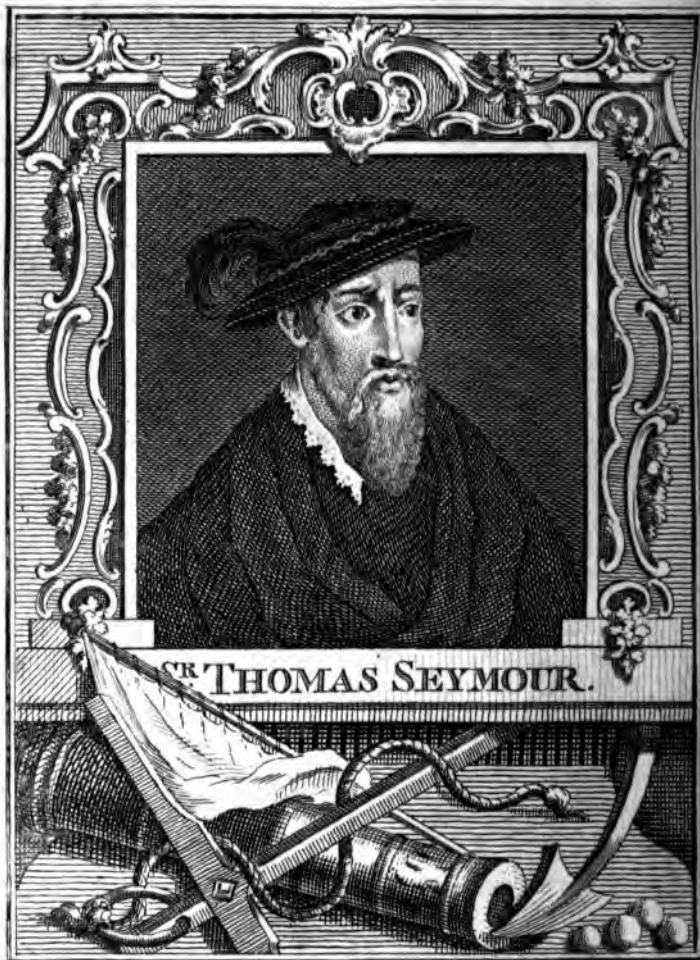
That monster of cruelty, Tiberius, in like manner, retained his sanguinary temper to the last; nay, it was even irritated and inflamed by the infirmities which attend on old age; insomuch that, in his latter days, his chief recreation was to behold the various torments which condemned persons

underwent; and it became a maxim with him, "Sentiant se mori," let them feel themselves dying.

So much did he delight in beholding the excruciating exacerbations of human misery, that he once made answer to a prisoner, who begged it as a favour that he might be instantly dispatched, "You and I are not yet quite so good friends."



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W. T. Ingham Sculp.

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
Sir THOMAS SEYMOUR.

HAVING concluded the sanguinary reign of Henry VIII. we shall proceed to that of his son Edward VI. who was a prince of a mild and merciful disposition, but being a minor, the affairs of government were superintended by a regency consisting of sixteen persons : these were Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury ; the lord Wriothesly, lord-chancellor ; the lord St. John, master of the household ; the lord Russel, lord privy-seal ; the earl of Hertford ; lord-chamberlain ; the viscount Lisle, lord-admiral ; Tonstal, bishop of Durham ; sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse ; sir William Paget, secretary of state : sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of Augmentations ; sir Edward Montague, lord chief justice of the Common-Pleas, judge Bromley ; sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber ; sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais ; and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

Principles of government, when once established, are uniformly pursued for a considerable time ; the machine being once put in motion, by certain springs, continues still to be actuated by the same. Thus, the cruelty of so many succeeding Roman emperors has been justly ascribed by M. de St. Evremond, to the sanguinary policy
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adopted by Tiberius, and the bloody disposition of the present regency, may with equal reason, be attributed to the example set by Henry VIII. Sir Thomas Seymour was the first that experienced this rigour, and owes his fate to his being the brother of one of the regents of the kingdom.

Sir Thomas Seymour was of a noble and ancient family, which came from Normandy with William the Conqueror. As Henry VIII. married Jane Seymour immediately after the tragical death of Anne Bullen, sir Thomas Seymour was uncle to the king. He was younger brother to the earl of Hertford, and thought it hard that he should be only a privy counsellor, when the king had made his brother one of the regents: he imagined, that being uncle to the king, he was entitled to much higher honour: his ambition was boundless; it could be equalled by nothing but the high conceit which he had of himself. So the rank, which the late king had assigned him by his will, not being capable of satisfying him, he, like Sejanus, attempted to mount higher, and that occasioned his downfall, as will be seen hereafter.

It is proper to inform the reader in this place, that soon after the government was settled, pursuant to Henry's will, it was judged fit to elect a protector; and that this place was conferred on the earl of Hertford.

In the year 1597, sir Thomas Seymour was created lord Sudly, upon the testimony of certain persons, to whom king Henry, just before his death, had opened his mind concerning the honours he proposed to confer on several of the regents and counsellors. This honour was immediately followed by another more considerable; sir Thomas was, in the same year, constituted high admiral of England. Thus, about a fortnight after
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SIR THOMAS SEYMOUR. 267.

the king's death, he received two new dignities. But all these accessions of greatness were, to use the words of Juvenal only,

“ *Excelsæ turris tabulata unde altior esset,
“ Casus & impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ.*”

The stories of a dome that threatens the sky,
More grievous thence to fall, because 'tis high.

We shall see, in the sequel, that sir Thomas, by aspiring to rise still higher, plunged himself into an abyss of misfortunes, which might have been avoided by a small share of moderation. But prudence, which was a very necessary quality to the great in those days, is what sir Thomas seems to have been entirely destitute of. He was misled by the flattering delusions of ambition, concerning which Dryden justly observes, That

“ Mad ambition loves to slide, not stand,
“ And fortune's ice prefers to virtue's land.”

The fate of sir Thomas was the same with that of many others, who have ventured too far upon the slippery paths of the regions possessed by that fickle goddess.

In the year 1547, the protector being engaged in a war with Scotland, his brother the admiral caballed against him in England, and had already proceeded so far, that the protector was upon the point of being ruined, at the very time that he was causing the king's arms to triumph. He, like Scævola, might have been doom'd to death whilst reaping laurels; but receiving intelligence of these practices, he thought he could not be too speedy in his return to court, in order to break

his brother's measures. This was the real motive of his hasty return ; which was, however, coloured with other pretences.

When we behold one brother thus endeavouring to undermine another, human nature must appear to us in the worst of lights; it is a sad truth, that enmities and jealousies are more frequent between brothers, than those who are utter strangers to each other, insomuch that Tacitus's maxim, " *Concordia fratribus odia,*" animosities are customary amongst brothers, seems to be too well grounded. Tho' the protector had many enemies, and many detractors, who hated him thro' envy, there was not one so inveterate against him as admiral Thomas Seymour his brother; which justifies the observation of Monsieur Racine, " *L'on hait beaucoup quand on hait un frere,*" he that hates a brother, hates violently. The admiral was a hot, proud, and haughty man.

He was indeed allowed to surpass his brother in capacity, and to be much more capable of the management of affairs. But, this opinion might have been propagated by the party which he had made among the nobility, who were by no means well affected to the protector. What gave the admiral the highest mortification, was the distinction made by the king between him and the duke of Somerset, though they were both uncles to the young king. He thought himself, both by birth and natural abilities, as deserving as his brother of a share in the administration of government. Immediately after king Henry's death, he discovered his aspiring temper, by paying his addresses to the princess Elizabeth: but despairing of success in his courtship, he turned to Catharine Parr, queen dowager, and managed matters with such address, that he won her heart, and married her privately,

privately, without communicating it to the duke his brother, who was invested with the protectorship.

They were married so soon after the king's death, that if the queen had been delivered as soon as she might have been, people might have made it a question, whether the child was the king's or the admiral's. Having concealed his marriage for some time, he, without the protector's knowledge, found means to procure a letter from the king, recommending him to the queen for a husband. As soon as he got this letter, he declared his marriage, without giving himself any trouble about his brother. Hence their quarrel first took rise: but the protector, who was endowed with a quality essential to a courtier, namely, moderation, did his utmost to prevent their quarrel from breaking out, though he all along entertained a secret antipathy to his brother.

The admiral's jealousy was greatly inflamed by the promotion of the duke his brother, who, from a nominal, was become a real protector. This jealousy, stimulated by his ambitious temper, put him at length upon forming the project of supplanting his brother, by insinuating himself into the king's favour, and making a party among the nobility. It seems to admit of no doubt, that the protector's secret enemies fomented the admiral's ambition, by the praises they bestowed upon him, confirming him in the ill opinion he had entertained of the duke his brother. He began his cabals about Easter, by gaining over the king's servants to his interest, that they might espouse his cause with their young master, and endeavour to make him continue his good opinion of him. By their assistance, he so contrived it, that the king frequently came to his house to see

his mother-in-law. He strictly enjoined the king's servants, whom he had corrupted to let him know when his majesty had occasion for money, telling them that they need not always trouble the Treasury; for he would be ready to furnish him. With this he thought a young king would be taken.

So it happened, that the first time Latimer preached at court, the king sent to the admiral to know what present he should make him; Seymour sent him forty pounds, but said, he thought twenty enough to give Latimer, and the king might dispose of the rest as he pleased. Thus he gained ground with the king, whose sweetness of temper exposed him to be easily won by such artifices. It has been said by many, that all this misunderstanding between the brothers was first occasioned by their wives; and that the protector's lady being offended, that the younger brother's wife should have that precedence, which she looked upon as her own right, thereupon raised and inflamed the difference.

However, bishop Burnet assures us, that he could never find any such thing once mentioned in all the letters he had seen concerning this difference. And it indeed must be owned, that it is not at all reasonable to imagine, that the duchess of Somerset should be so weak, as to think to have the precedence of the queen dowager: it is therefore highly probable, that this story is a mere fiction, though there might, upon other accounts, have been some animosity between the two ladies, who were both equally high-spirited, which might afterwards have been thought to have given occasion to their husband's quarrel.

The first under-hand practices of the admiral had not escaped the protector's knowledge, who there-

thereupon expostulated with his brother, and he denied all, but that in so haughty a manner, that it was easy for the protector to perceive, that he did not much care to keep fair with him: however, he bore with him a long time with great patience; but it was more thro' policy than any other motive, as appears evidently from his afterwards **laying aside human nature, so much as to consent to his execution.**

The protector was no sooner gone to Scotland, but the admiral renewed his cabals with less reserve than before. His pretensions were, that, as in former times, the kings of England had had governors of their person, distinct from the protectors of their realms, which trusts were divided between their uncles, it being judged too much to confer both on one person, who would thereby become too great, whereas a governor of the king's person would be a check upon the protector; he should therefore himself be made governor of the king's person, alledging, that since he was the king's uncle, as well as his brother, he ought to have an equal share with him in the government.

In order to effect his purpose, he dealt money to several persons, and never ceased paying his court to the king: nay, he obtained, unknown to his brother, a new and more ample patent for the office of lord admiral, with an addition of two hundred marks to the salary. Sir William Paget, who was devoted to the protector, and perhaps had orders to watch the admiral, seeing how he increased in favour with the king, expostulated with him in plain terms. He asked him, Why he attempted to reverse that, which himself and others had consented to under their hands? Their family was now so great, that nothing but their mutual

mutual quarrelling, could do them any prejudice; but there would not be wanting officious men to inflame them, if once they were divided among themselves. But all his remonstrances were ineffectual, for the admiral was resolved to go on, and either get himself advanced higher, or perish in the attempt.

It was the knowledge of this, that forced the protector to return from Scotland in the midst of his victories, in order to secure his interest with the king, on whom his artifices had made a considerable impression; for the young monarch, was much better pleased to have for governor, an uncle who had all the condescension possible for him, than one who was not so complaisant, but kept him more in awe. So his age, not permitting him to make other reflections on this matter, he writ with his own hand a message to the House of Commons, desiring them to make the admiral the governor of his person. This he intended to have carried himself to the house, where he had a party, by whose means he was confident of carrying his point. He dealt also with many of the lords and the counsellors to assist him in it. But his design taking air, the council sent some lords to him in his brother's name, to reason the case with him, and to prevail with him to proceed no farther.

He refused to hearken to them, and said, That if he was crossed in his attempt, he would make this the blackest parliament that ever was in England: whereupon he was sent for next day by order from the council, but refused to come. He was then severely threatened, and told, that the king's writing was nothing in law; but that he, who had procured it, was liable to be punished for doing an act of such a nature, to the disturbance of the govern-

government, and for engaging the young king in it ; so they resolved to have him divested of all his offices, and sent to the Tower, and prosecuted upon the act of parliament, which made it death to disturb the government. This menace terrified him: he plainly saw, though he had the king on his side, the young prince, who was but just entered into his eleventh year, would not have resolution enough to support him, contrary to the advice of the protector and the council ; he chose therefore to submit himself to the protector and council, and his brother and he seemed perfectly reconciled. However, as the protector had reason to have a watchful eye over him, so it was but too evident he had not laid aside his ambitious projects, but only deferred the execution of them till a fitter conjuncture.

For on the next Christmas he began again to distribute money among the king's servants, and never ceased endeavouring, both by himself, and by those whom he had gained, to infuse into the king a dislike of the protector, and his other ministers. His insinuations were so powerful with the king, that he was often induced to assume the government himself. This made the protector set spies about the admiral, that he might be informed of his proceedings, as he began to look upon him in the light of a dangerous enemy.

Notwithstanding the great mortification the admiral had already undergone, he still continued his practices against the protector, in spite of the warnings which were given him from time to time, that they would end in his ruin.

The queen-dowager, who had married him, died in September, 1548, and it was strongly suspected by many that she had been taken off by poison. She was a good and virtuous lady, and, through the

the whole course of her life, had given no handle to censure, except when she married the admiral, contrary to all the laws of decency, and so soon after the king's death.

There was found, amongst her papers, a discourse which she had written concerning herself, entitled, "The lamentation of a sinner;" it was published by Cecil, who wrote a preface to it. In it she with great sincerity acknowledges the sinful life which she had led for many years; during which she, relying on external performances, such as fasts and pilgrimages, was all that while a stranger to the internal and true power of religion: which she came afterwards to feel by the study of the scriptures, and the calling upon God for his holy spirit. She also explains therein the notion she had of justification by faith, so that holiness necessarily follows upon it; but lamented the great scandal given by many gospellers, for so all those were called, who addicted themselves to the study of the scriptures.

After her death, the admiral resolved to renew his addresses to the princess Elizabeth, but did not meet with that encouragement which he had flattered himself with the hopes of. And, had he even obtained her consent, that would not have been sufficient, without the approbation of the protector, and the council. The late king's will debarred her from the succession, if she married without the consent of the executors. And this attempt of the admiral's had occasioned the act for declaring the marriage of the king's sisters, without consent of council, to be treason.

The admiral, finding himself baffled in this design, turned his thoughts another way, in order to gratify his ambition. It is said, he formed a design to carry away the king to his house of Holt,

to dispossess the protector, and to seize the government himself: for this end he had laid in magazines of arms, and listed about two thousand, others say, ten thousand men, in several different places.

Be that as it will, it is certain he openly spoke against the protector, inveighing against him for having reduced the kingdom to a state of slavery, by means of the German troops which he had brought over. He moreover entered into a treaty with several of the nobility that envied his brother's greatness, and were not displeas'd to see the difference between them grown irreconcilable. To these he promised that they should be of the council, and that he would dispose of the king in marriage to one of their daughters: the person is not named.

Some historians have advanced, that the protector being informed of all his proceedings, shewed himself extremely patient towards him, and refused to carry things to extremity, till he saw plainly, that one or other must inevitably be ruined. But, as M. Rapin justly observes, we cannot entirely rely upon what historians say of the admiral's private designs, or of the protector's forbearance: for, as some make it their business to blacken the protector's reputation as much as possible, so others strive to vindicate all his actions. It is, however, out of dispute, that the admiral was not satisfied with his condition, but sought to supplant his brother, and put himself in his place. But one cannot be so positively sure of the means he intended to use in order to compass his ends.

At last, his ambition appearing incurable, he was, on the 19th of January, committed. The original warrant, signed by all the privy-council, is

is in the council-book, where the earl of Southampton signs with the rest, being now, in outward appearance, reconciled to the protector. On the day following, the admiral's seal of his office was sent for, and put into secretary Smith's hands. And now, many things appeared against him; and particularly a conspiracy of his with sir William Sharington.

Sir William Sharington, vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, who was to have furnished him with one thousand pounds, and had already coined about twelve thousand pounds false money, and had clipt a great deal more, to the value of forty thousand pounds in all, for which he was attainted by a process at common law, and that was confirmed in parliament. Fowler also, who waited in the privy-chamber, with some few others, were sent to the Tower.

As it is customary to bring many accusations against a sinking man, the lord Ruffel, the earl of Southampton, and secretary Petre, were ordered to receive their examinations.

Thus the affair was suspended till the twenty-eighth of February; at which time his brother is said to have made another attempt to gain him; and, as he had, since their first breach, granted him eight hundred pounds a year in land, so he now did his utmost to persuade him to submit, and to retire from court and from all employment. This circumstance, however, has been, with some reason, called in question by several authors: but, as it fully appeared that his ambition was incurable, and that the hatred he bore his brother was insurmountable, on the twenty-second of February a full report was made to the council of all the things which were informed against him; consisting not only of the particulars formerly mentioned,

but of many instances of misconduct in the discharge of the admiralty. His accusation consisted of thirty-three articles, which we shall here lay before the reader.

ARTICLES of high-treason, and other misdemeanours, against the king's majesty and his crown, objected to sir Thomas Seymour, knight, lord Seymour of Sudly, and high-admiral of England.

I. WHEREAS the duke of Somerset was made governor of the king's majesty's person, and protector of all his realms, and dominions and subjects; to the which you yourself did agree, and gave your assent in writing; it is objected, and laid unto your charge, that this, notwithstanding you have attempted, and gone about, by indirect means, to undo this order, and get into your hands the government of the king's majesty, to the great danger of his highness's person, and the subversion of the state of the realm.

II. It is objected and laid to your charge, that, by corrupting with gifts and fair promises, divers of the privy-chamber, you were about to allure his highness to condescend and agree to the same, your most heinous and perilous purposes, to the great danger of his highness's person, and of the subversion of the state of this realm.

III. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you wrote a letter with your own hand, which letter the king's majesty should have subscribed, or written again after that copy, to the parliament house; and that you delivered the same to his highness for that intent; with the which, so written by his highness, or subscribed, you had determined to come into the commons house yourself; and there, with your fautors and adherents

adherents before prepared, to have made a broil, a tumult, or uproar; to the great danger of his majesty's person, and subversion of the state of this realm.

IV. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you yourself spake to divers of the council, and laboured with divers of the nobility of the realm, to stick and adhere unto you, for the alteration of the state, and order of the realm, and to attain your other purposes, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, now in his tender years, and subversion of the state of this realm.

V. It is objected and laid to your charge, that you said openly and plainly, you would make the blackest parliament that ever was in England.

VI. It is objected and laid to your charge, that, being sent for by authority to answer such things as were thought meet to be reformed in you, you refused to come: to a very evil example of disobedience, and danger thereby of the subversion of the state of this realm.

VII. It is objected and laid to your charge, that, since the last session of this parliament, notwithstanding much clemency showed unto you, you have still continued in your former mischievous purposes, and continually, by yourself and others, studied and laboured to put into his majesty's head and mind, a misliking of the government of the realm, and of the lord protector's doings, to the danger of his person, and the great peril of the realm.

VIII. It is objected and laid to your charge, that the king's majesty, being of those tender years, and as yet by age unable to direct his own things, you have gone about to instil into his grace's head, and, as much as lieth in you, persuaded him to take upon himself the government
and

and management of his own affairs; to the danger of his highness's person, and great peril of the whole realm.

IX. It is objected and laid to your charge, that you had fully intended and appointed, to have taken the king's majesty's person into your own hands and custody, to the danger thereof, and peril of the realm.

X. It is objected and laid to your charge, that you have corrupted with money certain of the privy-chamber, to persuade the king's majesty to have a credit towards you; and so to insinuate you to his grace, that, when he lacked any thing, he should have it of you and none other body; to the intent that he should mislike his ordering, and that you might the better, when you saw time, use his highness for an instrument to this purpose; to the danger of his royal person, and subversion of the state of the realm.

XI. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you promised the marriage of the king's majesty at your will and pleasure.

XII. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you have laboured and gone about to combine and confederate yourself with some persons; and, especially, moved those noblemen whom you thought not to be contented, to depart into their countries, and make themselves strong, and otherwise to allure them to serve your purpose by gentle promises and offers, to have a party and faction in readiness to all your purposes; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the realm.

XIII. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you have parted, as it were, in your imagination and intent, the realm; to set noblemen to countervail such other noblemen as you thought

would lent your devilish purposes; and so laboured to be strong to all your devices; to the great danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

XIV. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you had advised certain men to entertain and win the favours and good wills of the head yeomen and ringleaders of certain countries; to the intent that they might bring the multitude and commons, when you should think meet, to the furtherance of your purposes.

XV. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you have not only studied and imagined how to have the rule of a number of men in your hands, but, that you have attempted to get, and also gotten, divers stewardships of noblemens lands and their mannoreds, and to make your party stronger for your purposes aforesaid; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

XVI. It is objected and laid to your charge, that you have retained young gentlemen, and hired yeomen, to a great multitude, and far above such number as is permitted by the laws and statutes of the realm, or were otherwise necessary or convenient for your service, place or estate: to the fortifying yourself towards all your evil intents and purposes; to the great danger of the king's majesty, and peril of the state of the realm.

XVII. It is objected and laid unto your charge; that you had so travailed in that matter, that you had made yourself able to make, of your own men, out of your lands and rules, and other your adherents, ten thousand, besides your friends to the advancement of all your intents and purposes; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

XVIII. It

XVIII. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you had conferred, cast and weighed, so much money as would find the said ten thousand men for a month; and, that you knew how and where to have the same sum; and, that you had given warning to have and prepare the said mass of money in a readiness; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and great peril of the state of the realm.

XIX. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you have, not only before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown; but also, being then lett by the lord-protector, and others of the council, since that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and, after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to atchieve the said purpose of marrying the said lady Elizabeth; to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the realm.

XX. It is objected and laid to your charge, that you married the late queen so soon after the late king's death, that, if she had conceived straight after, it would have been a great doubt, whether the child born should have been accounted the late king's or yours; whereupon a marvellous danger and peril might and was like to have ensued, to the king's majesty's succession and quiet of the realm.

XXI. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you first married the queen privately, and did dissemble and keep close the same; infomuch that a good space after you had married her, you made labour to the king's majesty, and obtained a letter of his majesty's hand, to move and require the

said queen to marry with you; and likewise procured the lord-protector to speak to the queen to bear you her favour towards marriage; by the which colouring, not only your evil and dissembling nature may be known, but also, it is to be feared, that, at this present, you did intend to use the same practice in the marriage of the lady Elizabeth's grace.

XXII. It is objected and laid to your charge, that you not only, so much as lay in you, did stop and let all such things as, either by parliament or otherwise, should tend to the advancement of the king's majesty's affairs, but did withdraw yourself from the king's majesty's service; and, being moved and spoken unto, for your own honour, and for the ability that was in you, to serve and aid the king's majesty's affairs, and the lord protector's, you would always draw back, and feign excuses, and declare plainly that you would not do it.

Wherefore, upon the discourse of all these foresaid things, and of divers others, it must needs be intended, that all these preparations of men and money; the attempts and secret practices of the said marriage; the abusing and persuading of the king's majesty to mislike the government, state, and order of the realm that now is, and to take the government into his own hands, and to credit you, was to none other end and purpose, but, after a title gotten to the crown, and your party made strong both by sea and land, with furniture of men and money sufficient, to have aspired to the dignity royal, by some heinous enterprize against the king's majesty's person, to the subversion of the whole state of the realm.

XXIII. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that you not only had gotten into your hands the strong and dangerous isles of Scilly, bought of divers

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wers men; but that, so much as lay in your power, you travelled also to have Lunday; and, under pretence to have victualled the ships therewith, not only went about, but also moved the lord-protector and whole council, that you might, by public authority, have that which, by private fraud and falshood, and confederating with Sharington, you had gotten; that is, the mint at Bristol, to be yours wholly, and only to serve your purposes; casting, as may appear, that if these traitorous purposes had no good success, yet you might thither convey a good mass of money; where, being aided with ships, and conspiring at all evil events with pirates, you might at all times have a sure and safe refuge, if any thing for your demerits should have been attempted against you.

XXIV. It is also objected and laid unto your charge, that having notice that sir William Sharington, knight, had committed treason, and otherwise wonderfully defrauded and deceived the king's majesty; nevertheless, you, both by yourself and by seeking council for him, and by all means you could, did aid, assist and bear him, contrary to your allegiance and duty to the king's majesty, and the good laws and orders of the realm.

XXV. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that, where you owed to sir William Sharington, knight, a great sum of money, yet, to abet, bear and cloak the great falshood of the said Sharington, and to defraud the king's majesty, you were not afraid to say and affirm, before the lord-protector and the council, that the same Sharington did owe unto you a great sum of money; viz. two thousand eight hundred pounds; and to conspire with him in that falshood, and take a bill of that feigned debt into your custody.

XXVI. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that, by yourself and ministers, you have not only extorted and bribed great sums of money of all such ships as should go into Iceland, but, also, as should go any other where in merchandize; contrary to the liberty of this realm, and to the great discouragement and destruction of the same; to the great danger of the king's majesty, and the state of the realm.

XXVII. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that, where divers merchants, as well strangers as Englishmen, had their goods pyratously robbed and taken, you have had their goods in your hands and custody, daily seen in your house, and distributed among your servants and friends, without any restitution to the parties so injured and spoiled; so that thereby foreign princes have, in a manner, been weary of the king's majesty's amity, and by their ambassadors divers times complained; to the great slander of the king's majesty, and danger of the state of the realm.

XXVIII. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that, where certain men have taken certain pirates, you have not only taken from the takers of the said pirates, all the goods and ships so taken, without any reward; but have cast the said takers, for their good service done to the king's majesty, into prison; and there detained them for a great time, some eight weeks, some more, some less, to the discouraging of such as truly should serve the king's majesty against his pirates and enemies.

XXIX. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that divers of the head pirates, being brought unto you, you have let the same pirates go again free unto the seas; and, taking away from the takers
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of them, not only all their commodity and profit, but, from the true owners of the ships and goods, all such as ever came into the pirates hands, as though you were authorised to be the chief pirate, and to have had all the advantage they could bring unto you.

XXX. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that, where order hath been taken by the lord-protector and the whole council, that certain goods, piratically taken upon the seas, and otherwise known not to be wreckt or forfeited, should be restored to the true owners, and letters thereupon written by the lord-protector and the council : to the which letters, you yourself, among the other, did set to your hand ; yet you, this notwithstanding, have given commandment to your officers, that no such letters should be obeyed ; and written your private letters to the contrary, commanding the said goods not to be restored, but kept to your own use and profit ; contrary to your own hand before in the council-chamber written, and contrary to your duty and allegiance, and to the perilous example of others, and great slander and danger of the realm.

XXXI. It is objected and laid unto your charge, that, where certain strangers, which were friends and allies to the king's majesty, had their ships with wind and weather broken, and yet came unwrecked to the shore ; when the lord-protector and the council had written for restitution of the said goods, and to the country to aid and save so much of the said goods as they might, you yourself subscribing and consenting thereunto ; yet, this notwithstanding, you have not only given contrary commandment to your officers, but, as a pirate, have written letters to some of your friends to help, that as much of these goods as they could, should

be conveyed away secretly by night further off, upon hope that if the same goods were assured, the owners would make no further labour for them, and then you might have enjoyed them, contrary to justice and your honour, and to the great slander of this realm.

XXXII. It is objected, and laid unto your charge, that you have not only disclosed the king's majesty's secret council, but also where you yourself, amongst the rest, have consented and agreed to certain things for the advancement of the king's affairs, you have spoken and laboured against the same.

XXXIII. It is further objected, and laid unto your charge, that your deputy-steward, and other your ministers of the Holt, in the county of Denbigh, have now, against Christmas last past, at the said Holt, made such provision of wheat, malt, beefs, and other such things as be necessary for the sustenance of a great number of men; making also, by all the means possible a great mass of money; insomuch that all the country doth greatly marvel at it; and the more because your servants have spread rumours abroad that the king's majesty was dead; whereupon the country is in a great maze, doubt and expectation, looking for some broil; and would have been more, if, at this present, by your apprehension, it had not been staid.

Such were the articles of high-treason objected to the admiral. To the three first he made answer in the following terms:

To the first, he said, That, about Easter-tide was twelvemonth, he said to Fowler, as he supposed it was, that, if he might have the king in his custody, as Mr. Page had, he would be glad; and, that he thought a man might bring him
through

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through the gallery to his chamber, and so to his house : but this he said he spoke merrily, meaning no hurt. And that, in the mean time, after he heard, and, upon that, sought out certain precedents, that there was in England, at one time, one protector and another regent, and another regent of France, and the duke of Exeter, and the bishop of Winchester governors of the king's person : upon that he had thought to have made suit to the parliament-house for that purpose ; and he had the names of all the lords, and lotted them whom he thought he might have to his purpose to labour them : but afterwards communing with Mr. Comptroller at Ely-place, being put in remembrance by him of his assenting and agreeing with his own hand, that the lord-protector should be governor of the king's person, he was ashamed of his doings, and left off that suit and labour.

To the second he said, he gave money to two or three of them which were about the king. To Mr. Cheek he said, he gave at Christmas-tide was twelvemonth, when the queen was at Enfield, forty pounds ; whereof, to himself, twenty pounds, the other for the king, to bestow where it pleased his grace amongst his servants. Mr. Cheek was very loth to take it, howbeit he would needs press that upon him ; and to him he gave no more, at no time, as he remembereth, since the king's majesty was crowned.

To the grooms of the chamber he hath, at New-year's-tides given money, he doth not well remember what.

To Fowler, he said he gave money for the king, since the beginning of this parliament, now last at London, twenty pounds.

And divers times, he said, the king had sent to him for money, and he had sent it : and what time
Mr.

The LIFE and DEATH of

Latimer preached before the king, the king sent to him to know what he should give Latimer, and he sent to him by Fowler twenty pounds, with this word, that twenty pounds was a good reward for Mr. Latimer, and the other might bestow among his servants; whether he had given Fowler any money for himself, he did not remember.

To the third he said, It is true, he drew such a bill indeed himself, and proffered it to the king, or else to Mr. Cheek, he cannot well tell; and before that, he said, he caused the king to be moved by Mr. Fowler, whether he could be contented that he should have the governance of him as Mr. Stanhope had? He knoweth not what answer he had; but upon that he drew the said bill to that effect, that his majesty was content, but what answer he had to the bill he cannot tell; Mr. Cheek can tell.

It seems highly probable, that the admiral was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, since he answered only the three first articles, and that with much reluctance. The particulars of his charge were so manifestly proved, not only by witnesses, but by letters under his own hand, that it did not seem possible to deny them. Yet, when he was first sent to, and examined by some of the privy-counsellors, he refused to make a direct answer to them, or to sign the answers he had made: so it was ordered, that, on the next day, all the privy-council, except the archbishop of Canterbury, and sir John Baker, speaker to the House of Commons, who was obliged to attend at the house, should go to the Tower, and examine him. Accordingly, the lord-chancellor, with the other privy-counsellors, repaired to the Tower, a

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read to him the articles of his charge; they then earnestly desired him to make plain answers; to excuse himself where he could, and submit where he could not, without shewing any obstinacy of mind.

To this he answered, that he expected an open trial, and to have his accusers confronted with him. The privy-counsellors used all the arguments they could think of to persuade him to be more tractable, but to no purpose. At last, the lord-chancellor required him, on his allegiance, to make his answer. He persisted to refuse making an answer, without having the articles left with him, that he might consider of them at leisure: but the counsellors would not consent to leave them with him on those terms.

On the 29th of February, 1549, it was resolved in council, that the whole board should, after dinner, acquaint the king with the state of the affair, and desire to know whether it was his pleasure that the law should take place; and whether he would leave the determination of the affair to the parliament, as it had been laid before them; so cautiously did they proceed in a case which concerned the life of their young king's uncle.

But the youthful monarch was aware of his seditious temper, and had been much alienated from him some time since.

When the counsellors waited on his majesty, the lord-chancellor opened the matter to him, declaring it as his opinion, that it should be left to the parliament. Then the other counsellors gave their opinions, in which they all agreed with the lord-chancellor.

The protector spoke last; he protested, that this affair gave him the utmost concern; that he had
done

done his utmost to prevent it from coming to such an extremity ; but, were it son or brother, he must prefer his majesty's safety to them, for he weighed his allegiance more than his blood ; and that therefore he was not against the request that the other lords had made : he added, that if he himself were guilty of such offences, he should think he were unworthy of life ; and the rather, because he was, of all men, the most bound to his majesty, and therefore he could not refuse justice.

The king's answer was as follows : “ We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my lord high admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason ; and, we perceive, that you require but justice to be done, we think it reasonable, that you proceed according to your request.”

Which words, (as it is observed in the council-book coming so suddenly from his grace's mouth, of his own motion, as the lords might perceive, they were marvellously rejoiced, and gave the king most hearty praise and thanks : yet resolved, that some of both houses should be sent to the admiral, before the bill should be put in against him, to see what he could, or would say.

All this was done in order to bring him to a submission. So the lord-chancellor, the earls of Shrewsbury, Warwick, and Southampton ; and sir John Baker, sir Thomas Cheyney, and sir Anthony Denny, were sent to him. He long continued obstinate, but was at last prevailed upon to give an answer to the first three articles ; and then he stopped on a sudden, and bid them be content, for he would go no farther, and no intreaties could
work

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work on him, either to answer the rest, or to set his hand to the answers he had made.

On the 25th of February, 1749, the bill was put in for attainting him, and the peers had been so accustomed to agree to such bills in king's Henry's time, that they made no difficulty to pass it. All the judges and the king's council, were unanimous in their opinions, that the articles were treason. Then the evidence was brought; many lords gave it so fully, that all the rest, with one voice, consented to the bill; only the protector, for natural pity's sake, as it is said in the council-book, desired leave to withdraw.

On the 27th, the bill was sent down to the commons with a message, that if they desired to proceed as the lords had done, those lords that had given their evidence in their own house, should come down, and declare it to the commons. But there was much opposition made to it in the House of Commons. They could not forbear exclaiming against attainders in absence, and the irregular manner of judging the accused, without confronting them with the witnesses, or hearing their defence.

It was thought a very unwarrantable method of proceeding, that some peers should rise up in their places, in their own house, and relate somewhat to the slander of another, and that he should thereupon be attainted: they pressed therefore that it might be done by a trial; and that the admiral might be brought to the bar, and allowed to plead for himself. They would, in all probability, have thrown out the bill, if the king had not sent them a message, that he did not think the admiral's presence necessary: and that it was sufficient they should examine the depositions which had been produced in the House of Lords.

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The king having thus intimated his pleasure, the commons, in a full house of four hundred passed the bill, not above ten or twelve voting in the negative. It is very probable, they were satisfied of the truth of the depositions, and that the point in question being only an irregularity which was even become a custom, they did not believe this proper season to reform it.

The bill being passed, the royal assent was given on the 5th of March, 1549, and on the tenth of the same month the council resolved to press the king, that justice might be done on the admiral.

It is said in the council-book, that since the case was so heavy and lamentable to the protector, though it was also sorrowful to them all, they resolved to proceed in it, so that neither the king, nor he should be further troubled with it. After dinner, they went to the king, the protector being with them.

The king said, He had well observed their proceedings, and thanked them for their great care of his safety, and commanded them to proceed in it, without further molesting him or the protector; and ended, "I pray you, my lords, do so." Upon this the bishop of Ely had orders to attend the admiral, and instruct him in the things that relate to a future state, and prepare him to meet his fate with patience and resignation: and, on the 17th of March, he having made report of his attendance on the admiral, the council signed a warrant for his execution; which we shall here insert, in the very words of the original.

The

SIR THO

The warrant for the admiral's execution.

THIS day, the 17th of March, 1549, the lord-chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, meeting in his highness's palace of Westminster, heard the report of the bishop of Ely, who, by the said lords, and others of the council, was sent to instruct and comfort the lord admiral: after the hearing whereof, consulting and deliberating with themselves of the time most convenient for the execution of the said lord admiral, now attainted and condemned by the parliament, they did descend and agree, that the said lord admiral should be executed the Wednesday next following, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon of the same day, upon Tower-hill. His body and head to be buried within the Tower: the king's writ (as in such cases it heretofore hath been accustomed) being first directed, and sent forth for that effect. Whereupon, calling to the council-table the bishop of Ely, they willed him to declare this their determination to the said lord admiral; and to instruct and teach him the best he could, to the quiet and patient suffering of justice, and to prepare himself to Almighty God.

E. Somersfet.

T. Cantuarien.	William Paget.
R. R. Cancel.	Anthony Wingfield.
W. St. John.	William Petre.
T. Ruffel.	A. Denny.
J. Warwick.	Edward North.
F. Shrewsbury.	R. Sadler.
Tho. Southampton.	

In pursuance hereof, the admiral was beheaded on the 20th of March, 1549. With regard to his behaviour on the scaffold, historians give us no information.

Thus fell Thomas lord Seymour, lord high admiral of England; a man of aspiring thoughts, of great violence of temper, and ambitious out of measure. The protector was much censured for consenting to his execution; and, indeed, it seems highly probable, that, in so doing, he was more influenced by a cruel and sanguinary disposition, than by zeal for his king. The relation that subsisted between them, was of such a nature, that he should, by all means, have preserved his life; and his not doing so, cannot be otherwise accounted for, than by supposing a mutual antipathy to have subsisted between the two brothers.

Some historians assert, on the other hand, that persons who knew the whole series of the affair, saw it was scarce possible for him to do more for the gaining his brother than he had done. The public, however, was of opinion, that it was against nature for one brother to destroy another, and had no conception of those mysteries of state, by which such actions are sometimes palliated as necessary. Men who reasoned on the principles of a corrupt policy, excused Nero for the murder of his brother Britannicus, by representing it as necessary: but necessity is the plea of tyrants, and the most atrocious actions might be defended, were it admitted as a sufficient excuse.

The way of proceeding against the admiral is still more indefensible; since, to attain a man without admitting him to make his own defence,

defence, or question the witnesses, who were brought against him, was altogether illegal and unjust. The only thing that can be said for it is, that it was a little more regular than parliamentary attainders had been formerly; for, on the present occasion, the evidence upon which it was founded was given before both houses.



T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
EDWARD SEYMOUR.

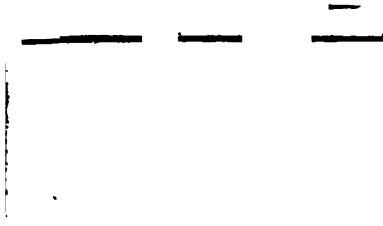
EDWARD SEYMOUR, earl of Hertford, who was afterwards invested with the dignity of protector, died upon a scaffold; and, as he had been instrumental in bringing his brother to the block, the Providence which made him expiate his crime upon it, must be allowed to be entirely just. His brother's blood cried for vengeance against him, and it will appear, by the sequel, that it did not cry in vain.

We shall say nothing of his family in this place, as we have spoken of it in the former article. Being brother to Jane Seymour, with whom Henry VIII. married immediately after the death of Anne Bullen, he was soon after created lord Seymour, and viscount Beauchamp, and then earl of Hertford. From that time, he always held a distinguished rank at court, as well during the queen his sister's life, as after her death. Henry VIII. expressed all along a great esteem for him, and employed him in several military expeditions; in which he acquitted himself in such a manner as gained him more and more the regard of his master.

He appeared outwardly to be humble, affable, civil, and courteous to all the world; and to be guided, in all the transactions of his life, by the principles



Alamet Sculp.



principles of honour, virtue, and religion; but this external shew of virtue may easily be accounted for by the courtly vice of dissimulation. He had many bad qualities, which he had the art to hide by the specious mask of virtue. His character seems fully to be comprised in those emphatical words of Sallust, "Vitiâ sua callidè occultans :". A man who craftily concealed his vices. He is universally allowed to have been immoderately ambitious; but some historians have represented his ambition rather as an effect of his zeal for religion than a natural failing. It is acknowledged that he had no very able head, which caused him to be deemed more proper to execute than to advise.

In the late reign, he had conformed to the king's religion, because it was very dangerous to do otherwise; but he was not the only person who had taken that course; all the English who lived in the reign of Henry VIII. are liable to this reproach, excepting some few, both of the catholic and protestant party, who suffered death for not complying with the will of that imperious monarch.

However, the earl of Hertford was a protestant in his heart, and consequently a great friend to Cranmer. This drew upon him the hatred of the opposite party, and particularly of the lord-chancellor Wriothesly, who had already attempted to destroy him.

He always discovered much zeal for the reformation, and every thing that was done in favour of the protestant religion, during the reign of Edward VI. should be ascribed to him and Cranmer. His attachment to the protestant religion, has made some historians speak of him with great partiality.

At king Henry's death he was lord-chamberlain. He was one of the regents named in the prince's will; and, being uncle to the king, had more

power than any of those associated with him in the regency.

As soon as king Henry had resigned his breath, the earl of Hertford was sent with sir Anthony Brown, by the council, to inform young Edward of it, and to bring him to London. He was then with the princess Elizabeth, his sister, at Hertford, from whence they conducted him to Enfield. There they apprized him of the king's death, and paid their respects to him as their sovereign. After that, they attended him to the Tower of London, where he was received by the council in a body, and proclaimed king the same day, being the thirty-first of January, 1547.

No sooner was the form of government settled, pursuant to the will of the late king, who had appointed sixteen regents, but a change in it was proposed. Some of the regents observed, that it must needs be very troublesome for the people, and especially for foreign ministers, to be under a necessity of applying to sixteen persons of equal authority; and moved, that some one should be chosen to be head and president, with the title of protector. They added, that by these means affairs would be dispatched more speedily; and, at the same time, there would be no change in the form of the government established; because the person to be raised to that dignity should do nothing without the concurrence of the major part of the rest.

The lord chancellor Wriothesly, easily perceived that this motion was made to his prejudice, as by his office he was next to the archbishop of Canterbury, who did not much mind secular affairs, he was in hopes of having the chief hand in the regency; but he saw, that if a protector was chosen, he would not be the man; but, that the dignity would

would be conferred on the earl of Hertford, the king's uncle; wherefore he opposed the motion with all his might, declaring, that the regents had no power to depart from the late king's will, which was confirmed by act of parliament. He urged, that it was plain, that the late king intended, that all the regents should be equal in the administration; and, that the raising one to a title or dignity above the rest, was a great change of what he had ordered: and, whereas it was alledged, that the person to be thus nominated was to have no power over the rest, that was only to exalt him to an high dignity with the less envy or apprehension of danger; for it was certain, great titles always make way for high power: but the earl of Hertford had so great a party among them, that it was agreed to; the lord-chancellor himself consenting, when he saw his opposition was without effect, that one should be raised above the rest in title, to be called the protector of the king's realms, and the governor of his person.

The next point did not occasion any long debate: it was not difficult to determine who should be nominated to this trust. It was unanimously agreed, that the earl of Hertford, on account of his nearness of blood to the king, and his great experience in affairs, was the properest person. So he was declared protector of the realm and governor of the king's person; but with the special and express condition, that he should not do any thing but by the advice and consent of the other executors, according to the will of the late king.

It was indeed natural to chuse for protector, the king's uncle by the mother's side, who, of all the men in the kingdom, was the most concerned in his preservation. Nevertheless, it was thought, by many, that the regents had made a false step at

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the very beginning of their administration, for the reason alleged by the lord-chancellor. It might, however, be pleaded in their behalf,

First, That they had given no particular authority to the protector; and, consequently, the form of government established by the late king, was not altered; and,

Secondly, That the will, empowering the regents, or the major part of them, to administer the young king's affairs as they should think proper: whatever was resolved upon by a plurality of voices, was deemed agreeable to the late king's will.

The king's great kindness to his uncle made his advancement pass smoothly, for the rest of the executors, not being of the antient nobility, but courtiers, were drawn in easily to comply with that which was so acceptable to their young king.

The lord-chancellor, who had made the greatest opposition to the earl of Hertford's advancement, could expect but little favour from the new protector. The emulation that subsisted between them soon became very conspicuous; and the nation, being then divided between those who were attached to the old superstition, and those who desired a compleat reformation, the protector set himself at the head of the latter party, and the lord-chancellor of the former.

Shortly after, the protector was created duke of Somerset, at the same time that others of the regents and counsellors had new dignities conferred on them. Dr. Burnet gives the following account of that affair.

“ There was a clause in the late king's will
“ quiring his executors to make good all that
“ had promised in any way whatever. W
“ upon sir William Paget, sir Anthony D
“

“ and sir William Herbert, were required to de-
“ clare what they knew of the king’s intentions
“ and promises; the former being the secretary
“ whom he trusted most, and the other two those
“ who attended on him in his bedchamber during
“ his sickness.

“ Paget declared, that, when the evidence ap-
“ peared against the duke of Norfolk, and his
“ son, the earl of Surry, the king, who used fre-
“ quently to talk in private with him alone, told
“ him, that he intended to bestow their lands li-
“ berally; and, since by attainders and otherwise,
“ the nobility was much decayed, he intended to
“ create some new peers, and ordered him to write
“ a list of the names of such as he thought most
“ worthy of that honour: whereupon Paget pro-
“ posed the earl of Hertford to be a duke; the
“ earl of Essex to be a marquiss; the viscount
“ Lisle to be an earl; the lords St. John, Russel,
“ and Wriothesly, to be earls; and, sir Thomas
“ Seymour, sir Thomas Cheyney, sir Richard
“ Rich, sir William Willoughby, and others, to
“ be barons. Paget also proposed a distribution
“ of the duke of Norfolk’s estate; but the king
“ liked it not, and made Mr. Gates bring him
“ the books of that estate; which being done, he
“ ordered Paget to lot upon the earl of Hertford
“ (these are the words of his deposition) a thou-
“ sand marks; on the lord Lisle, St. John, and
“ Russel, two hundred pounds a year; to the lord
“ Wriothesly, one hundred; and, for sir Thomas
“ Seymour, three hundred pounds a year. The
“ king, when he found his end approaching, al-
“ tered this, by ordering the book to be thus
“ filled up: the earl of Hertford to be earl-
“ marshal and lord-treasurer, and to be duke of
“ Somerset, Exeter, or Hertford; and his son to

“ be earl of Wiltshire, with eight hundred pounds
 “ a year of land, and three hundred pounds a year
 “ out of the next bishop’s land that fell void.

“ In pursuance of this deposition of Paget, the
 “ protector’s dignity was increased by an accession
 “ of wealth and honour. However, his procuring
 “ the great offices of lord-treasurer and earl-mar-
 “ shal, vacant by the death of the duke of Nor-
 “ folk, drew upon him great envy. The first was
 “ conferred on him the tenth of February, 1547;
 “ and the other on the seventeenth of the same
 “ month.”

Besides the secular honours conferred on the earl of Hertford, we are informed by Dr. Burnet that he had six good prebends promised him; two of these being afterwards converted into a deanry and treasurership. That ecclesiastical dignities should be conferred on laymen, may seem somewhat extraordinary, but we are told by the same author that it was customary at that time.

On the sixth of February, 1547, the lord-protector knighted the king, being empowered so to do by letters patent. So it seems, that, as the laws of chivalry required that the king should receive knighthood from the hands of some other knight, so it was judged too great a presumption for his own subject to give it without a warrant under the great seal.

The lord-chancellor Wriothesly was, as has been already observed, the protector’s adversary, and a great enemy to the reformation and the reformed. The protector wished to be rid of him, as did, likewise, the major part of the regents: and he soon afforded them a plausible pretence himself. Resolving to apply himself chiefly to affairs of state, he had, on the eighteenth of February, put the great-seal to a commission directed to the master of
 the

EDWARD

the rolls, and three masters in chancery, empowering them to execute the lord-chancellor's office in the court of chancery, in as ample a manner as if he himself were present.

This being done by his own authority, without any warrant from the lord-protector, and the other regents, his enemies availed themselves of this opportunity to ruin him. Complaint of what had been done being brought before the council, it was ordered, that the judges should give their opinions concerning the case in writing. Their answer was, that the chancellor, being only entrusted with his office, he could not commit the exercise thereof to others without the consent of the king or the regency; that, by so doing, he had, by the common-law, forfeited his place, and was liable to fine and imprisonment during the king's pleasure.

This answer being communicated in full council, the chancellor fell out into a great passion with the judges, and even carried it very high to the regents, the council, and protector. He went so far as to tell him, that he held his office of lord-chancellor by an undoubted authority, since he held it by the king himself; whereas it was a great question whether he himself was lawfully protector.

But this haughtiness was so far from mending the matter, that it only made it worse. His submission might have mitigated his punishment; but, by his passion and heat, he gave the council a handle to treat him with the utmost severity. He was immediately confined to his house, with a command not to stir from thence till farther orders. Then it was debated what his punishment should be. It was not doubted in the least that he might be deprived of the chancellorship; but the point was not so clear with regard to the regency, because it

was

was uncertain whether the late king had put him among the regents as chancellor or a private person, like several others who were in no post or office. It was not therefore judged expedient to divest him of the regency; but, to render it useless to him, he was left under an arrest, and the great-seal taken from him, and given to the lord St. John, till another chancellor should be appointed. So he remained in confinement till the nineteenth of July, 1547, when he was released from imprisonment upon entering into a recognizance of four thousand pounds, to pay whatever fine they should think fit to impose upon him.

After the protector had got rid of this troublesome rival, he thought of nothing but how to have the sole management of affairs, and to be protector indeed; whereas it had hitherto been only an empty title without any peculiar authority. To attain his ends, he represented to the regents and council, that it was controverted by several persons whether they could by their sole authority name a protector; that the French ambassador, in particular, had hinted that he did not think he could safely treat with him, without knowing whether he was duly authorized, since his title might be contested for want of authority in those who had conferred it. So the protector and council, on the thirteenth of March, 1547, petitioned the king that they might act by a commission under the great-seal, which might empower and justify them in what they were to do. And that was to be done in this manner: the king and the lords were to sign a warrant for it, upon which the lord St. John (who, though he had the keeping of the great-seal, was never designed to be the lord-keeper, nor was empowered to hear causes) should set the seal to it. The original of this warrant

was

was to be kept by the protector, and copies of it were to be given to foreign ministers. We shall insert the commission in this place as it is to be found in original records.

The Duke of Somerset's Commission to be Protector.

“ EDWARD VI. by the grace of God, king
“ of England, France and Ireland, defender of the
“ faith, and of the church of England, and also
“ of Ireland, in earth the supreme head : Whereas
“ our council, and divers of the nobles and pre-
“ lates of this our realm of England, considering
“ our young and tender age, have thought meet
“ and expedient, as well for our education and
“ bringing up in knowledge, learning, and exer-
“ cises of good and godly manners, virtues and
“ qualities, meet and necessary for a prince of our
“ estate, and whereby we may, at our full age, be
“ the more able to minister and execute the charge
“ of our kingly estate and office committed unto
“ us by the goodness of almighty God, and left
“ and come unto us by right inheritance, after and
“ by the decease of our late sovereign lord and
“ father, of most famous memory, king Henry
“ VIII. whose soul God pardon : as, also, to the
“ intent that, during the time of our minority,
“ the great and weighty causes of our realms and
“ dominions may be set forth, conducted, passed,
“ applied and ordered, in such sort as shall be most
“ to the glory of God, our surety and honour ;
“ and for the weal, benefit and commodity of us,
“ our said realms and dominions, and of all our
“ loving subjects of the same, have advised us to
“ nominate, and appoint, and authorize some one
“ meet and trusty personage, above all others, to
“ take

“ take the special care and charge of the same for
“ us, and in our name and behalf: without the
“ which, the things before remembered could not,
“ nor can be done, so well as appertaineth.

“ We therefore, using their advices and coun-
“ cils in this behalf, did heretofore assign and ap-
“ point our dear and well-beloved uncle Edward,
“ now duke of Somerset, governor of our person
“ and protector of our said realms and domini-
“ ons, and of our subjects and people of the same.
“ Which thing, albeit we have already declared
“ heretofore, and our pleasure therein published by
“ word of our mouth, in the presence of our
“ said council, nobles and prelates, of our said
“ realm of England; and not by any writing set
“ forth under our seal for that purpose. Yet, for
“ a more perfect and manifest knowledge, and
“ further corroboration and understanding of our
“ determination in that behalf: and, considering
“ that no manner of person is so meet to have and
“ occupy the said charge and administration, and
“ to do us service in the same, as is our said uncle
“ Edward, duke of Somerset, eldest brother to our
“ natural, most gracious mother, late queen Jane,
“ as well for the proximity of blood, whereby he
“ is the more stirred to have special eye and regard
“ unto our surety and good education in this our
“ said minority; as also for the long and great
“ experience which our said uncle hath had in the
“ lifetime of our said dear father, in the affairs of
“ our said realm and dominions, both in time of
“ peace and war; whereby he is more able to or-
“ der and rule our said realms, dominions, and
“ subjects of the same: and, for the special confi-
“ dence and trust that we have in our said uncle,
“ as well as with the advice and consent of our said
“ council, and other, our nobles and prelates, as
also

" also of divers discreet and sage men, that served
 " our said late father in his council and weighty
 " affairs; we therefore, by these presents, do not
 " only ratify, approve, confirm, and allow, all
 " and every thing and things, whatsoever devised
 " and set forth, committed, or done by our said
 " uncle, as governor of our person and protector,
 " of our said realms and dominions, as is aforesaid,
 " or otherwise, any time before or since the death
 " of our said late father: but also, by these pre-
 " sents, we, for a full and perfect declaration of the
 " authority of our said uncle, given and appointed
 " as aforesaid, do nominate and appoint, and or-
 " dain our said uncle, governor of our said person,
 " and protector of our said realms and dominions,
 " and of the subjects of the same, until such time
 " as we shall have, by the sufferance of God, ac-
 " complished the age of eighteen years.

" And we also do grant to our said uncle, by these
 " presents, full power and authority, from time
 " to time, until such time as we shall have accom-
 " plished the said age of eighteen years, to do, pro-
 " cure, and execute, and cause to be done, pro-
 " cured and executed, all and every such thing and
 " things, act and acts, which a governor of the
 " king's person of this realm, during his minority,
 " and a protector of his realms, dominions, and
 " subjects, ought to do, procure and execute, or
 " cause to be done, procured, and executed; and
 " also all, and every other thing or things, which,
 " to the office of a governor of a king of the
 " realm during his minority, and of a protector
 " of his realms, dominions, and subjects, in any
 " wise appertaineth or belongeth: willing, au-
 " thorising, and commanding our said uncle, by
 " these presents, to take upon him the name, title,
 " and authority of governor of our person, and
 " protector

“ protector of our realms; dominions, and sub-
 “ jects; and to do, procure and execute; and
 “ cause to be done, procured and executed, from
 “ time to time, until we shall have accomplished
 “ the said age of eighteen years, all and every
 “ thing and things,, act and acts, of what nature,
 “ quality, or effect, they be, or shall be; concern-
 “ ing our affairs, doings, and proceedings, both
 “ private and public, as well in outward and fo-
 “ reign causes and matters, as also concerning our
 “ affairs, doings, and proceedings, both private and
 “ public, as well in outward and foreign causes and
 “ matters; as also concerning our affairs, doings,
 “ and proceedings, within our said realms and do-
 “ minions, or in any of them, or concerning any
 “ manner, causes, or matters, of any of our sub-
 “ jects, of the same, in such like manner and form,
 “ as shall be thought, by his wisdom and discre-
 “ tion, to be for the honour, surety, and prosper-
 “ rity, good order, wealth, or commodity, of us,
 “ or of any of our said realms and dominions, or
 “ of the subjects of any of the same.

“ And to the intent our said uncle should be
 “ furnished with men, qualified in wit, knowledge,
 “ and experience, for his aid and assistance, in the
 “ managing, and accomplishment of our said af-
 “ fairs, we have, by the advice and consent of our
 “ said uncle and others, the nobles, prelates, and
 “ wise men of our said realm of England, chosen,
 “ taken, and accepted; and by these presents do
 “ chuse, take and accept, and ordain to be our
 “ counsellors, and of our council, the most rever-
 “ end father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Can-
 “ terbury, and our right trusty and well-beloved
 “ William, lord St. John, great master of our
 “ household, and president of our council, John
 “ lord Russel, keeper of our privy seal; and our
 “ trusty

“ trusty and right well-beloved cousins William
 “ marquis of Northampton; John, earl of War-
 “ wick, great chamberlain of England; Henry
 “ earl of Arundel, our lord chamberlain; Thomas
 “ lord Seymour of Sudly, high admiral of Eng-
 “ land; the reverend father in God, Cuthbert,
 “ bishop of Duresm, and our right trusty, and
 “ well-beloved Richard lord Rich; sir Tho-
 “ mas Cheyney, knight of our order, and trea-
 “ surer of our household; sir John Gage, knight
 “ of our order, and comptroller of our household;
 “ sir Anthony Brown, knight of our order,
 “ and master of our horse; sir Anthony Win-
 “ field, knight of our order, our vice-cham-
 “ berlain; sir William Paget, knight of our
 “ order, our chief secretary; sir William Petre,
 “ knight, one of our two principal secretaries; sir
 “ Ralph Sadler, knight, master of our great ward-
 “ robe; sir John Baker, knight; Dr. Wotton,
 “ dean of Canterbury and York; sir Anthony
 “ Denny, and sir William Herbert, knights, gen-
 “ tlemen of our privy chamber; sir Edward North,
 “ knight, chancellor of our court of augmenta-
 “ tions and revenues of our crown; sir Edward
 “ Montague, knight, chief justice of our Com-
 “ mon-Pleas; sir Edward Wotton, knight, sir
 “ Edward Peckham, knight, cofferer of our hous-
 “ hold; sir Thomas Bromly, knight, one of the
 “ justices for pleas before us, to be holden, and
 “ sir Richard Southwell, knight.

“ And furthermore, we are contented and pleas-
 “ ed, and by these presents, do give full power and
 “ authority to our said uncle, from time to time, un-
 “ til we shall have accomplished, and be of the full
 “ age of eighteen years, to call, ordain, name, ap-
 “ point, and swear such, and as many other per-
 “ sons of our subjects, as to him our said uncle
 “ shall

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“ shall seem meet and requisite to be of our coun-
“ cil; and that all, and every such person or per-
“ sons, so by our said uncle, for and during the
“ time aforesaid, to be called, named, ordained,
“ appointed, and sworn of our council, and to be
“ our counsellor or counsellors; we do, by these
“ presents, name, ordain, accept, and take our
“ counsellor or counsellors, and of our council, in
“ like manner and form, as if he, they, and every
“ of them, even in these presents by us appointed,
“ named, and taken to be of our council; and
“ our counsellor or counsellors, by express name
“ or names. And, that also of our forenamed
“ counsellors, or of any others, which our said
“ uncle shall hereafter, at any time, take and chuse
“ to be our counsellor or counsellors, or of our
“ said council, he our said uncle shall, may, and
“ have authority by these presents, to chuse, name,
“ appoint, use and swear, of privy-council, and to
“ be our privy-counsellor, or counsellors, such,
“ and so many as he, from time to time, shall think
“ convenient.

“ And, it is our further pleasure, and also, we
“ will, and grant by these presents, for us, our
“ heirs and successors, that whatsoever cause, mat-
“ ter, deed, thing or things, of what nature, qua-
“ lity, or condition soever the same may be; yea,
“ though the same require, or ought, by any man-
“ ner, law, statute, proclamation, or other ordi-
“ nance whatsoever, to be specially, or by name,
“ expressed, or set forth, in this our present grant,
“ or letters-patent, and be not herein expressed,
“ or mentioned specially which our said uncle, or
“ any of our privy-council, or counsellors, with
“ the advice, consent, and agreement of our said
“ uncle, have thought necessary, meet, decent, or
“ in any manner, wise, convenient to be devised,
“ done or executed, during our minority, and un-
“ executed

" til we come to the full age of eighteen years,
 " for the surety, honour, profit, weal, benefit, or
 " commodity, of any of our realms, dominions, or
 " subjects; and the same have devised, done, or
 " executed, or caused to be devised, executed,
 " or done, at any time since the death of
 " our most noble father of most famous memory.
 " We are contented and pleased, and will and
 " grant, for us, our heirs and successors, by these
 " presents, that the same cause, matter, deed,
 " thing, and things, and every of them, shall stand,
 " remain, and be (until such time our said uncle,
 " with such and so many of our foresaid counsel-
 " lers, as he shall think meet to call to his assist-
 " ance, shall revoke and annihilate the same) good,
 " sure, stable, vailable and effectual, to all intents
 " and purposes, without offence of us, or against
 " us, or of, or against any of our laws, statutes,
 " proclamations, or any other ordinances whatso-
 " ever; and without incurring therefore into
 " any danger, penalty, forfeit, loss, or any other
 " incumbrance, penalty, or vexation of his or
 " their bodies, lands, rents, goods or chattels; or
 " of their or any of their heirs, executors, or ad-
 " ministrators, or of any other person or persons
 " whatsoever, which have done, or executed any
 " cause, matter, deed, thing or things, now or any
 " time since the death of our said father, by the
 " commandment, or ordinance of our said uncle,
 " or any of our counsellors, with the advice, con-
 " sent, or agreement of our said uncle.

" And further, we are contented and pleased,
 " and will and grant for us, our heirs and succes-
 " sors, by these presents, that whatsoever cause,
 " matter, deed, thing or things, of what nature,
 " quality, or condition soever the same may be, or
 " shall be; yea, though the same require, or
 " ought, by any manner, law, or statute, procla-
 " mation,

" mation, or other whatsoever ordinance, to be
 " specially, and by name expressed and set forth,
 " in this our present grant and letters-patent, and
 " be not herein specially named and expressed ;
 " which our said uncle shall, at any time, during
 " our minority, and until we come to the full
 " age of eighteen years, think necessary, meet,
 " expedient, decent, or in any wise convenient to
 " be devised, had, made, executed, or done in our
 " name, for the surety, honour, profit, health, or
 " education of our person, or which our said uncle,
 " with the advice of such and so many of our
 " privy-council, or of our counsellors, as he shall
 " think meet to call unto him, from time to time,
 " shall, at any time, until we come unto age, think
 " necessary, meet, decent, expedient, or in any wise
 " convenient to be devised, had, made, executed,
 " or done in our name, for the surety, honour, profit,
 " weal, benefit, or commodity of any of our realms,
 " dominions, or subjects, or any of them, be our said
 " uncle and counsellors, and every of them, and
 " all and every other person or persons, by his or
 " said uncle's commandment, direction, appoint-
 " ment, or order, or by the commandment, appoint-
 " ment, direction, or order of any of our said
 " counsellors, so as our said uncle agree and be
 " contented to and with the same, shall and may
 " do, or execute the same, without displeasure to
 " us, or any manner of crime or offence, to be by
 " us, our heirs or successors, laid and imputed to
 " him our said uncle, or any our said counsellors,
 " or any other person or persons, therefore, or in
 " that behalf, and without any offence, of, or
 " against our laws, statutes, proclamations, or
 " other whatsoever ordinances, and without in-
 " curring therefore into any damages, penalty,
 " forfeit, loss, or any other incumbrance, trou-
 " ble, or vexation of his, or any of their bo-
 " dies.

“ dies, lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, or of
 “ his or their or any of their heirs, successors, af-
 “ signs, executors, or administrators. And there-
 “ fore we will and command, not only all and
 “ every our judges, justices, serjeants, attornies,
 “ sollicitors, sheriffs, escheators, bailiffs, and all other
 “ our officers, ministers, and subjects, that now be,
 “ or hereafter shall be, in no wise to impeach, ap-
 “ peal, arrest, trouble, vex, injure, or molest, in
 “ our name or otherwise, our said uncle, or our
 “ said counsellors, or any of them, or any other
 “ person, for any cause, matter, deed, thing or
 “ things, which he or they, or any of them, have
 “ done, or shall do, execute, or cause to be exe-
 “ cuted, or done, as aforesaid; but also we re-
 “ quire, and nevertheless strictly charge and com-
 “ mand, by these presents, all and every our of-
 “ ficers, ministers, and subjects, of what estate, de-
 “ gree, and condition soever, he or they be, or
 “ shall be, to be obedient, aiding, attendant, and
 “ assisting to our said uncle and counsellors, and
 “ to every of them, as behoveth, for the execu-
 “ tion of this charge and commission, given and
 “ committed unto our said uncle and council, as
 “ aforesaid, as they tender our favour, and their
 “ own weals, and as they will answer unto us at
 “ their uttermost perils for the contrary. In witness
 “ whereof we have caused these our letters to be
 “ made patents. Witness ourself at Westminster,
 “ the 13th day of March, in the first year of our reign.

E. Somerset.

T. Cantuarien.

T. Cheyne.

W. St. John.

W. Northampton.

Anthony Brown.

William Paget.

T. Ruffel.

This patent being drawn, and the great seal set to it, the protector became all in all. He govern- ed with an absolute authority, without being

clogged by the advice of the council, since he was under no obligation to consult with any but what were devoted to him. But, on the other hand, this step, with some others of the like nature, which he made afterwards, drew upon him the envy and ill-will of many persons, and particularly of the nobility, who made him, in the end, feel the effects of their resentment.

There might, indeed, be made many solid objections against the patent, which entirely destroyed the form of government, established by king Henry VIII. pursuant to an act of parliament, which the king himself had not power to annul. The only excuse that can be alledged in favour of this innovation is, that it being made with the consent of the major part of the executors, it was still warrantable, even by the will, which devolved the government on them, or the major part of them.

In the year 1547, the protector, who had always been sincerely attached to the protestant religion, was greatly mortified, that it was not in his power to assist the protestants of Germany, who had been extremely ill used by the emperor in the last century. But the reformation was to be put upon a good footing in England, before any attempt could be made to support it in foreign countries.

In this year began a war with Scotland, of which it is proper to speak in this place, as the protector was the principal person concerned in it. Henry VIII. had left his affairs with Scotland in such a situation, that there was a necessity for desisting from the marriage agreed upon between Edward and the young queen of Scotland, or of procuring the treaty to be executed by force of arms. The party that was against the marriage in Scotland, was so strong, that those of the opposite faction durst
not

not discover that they were of a different mind. If the matter had been to be decided by the two kingdoms, in all appearance Scotland would have been forced to stoop. But the king of France took care not to abandon the Scots. He was highly concerned to hinder the king of England from becoming master of Scotland. Herein his sentiments coincided with those of the two Lorraine princes, brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland.

It was this that troubled the protector most, especially as Henry II. of France had already declared he would assist the Scots to the utmost of his power. The projected marriage was, however, so advantageous to England, that it was well worth exerting an effort to bring it about. Besides, Henry VIII. had so expressly ordered, before he died, that all possible means should be used to accomplish it, that the protector thought he could not be excused from taking some steps, to shew he was willing to execute his orders. He resolved, therefore, upon a war with Scotland. It was, indeed, a very extraordinary way of wooing the young queen for Edward: but the protector and council herein followed the notion of Henry VIII. who flattered himself all along that the inconveniencies and dangers of a war would, in the end, oblige the Scots to execute the treaty.

For this purpose, therefore, it was resolved to carry war into Scotland, and not with a view of subduing the kingdom.

Every thing being prepared, and the protector ready to set out in order to go and command the army, the French ambassador desired him to consent to a negociation, to try to conclude a peace before hostilities were begun. The protector, who was willing to keep fair with France, complied with his request, and the conferences began the fourth of August.

Tonstal, who was first plenipotentiary, had orders to yield to every thing, provided the Scotch commissioners should have power to agree to the marriage, otherwise he was to break off the congress. This condition rendered the negotiation ineffectual, because the Scots had nothing like it in their instructions. So the protector, setting out in August, entered the territories of Scotland the third of September, 1547, with an army of fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, having the earl of Warwick for his lieutenant-general.

He took some castles in his march, particularly the castle of Broughty, near the Tay's mouth, where he left a garrison of two hundred men. In a few days he came within sight of the Scotch army, thirty thousand strong, with thirty pieces of cannon. It expected him on the field of Pinkey near Musselburgh. Of this army, ten thousand were commanded by the regent, eight thousand by the earl of Angus, eight thousand by the earl of Huntley, and four thousand by the earl of Argyle. The Scots were heated with their old national quarrel to England; and, in order to encourage the army, it was given out that twelve galleys and fifty ships were on the sea from France, and that they looked for them every day.

The duke of Somerset had undertaken this war against his will, and purely to avoid the blame of not having attempted to procure for his young master a very advantageous match. The sight of the enemy's army, so superior to his own, did not encrease his desire to decide the affair by the way of arms. Wherefore, to avoid so dangerous a decision, he wrote to the earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, desiring him to be tender of the effusion of so much Christian blood; telling him that
 this

this war was made for no other design than for a perpetual peace, by the marriage of their two princes; adding, that the Scots were to be much more gainers by it than the English; and that, as the island seemed made for one empire, it was a pity it should be longer distracted with such wars, when there was so fair and just a way offered for uniting it; and, it was much better for them to marry their queen to a prince of the same language, and upon the same continent, than to a foreigner: but, if they would not agree to that, he offered that their queen should be bred up among them, and not at all contracted, neither to the French, nor to any other foreigner, till she came of age, that, by the consent of the estates, she might choose a husband for herself. If they would agree to this, he would immediately return with his army out of Scotland, and make satisfaction for the damage the country had undergone by his invasion.

This proposal might be accepted without any detriment either to the queen or the kingdom of Scotland. In the first place, this condition left the queen at liberty to marry a Scotch lord. Secondly, the worst that could happen to the Scots, was to be, when their queen should be of age, just in the same situation as they were then. Lastly, the king of England, or the queen, might die in this interval, and the death of either naturally put an end to this quarrel.

The offering of terms so advantageous, seems to justify what the Scotch historians say, though none of the English mention it; namely, that the protector, what for want of provisions, and what from the apprehensions of so numerous an army of the Scots, was in great straits, and intended to have returned back to England, without hazarding an engagement.

Be that as it will, the Scots thought themselves so much superior to the English, and the French faction was so prevalent among them, that they rejected these advantageous terms with disdain, and resolved to fall on the English the next day: and, that the fair offers made by the protector might not raise a division among them, the regent, having communicated those to a few of his friends, was, by their advice, persuaded to suppress them; and a report was spread that the protector would not listen to a peace, unless the queen was put into his hands.

The regent sent a trumpeter to the English army, with an offer to suffer them to return without falling upon them; which the protector had reason to reject, being aware, that so mean an action, in the beginning of his administration, would have quite ruined his reputation.

To this, another that came with the trumpeter added a message from the earl of Huntly; that the protector and he, with ten or twenty of a side, or singly, should decide the quarrel by their personal valour. The protector said, this was no personal quarrel, and the trust he was in, obliged him not to expose himself in such a way; and, therefore, he would fight only at the head of his army. But the earl of Warwick offered to accept the challenge.

The earl of Huntly declared afterwards, that he had sent no such challenge; and said, that it was unreasonable for him to expect the protector should have answered it; and, that it would have been an affront to the regent of Scotland to have taken it off his hands, since he was the only person that might have challenged the protector on equal terms.

The truth of the matter is, that a gentleman who went along with the trumpeter, made him do it without warrant, thinking that the answer to it would have taken up some time, during which he might have viewed the enemy's camp.

The two armies were parted by the river Esk : the English were encamped about two miles on the south side, and the Scots, along the river side, on the north. So, if the Scots had been willing to avoid a battle, very probably the English would never have attempted to pass the river within sight of the enemy.

Mean time, the protector having formed a design of approaching the Scots, and gaining a rising ground on the left which commanded their camp, moved forward with his whole army : but the Scots having had notice of it, immediately passed the river, and possessed themselves of that post.

The protector having missed his aim, marched to the right towards the sea, in order to encamp on a little hill which was not far from the river. This march made the Scots imagine, he was approaching the sea, on purpose to put his ordnance and baggage on board the fleet, which was entered the Frith, that he might retreat the more easily. The whole Scotch army was so prepossessed, that they looked upon the English as already conquered by their fears.

Meanwhile the protector had posted himself on the hill, and made some intrenchments before his camp. This confirmed the Scots in their opinion, that it was only a feint, in order to retire in the night. So, resolving to prevent the English from putting this imaginary design in execution, they advanced in good order to give battle.

The moment the protector had received intelligence of their march, he drew up his army in battalia,

battalia, part on the hill, and part on the plain, and waited the coming of the enemy without stirring. He had fixed his artillery in an advantageous place that commanded the whole plain, and, on the other side, his fleet was near enough to be able to fire upon the enemy in the flank. Nay, there was a galliot, which being lighter than the rest of the ships, came very near the land, and annoyed the Scotch army extremely.

On the tenth of September, 1547, the two armies drew out, and fought in the field of Pinkey, near Musselburgh. The English had the advantage of the ground; and, in the beginning of the action, a cannon ball from one of the English ships killed the lord Grame's eldest son, and twenty-five men more; which put the earl of Argyle's highlanders into such a fright, that they could not be kept in order: but, after a charge given by the earl of Angus, in which the English lost some few men, the Scots gave ground; and the English observing that, and breaking in furiously upon them, the Scots threw down their arms and fled. The English pursued hard, and slew them without mercy. Fourteen thousand were killed, and one thousand five hundred taken prisoners, among whom was the earl of Huntly, and five hundred gentlemen; and all the artillery was taken.

This loss threw all Scotland into the utmost consternation. The regent and the queen retired to Stirling with the remains of their army, having first garrisoned the castle of Edinburgh, thus leaving the frontiers to be ravaged by the English.

A few days after the protector took Leith, and the English fleet, commanded by the lord Clinton, likewise burnt several sea-port towns in the county of Fife, with all the ships in their harbours. He also

or three hundred. He had taken eighty pieces of cannon, and bridled the two chief rivers of the kingdom by the garrisons he left in them, and had left many garrisons in the strong places on the frontier.

It may be easily imagined, that this must greatly raise his reputation, since men generally form a judgment of their rulers from the success of their first undertakings. His credit with the people was hereby greatly increased; but he was exposed to the envy of the nobles, who, if sir John Hayward is to be credited, had not much esteem for him. This opposition of sentiments between the nobles and the people, proved greatly prejudicial to him. It induced him to rely too much upon the people's favour, and to raise himself above the rest of the nobles, both by an outward haughtiness, and by taking upon him the sole administration of affairs.

As by the patent which the king had given him, he was not obliged to follow the advice of the council, he generally consulted only such as were devoted to him, and overlooked the rest, as if there were no such men. This behaviour seemed at first a little extraordinary, in one who was by no means naturally proud or haughty, but rather humble, modest, and civil. The best reason that can be assigned for this his conduct, is his great zeal for the reformation, which he was bent on promoting by all manner of means.

This was, doubtless, what made him think it necessary to remove from the administration those who were not actuated with the same zeal with himself, that he might lessen their opposition as much as possible. Besides, he had passed a great part of his life in the court of Henry VIII. where he had seen arbitrary power carried to the greatest height;

height; and, as Henry's severity had been successful, he thought it advisable to regulate his conduct by much the same maxims. Certain it is, that the reformation was the chief object the protector had in view, and all his proceedings in the public affairs, both foreign and domestic, tended only to that point.

The catholic party, in order to retard the progress of the reformation, engaged the lady Mary to espouse their cause. She therefore writ to the protector to let him know, that she looked upon all innovations in religion, till the king came of age to be altogether inconsistent with the respect they owed her father's memory, and equally so with their duty to their young master, to hazard the peace of his kingdom, and engage his authority in such points, before he was capable of forming a judgment concerning them.

Her letter is not extant, but that such was the purport of it, appears from the protector's answer, which was as follows :

“ M A D A M,

“ M Y humble commendations to your grace
 “ premised; these may be to signify unto the
 “ same, that I have received your letters of the
 “ second of this present month, by Jane your
 “ servant, acknowledging myself thereby much
 “ bound unto your grace; nevertheless, I am very
 “ sorry to perceive, that your grace should have,
 “ or conceive any sinister or wrong opinion in me
 “ or others, which were, by the king your late
 “ father, and our most gracious master, put in
 “ trust as executors of his will, albeit the truth of
 “ our doings being known to your grace, as it
 “ seemeth by your said letter not to be. I trust
 “ there shall be no such fault found in us, as in
 “ the

“ the same your grace hath alledged ; and, for my
 “ part, I know none of us that will willingly ne-
 “ glect the full execution of every jot of his said
 “ will, as far as shall and may stand with the king
 “ our master’s honour and surety that now is :
 “ otherwise I am sure, that your grace, nor none
 “ other his faithful subjects, would have it take
 “ place ; not doubting, but our doings and pro-
 “ ceedings therein, and in all things committed
 “ to our charge, shall be such, as shall be able to
 “ answer the whole world, both in honour, and
 “ discharge of our consciences.

“ And, where your grace writeth, that the most
 “ part of this realm, through a naughty liberty
 “ and presumption, are now brought into such a
 “ division, as if we executors go not about to
 “ bring them to that stay that our late master left
 “ them ; they will forsake all obedience, unless
 “ they have their own will and phantasies, and
 “ then it must follow, that the king shall not be
 “ well served ; and that all other realms shall have
 “ us in an obloquy and derision, and not without
 “ just cause.

“ Madam, as these words, written or spoken
 “ by you, sound not well, so can I not persuade
 “ myself, that they have proceeded from the sin-
 “ cere mind of so virtuous and wise a lady, but
 “ rather by the setting on and procurement of
 “ some uncharitable persons, of which there are
 “ too many in these days, the more pity : but yet,
 “ we must not be so simple so to weigh and re-
 “ gard the sayings of ill-disposed people, and the
 “ doings of other realms and countries, as for that
 “ report we should neglect our duty to God, and our
 “ sovereign lord, and native country, for then we
 “ might be justly called evil servants and masters ;
 “ and thanks be given unto the Lord, such have
 “ been

“ been the king’s majesty’s proceedings, our
 “ young, noble master that now is, that all his
 “ faithful subjects have more cause to render their
 “ hearty thanks for the manifold benefits shewed
 “ unto his grace, and unto his people and realm ;
 “ sithence the first day of his reign unto this hour,
 “ than to be offended with it ; and thereby rather
 “ to judge and think, that God, who knoweth the
 “ hearts of all men, is contented and pleased with
 “ his ministers, who seek nothing but the true
 “ glory of God, and the surety of the king’s per-
 “ son, with the quietness and wealth of his sub-
 “ jects.

“ And, where your grace writeth also, that there
 “ was a godly order and quietness left by the king
 “ our late master, your grace’s father, in this realm,
 “ at the time of his death ; and, that the spi-
 “ rituality and temporality of the whole realm,
 “ did not only, without compulsion, fully af-
 “ fect to his doings and proceedings, specially in
 “ matters of religion, but also in all kind of talk,
 “ whereof, as your grace wrote, you can partly be
 “ witness yourself, at which your grace’s sayings
 “ I do something marvel. For, if it may please
 “ you to call to your remembrance, what great
 “ labours, travails, and pains, his grace had, be-
 “ fore he could reform some of those stiff-necked
 “ Romanists or Papists : yea, and did they not
 “ cause his subjects to rise and rebel against him,
 “ constrained him to take the sword in his
 “ hand, not without danger to his person and
 “ and realm : alas ! why should your grace so
 “ shortly forget that great outrage done by those
 “ generations of vipers unto his noble person only
 “ for God’s cause ? Did not some of the same ill
 “ kind also, I mean that Romanist sect, as well
 “ within his own realm as without, conspire often-
 “ times

“ times his death, which was manifestly and often-
 “ times proved, to the confusion of some of their
 “ privy assisters. Then was it not, that all the spi-
 “ rituality, nor yet the temporality, did so fully
 “ assent to his godly orders, as your grace writeth
 “ of? Did not his grace also depart from this life
 “ before he had fully finished such orders as he
 “ minded to establish to all his people, if death
 “ had not prevented him? Is it not most true,
 “ that no kind of religion was perfected at his
 “ death, but left all uncertain, most like to have
 “ brought us in parties and divisions, if God had
 “ not only helped us? And doth your grace
 “ think it convenient it should so remain? God
 “ forbid! what regret and sorrow our late master
 “ had, the time he saw he must depart; for that
 “ he knew the religion was not established, as he
 “ purposed to have done, I and others can be wit-
 “ nesses and testify. And doth your grace, who is
 “ learned, and should know God’s word, esteem
 “ true religion, and the knowledge of the scrip-
 “ tures, to be new-fangledness and fantasies? For
 “ the Lord’s sake turn the leaf, and look the other-
 “ while upon the other side, I mean, with ano-
 “ ther judgment, which must pass by an humble
 “ spirit through the peace of the living God, who,
 “ of his infinite goodness and mercy, grant unto
 “ your grace plenty thereof, to the satisfying of
 “ your sovereign, and your most noble heart’s con-
 “ tinual desire.”

Some days before the meeting of the parlia-
 ment, in the year 1547, the lord Rich was made
 lord-chancellor, and, on the third of Novem-
 ber, the day before the opening of the par-
 liament, the protector, by a patent under the great
 seal, was warranted to sit in parliament, on the

right-hand of the throne, under the cloth of state, whether the king was present or not, and moreover, was to enjoy all the honours and privileges that any of the uncles of the kings of England, or any protectors had ever enjoyed.

This proceeding was a clear evidence, that the duke of Somerset's intention was not only to be above all, but even to destroy, by degrees, the very remembrance of the form of government established by Henry VIII. tho' he did not neglect to get this patent approved by the council before it was sealed, yet that could by no means entirely justify him. It was well known, that the king did nothing but by his direction: that the council was guided by him, and that it would have been very dangerous for the counsellors directly to oppose a patent, which concerned him in particular.

As the parliament was this year very favourable to the reformation, particularly by passing an act to abolish private masses, and to grant the cup to the people in the communion, it seems highly probable, that it was entirely guided by the duke of Somerset.

We shall not be particular with regard to the protector's difference with his brother, as we have already given a circumstantial account of it in the life of sir Thomas Seymour. As it had made the former return from Scotland in the midst of his success, so the war with that kingdom continuing in the year 1548, occasioned him great uneasiness. He was very sensible, that it was a ridiculous thing to think of getting the king's marriage with the queen of Scotland accomplished by the way of arms, in spite of the queen dowager, the regent, and the council. Besides, he knew France was preparing to send them a very powerful aid. And therefore,

he

he saw plainly, that it would be a very hard task to succeed in this undertaking: besides, that it was very likely this war would occasion a rupture with France.

Add to this, that nothing was more repugnant than a war to his design of promoting the reformation. He would have been very glad if the regent of Scotland would have accepted a ten years truce which he sent him the offer of; but the Scots would by no means consent to it, because France had promised them a powerful aid. The protector was therefore forced, against his will, to continue the war; but, as he did not chuse to command the army himself, he gave the command of it to Francis Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, whom he appointed his lieutenant. On this occasion, he plainly discovered, that he intended to stretch the prerogatives of the protectorship as high as they could go, since he would have the earl take his commission of him. However, as the patent he had obtained the 13th of March last year, did not so clearly give him the power of nominating his own lieutenants, he ordered another to be prepared, wherein his prerogatives were more fully explained and enlarged.

In this the king said, that having, by his letters-patents of the 13th of March, appointed his uncle, the duke of Somerset, protector of the kingdom, and governor of his person, his intention was, that the clauses therein contained, should be understood in the amplest sense, and the most favourable to the duke that could be: that however, as most of the terms might be liable to some doubts, he declared, that he constituted him his lieutenant-general, and captain-general throughout his whole dominions, with power to order his subjects to take up arms whenever he should think

proper, and to appoint lieutenants to command in his place, both by sea and land.

It cannot be denied, that all this was very contrary to the establishment of the late king, and consequently to the act of parliament, by which he was empowered before. All the favours granted by the king to any other but the protector, might be justified by the advice of the protector and council: but those done to the protector himself, must have been ascribed wholly to the persuasions of the person who received them; nay, in extraordinary favours, it was, in some measure, turning the king's patent into ridicule, by making him say, he granted them to the protector by the advice of the protector himself.

In this war, which was carried on with but indifferent success, the protector made use of some German troops that had been in the service of the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, who having no leader in the empire, had offered themselves to him, and were readily entertained in his service. This had raised great murmurings against him, the English being impatient of seeing in the kingdom foreign troops, who are generally too much devoted to the king. It was easy to perceive, that the protector's aim was to strengthen him personally with the aid of these foreigners.

The protector could not even escape the censure of those of his own party: he, and the archbishop of Canterbury, who were the chief supporters of the reformation, carried it on with great zeal, though always with an eye to the rule they had laid down of proceeding gradually. Whatever reasons they might have for taking that course, the zealots of the reformed party were not pleased with it; because they were afraid, that by some sudden unexpected turn, the work would be left unfinished.

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They knew the protector was hated, and envied by many of the nobility; and that all the Romish party had a mortal aversion for him. This made them apprehend, that his enemies would at length get the better of him, the administration he was entrusted with being of such a nature, that it was hardly possible but it would afford some handle against him.

In the year 1549, the protector's brother was beheaded, upon which occasion he incurred very severe censures for consenting to his death. It was said, if the admiral was guilty, it was only against his brother, whom he would have supplanted, and it seems scarce to admit of a doubt, that it was this same brother who was his adversary, and had brought him to the scaffold. Indeed, it can scarce be supposed, that the council would ever have proceeded so rigorously against the admiral, if they had not thought it agreeable to the duke his brother, or if they had not been afraid of offending him by declining it. Add to this, that it is very improbable, that the young king, who was then but twelve years of age, would have been induced to constrain the House of Commons to overlook the irregularity of the proceedings, if he had not been solicited by the protector to take so unusual a step. It is therefore evident, that the duke of Somersset is justly chargeable with the heinous guilt of prosecuting his own brother to death, for offences committed against his person only. Certain it is, that the admiral was never clearly proved to have formed any ill design against the king or the state, as he protested to his last breath. But nothing is more frequent than for plots against ministers to be looked upon as high treason.

We can by no means subscribe to the opinion of Mr. Rapin upon this affair; he tells us, that he cannot help suspecting, that they who had thoughts then of ruining the protector, feigning to be his friends, spurred him on with all their power to be revenged on his brother, and were very ready to serve as the instruments of his revenge, to the end they might render him odious: but, it seems much more probable, that he did not want to be stimulated by them; and that he was like the Turk, unwilling to bear a brother near the throne. Courtiers are as jealous of the favour of a king, as lovers of the favour of a mistress, they cannot bear to share it with a rival. Therefore, as the admiral had for a time counterbalanced the duke's credit with the king, it is natural to suppose, that jealousy was his chief motive to so cruel an action.

The animosity of the nobles against the protector was greatly inflamed by his readiness to espouse the cause of the people. This appeared in an eminent manner on the following occasion. After the suppression of the abbeys, there were vast numbers of monks dispersed through the kingdom, who were forced to work for their bread, their pensions being ill-paid, or not sufficient for their subsistence. So the work being divided among so many hands, the profit became less than before. Moreover, whilst the monasteries stood, their lands were let out at easy rents to farmers, who, to cultivate them, were obliged to employ a vast number of people. But, after these lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were much raised; whence it came to pass, that the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and lessen the wages.

On

On the other side, the proprietors of the
land, since the last peace with France, the
woollen trade flourished, bethought themselves of
breeding sheep, because wool brought them in
more money than corn. To that end they caused
their grounds to be inclosed. Hence arose several
inconveniencies. In the first place, the price of
corn was raised, to the great detriment of the
lower sort of people. In the next place, the land-
lords, or their farmers, had occasion only for very
few persons to look after their flocks in grounds so
inclosed. Thus many were deprived of the means
of getting a livelihood, and the profit of the lands,
which was before shared by a great many, was al-
most wholly engrossed by the landlords. This oc-
casioned great complaints and murmurs among
the common people, who saw they were likely to
be reduced to great misery. Nay, several little
books were published, setting forth the mischiefs
which must result from such proceedings.

But the nobility and gentry continued the
same course notwithstanding, without being at
all sollicitous about the consequences. The
protector openly espoused the cause of the poor
people, either to mortify the nobles, by whom
he was detested, or because he was aware of
the mischiefs which might arise from popular
discontent.

In 1548, the inhabitants about Hampton-
Court petitioned the protector and council, com-
plaining, that whereas the late king, in his sick-
ness, had inclosed a park there to divert himself
with private easy game, the deer of that park did
overlay the country, and it was a great burden to
them, and therefore they desired that it might be
laid open. The protector and council, consider-
ing that it was so near Windsor, and was not use-
ful

ful to the king, but rather a charge, ordered it to be laid upon, and the deer to be carried to Windsor; but with this proviso, that if the king, when he came of age, desired to have a park there, what they did, should be no prejudice to him.

The year before the protector appointed commissioners to examine, whether those who had the abbey-lands, kept hospitality, and performed all the conditions upon which those lands were sold them. But, he met with so many obstacles in the execution of this order, that it produced no effect.

Thus the protector continued to aggravate the hatred of the nobility and gentry, who found their account in countenancing these abuses. Nay, it happened, in the last session of the parliament, that the lords passed an act for giving every one leave to inclose his grounds if he pleased: but the bill was thrown out by the commons; and yet the lords and gentlemen went on inclosing their lands: this occasioned a general discontent among the people, who had apprehensions of a formed design to ruin them, and reduce them to a state of slavery. Upon this the common people made an insurrection in Wiltshire; but sir William Herbert dispersed them, and caused some of them to be hanged.

About the same time there were like insurrections in Suffex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, and Worcestershire.

The protector, perceiving the flames were kindling all over the kingdom, sent to let the people know he was ready to redress their grievances, and by this means he stopped their fury. In order to perform his promise, he laid the affair before the council, hoping that some expedient might be found

found to satisfy the malecontents. But he met with so great opposition, that he thought it absolutely necessary to have recourse to his sole authority; and therefore, contrary to the opinion of the whole council, he issued out a proclamation against all new inclosures, and granted a general pardon to the people for what was past.

He went further: contrary to the opinion of the council, he appointed commissioners, with an unlimited power, to hear and determine causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages. These commissioners were much complained of by the nobility and gentry, who said openly, that it was an invasion of their property, to subject them to an arbitrary power: they even went so far as to oppose the commissioners when they offered to execute their commission. For this reason, the protector, whose measures were generally opposed, was not able to redress this grievance so fully as he desired. So the people finding the court did not perform what was promised, rose again in several places, and particularly in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire. Those in Oxfordshire were immediately dispersed by the lord Gray.

The insurrection in Devonshire was more considerable and dangerous. That county abounding with people, who had only complied outwardly with the alterations made in religion, the priests and monks ran in among them, and used their utmost efforts to foment the rebellion. They came together first on the tenth of June; and, in a short time, they grew to be ten thousand strong.

At first the protector neglected this affair, hoping this insurrection might be quelled as easily as the others had been. At last, perceiving they were bent

bent to persist in their rebellion, he sent the lord Ruffel with a small force to stop their proceedings.

The rebellion was soon quelled, and, during the continuance of it, the protector discovered, by the whole tenor of his conduct, that he did not desire to come to extremities with the rebels; being either persuaded that the people had reason to complain, or desirous to gain their favour as a shield against the nobility, who hated him. In-
somuch that, after all the commotions were over, he moved in the council, that there might be a general pardon proclaimed of all that was past, in order to restore the peace of the kingdom. But this motion met with great opposition. Many of the council were for taking this occasion to curb the insolence of the people. But the protector being of another mind, gave out, by his sole authority, a general pardon of all that had been done before the twenty-first of August, and excepted out of it only a few rebel prisoners.

He had power to act in this manner by virtue of his patent, but it drew upon him more and more the hatred of the nobles, as well as of a good part of the counsellors, who were highly mortified to see they were consulted only for form-sake, and that their opinions were of no manner of weight. It must, however, be acknowledged, that England was, by the prudence and moderation of the protector, delivered from one of the most threatening storms that at any time had broke out in it.

Foreign ministers were advertised of the whole affair in a letter wrote by the protector to sir Philip Hobby, an authentic copy of which we shall here lay before the reader.

A Letter from the Protector to Sir Philip Hobby,
concerning the Rebellions at Home.

“ KNOWING that all such as be embassadors
“ abroad, are not only desirous of news, for the
“ love they bear to their own country naturally,
“ desiring often to hear of the estate of it, but
“ also to confirm and confute such rumours as be
“ spread in the parts where they lie, we have
“ thought good to impart what since our last letters
“ hath chanced.

“ The Devonshire men are well chastised and
“ appeased; three other of their captains have vo-
“ luntarily come in, and simply submitted them-
“ selves to sir Thomas Pomery, knight. Wife
“ and Harrice, who before were fled, and could
“ not be found, and the country cometh in daily
“ to my lord privy-seal, by one hundred and one
“ thousand, to crave their pardon, and be put in
“ some sure hope of grace. Burry, and some one or
“ two more of their blind guides that escaped from
“ the sword, have attempted, in the mean season,
“ to stir up Somersetsshire, and have gotten them
“ a band or camp; but they are sent after, and
“ we trust, by this, they have as they deserve.

“ The earl of Warwick lieth near to the rebels
“ in Norfolk, which faint now and would have
“ grace gladly so that all might be pardoned, Ket
“ and the other arch-traitors. The number upon
“ that is at a stay; and they daily shrink so fast
“ away, that there is great hope that they will leave
“ their captains, destitute and alone, to receive their
“ worthy reward; the which is the thing they most
“ desire, to spare as much as may be the effusion
“ of blood; and that, namely, of our own nation.

“ In Yorkshire a commotion was attempted the
“ week last past; but the gentlemen were so soon
“ upon

“ upon them, and so forwardly, that it was straight
 “ suppressed; and, with weeping eyes, the rest
 “ upon their knees, they wholly together desired
 “ the gentlemen to obtain their pardon; the which
 “ the king’s majesty hath so granted unto them,
 “ as may stand with his highness’s honour: so that,
 “ for the inner parts, thanks be to the almighty
 “ God, the case standeth in good points.

“ The causes and pretences of these uproars and
 “ riotings, are divers and uncertain; and so full
 “ of variety, almost in every camp, as they call
 “ them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye
 “ know it is like to be of people without head, and
 “ that would have they wot not what. Some
 “ crieth, Pluck down inclosures and parks; some
 “ for the commons; others pretend the religion;
 “ a number would rule another while, and direct
 “ things as gentlemen have done; and, indeed, all
 “ have conceived a wonderful hate against gentle-
 “ men, and taketh them all as their enemies. The
 “ ruffians among them, and the soldiers which be
 “ the chief doers, look for spoil. So that it seemeth
 “ no other thing but a plague and a fury amongst
 “ the vilest and worst sort of men: for, except De-
 “ vonshire and Cornwall, and they not past two or
 “ three, in all other places, not one gentleman, or
 “ man of reputation, was ever amongst them, but
 “ against their wills, and as prisoners.

“ In Norfolk, gentlemen, and all servingmen for
 “ their sakes, are as ill handled as may be. But
 “ this broil is well asswaged, and in a manner at a
 “ point shortly to be ended with the grace of God.

“ On the other part of the seas we have not so
 “ good news; for the French king, taking now
 “ his time and occasions of this rebellion within
 “ the realm, is come unto Bullingnois, with a
 “ great number of horsemen and footmen, him-
 “ self

“ self in person : and, as we are advertised by the
 “ letters of the twenty-fourth of this present, from
 “ Ambletue, or Newhaven, the Almain camp,
 “ or Almain hill, a piece appertaining to the said
 “ Ambletue, was that day delivered to the French
 “ by traiterous consent of the camp ; their vari-
 “ ance falling out, or feigned, between the cap-
 “ tain and soldiers ; so that they are now besieged
 “ near and in a manner round. Howbeit they
 “ write, that the piece itself of Newhaven will
 “ be well enough defended, God assisting them,
 “ who be in as good and stout a courage as any
 “ men may be, and as desirous to win honour, and
 “ give a good account of their charge. Thus we
 “ bid you heartily farewell. August twenty-four,
 “ 1549.”

The war with Scotland was not successful in the campaign of the year 1549 ; De Thermes, who had succeeded Dessé, having taken Broughty castle. On the other hand, the protector, finding himself obliged to employ the army designed for Scotland against the rebels of Norfolk, and not daring even to send that army at a distance from the centre of the kingdom, resolved at length to demolish Hadington ; which was done accordingly on the fifteenth of September.

Meanwhile the war begun by the king of France made the protector extremely uneasy. He had received information that Henry II. was entered into a treaty with the German protestants, and had promised them a strong aid, as soon as he should have received Boulogne. It was natural to conclude from hence that he would make a powerful effort next campaign ; and that, in order to resist him, England would be obliged to make a considerable armament. But the king's exchequer

was

was at a very low ebb, and there was danger of raising new commotions by demanding fresh subsidies of the parliament.

On the other hand, as the protector was exceeding zealous for the reformation, he plainly saw nothing could be more advantageous, than the union of France with the German protestants. But he was sorry it was to cost the English Boulogne. The protector farther considered, that, if the war with France should last any time, there was some reason to fear the Romish party would be able to stir up troubles in the kingdom. And, if they should, it was easy to see how difficult it would be to carry on three years war at once. In short, there was another reason which concerned him in particular, and which made him desirous of a peace with France. This was, that the war might give his enemies too great an advantage, on account of the ill accidents it might be attended with : whereas, a peace enabled him to parry their blows.

He knew there was a strong faction already formed against him, as well by reason of the envy which always attends greatness, and of his having disoblinded the nobility and gentry in the business of inclosures, as because of the wrong he had done to many of the counsellors, in depriving them of the dignity of regents, and reducing them to the bare state of privy-counsellors. Among these, the chief were the earl of Southampton, who had taken his place again in the council ; and the earl of Warwick. This last was immoderately ambitious ; he envied the protector, and esteemed him but little.

The earl of Southampton perceiving this, suggested to him, that he had, in reality, got all those victories for which the protector triumphed ; that he had won the field at Pinkey, near Musselburgh,
and

and had subdued the rebels in Norfolk; and, as he had before defeated the French, so, if he was sent over thither, new triumphs would follow him; but it was below him to be second to any. So he engaged him to oppose in all things the protector, all whose wary motions were ascribed to fear or dulness. To this he said, "What friendship could be expected from a man who had no pity on his brother?"

The duke of Somersset had indeed given great grounds for jealousies against him, but nothing drew upon him more public envy than the noble palace he was raising in the Strand, which still bears his name. It was built from the ruins of some bishops houses and churches, which rendered it still more invidious to the people. It was said, that, whilst the king was engaged in such dangerous wars, and London much disordered by the plague that had been in it some months, he was then bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a house as had not been seen in England. It was also said, that many bishops and cathedrals had resigned many manors to him to obtain his favour.

Though this was not done without leave obtained from the king; for, in a grant of some lands made to him by the king, on the eleventh of July, in the second year of his reign, it is said that these lands were given him as a reward of his services in Scotland; for which he was offered greater rewards: but, that he refusing to accept of such grants as might too much impoverish the crown, had taken a licence from the bishop of Bath and Wells, for alienating some of the lands of that bishopric to him. He is in that patent called, by the grace of God, duke of Somersset: which expression, by the grace of God, had not been used for some years past but in speaking of sovereign princes.

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It was also said, that many of the chantry lands had been sold to his friends at easy rates; for which they concluded he had great presents; and an uncommon prosperity had raised him too high; so that he did not behave to the nobility with that condescension which might be expected from him.

All these things concurred to raise him many enemies, and he had very few friends; for none adhered firmly to him but Paget, and secretary Smith, and archbishop Cranmer, who was never known to forsake his friend. All those that favoured the old superstition were his enemies; and, seeing the earl of Southampton at the head of the party against him, they all immediately joined with him. Goodrich, bishop of Ely, who was for the reformation, joined them likewise. He had attended the admiral in his preparation for death, from whom he had received very ill impressions of the protector. All his enemies were sensible, and he was sensible himself, that the continuance of the war would inevitably ruin him; and, that a peace would confirm him in his power, and give him time and leisure to defeat the party that was now so strong against him that it was not possible for him to master without the help of time.

This consideration made the protector resolve to propose to the council the restitution of Boulogne to France. He backed this motion with all the reasons he thought most plausible, adding, that, by concluding a peace with France, England would, at the same time, be freed from a burthenome and withal a fruitless war with Scotland, since it was not possible to attain the end proposed in beginning it.

This proposal was received by the council with signs of indignation, and considered as downright cowardice. It was too nice an affair for the protector

tektor to think of doing it by his own authority; and therefore, though he plainly perceived the opposite faction would carry it, he was willing his proposal should be debated in form.

The result of their consultation was, that Boulogne should not be restored, but that they should endeavour to make an alliance with the emperor for the security of that place. Paget was appointed for the embassy, because, being devoted to the protector, the ill success which attended this negotiation was designed to be thrown upon him, in order to asperse the protector himself.

There had been so many ill reports published against the duke of Somersset, that it was not possible but that he should hear of them, and guess at the authors of them. Thus all the month of September was spent in disputes and heats, his enemies only seeking an occasion of quarrel, on purpose to execute what they had resolved. Several persons interposed to mediate, but to no effect; for now the faction against him was grown too strong.

The protector seeing his enemies go openly to work, was apprehensive that they had formed a design to carry away the king.

On the sixth of October, 1549, the lord St. John, president of the council, the earls of Southampton, Warwick, and Arundel; sir Edward North, sir Richard Southwel, sir Edmund Peckham, sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton, met at Ely house in Holborn, and sat as the king's council. Secretary Petre being sent to them, in the king's name, to ask the reason of their meeting, they forced him to stay with them.

Being thus met, they considered the state of the kingdom, and laid on the protector the blame of all the pretended disorders which were found

there, and of the losses lately sustained in France, taking for granted that they would not have happened had he followed the advice of the council. They then declared, that they had that very day intended to confer with him ; but, hearing he had armed his servants, and many others whom he had placed about the king, they did not think themselves obliged to expose their defenceless persons to an armed force.

This done, they sent for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, with the lieutenant of the Tower, and expressly forbid them to own the duke of Somerset for protector. The lieutenant of the Tower promised to obey. The mayor and aldermen answered more cautiously ; but, in all likelihood, most part of them were already gained, as it plainly appeared two days after.

The lord-chancellor, the marquiss of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, sir Thomas Cheney, sir John Gage, sir Ralph Sadler, and the lord-chief-justice Montague, joined with them ; being highly provoked at the protector removing the king to Windsor, upon receiving intelligence of the proceedings of the council against him, and arming such as he could gather about him at Windsor or Hampton-court. They hereupon wrote a letter to the king, a copy of which we shall here lay before the reader.

The Council's Letter to the King against the Protector. An Original.

“ MOST high and mighty prince, our most
 “ gracious sovereign lord, it may please your ma-
 “ jesty to be advertised, that, having heard such
 “ message as it pleased your majesty to send unto
 “ us

“ us by your highness’s secretary, sir William
 “ Petre ; like as it was much to our grief and dis-
 “ comfort to understand, that, upon untrue in-
 “ formations, your majesty seemed to have some
 “ doubt of our fidelities ; so do we, upon our
 “ knees, most humbly beseech your majesty to
 “ think, that, as we have always served the king’s
 “ majesty, your most noble father, and your high-
 “ ness likewise, faithfully and truly ; so do we
 “ mind always to continue your majesty’s true
 “ servants, to the effusion of our blood, and the
 “ loss of our lives.

“ And, for the security of your royal person’s
 “ safeguard, and preservation of your realms and
 “ dominions, have at this time consulted together,
 “ and for none other cause, we take God to witness.

“ We have, heretofore, by all good and gentle
 “ means, attempted to have had your highness’s
 “ uncle, the duke of Somerset, to have governed
 “ your majesty’s affairs, by the advice of us and the
 “ rest of your counsellors ; but, finding him so
 “ much given to his own will, that he always re-
 “ fused to hear reason ; and therewith doing sun-
 “ dry such things as were, and be most dangerous
 “ to your most royal person, and to your whole
 “ realm, we thought yet again to have gently and
 “ quietly spoke with him in these things, had he
 “ not gathered force about him, in such sort as we
 “ might easily perceive him earnestly bent to the
 “ maintenance of his old wilful and troublous do-
 “ ings. For redress whereof, and none other
 “ cause, we do presently remain here ready to live
 “ and die your true servants.

“ And the assembly of almost all your council
 “ being now here, we have, for the better ser-
 “ vice of your majesty, caused your secretary to
 “ remain here with us, most humbly beseeching
 “ your

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grace to think in your heart, that the only
vation of your person and your estate for
discharge of our duties, enforceth us to de-
how to deliver your grace from the peril
in highness standeth in, and no other respect:
whatsoever is or shall be said to your highness,
earthly thing could have moved us to have
med to stand as a party, but your only prefer-
ation; which your majesty shall hereafter per-
ceive, and, we doubt not, repute us for your
most faithful servants and counsellors, as our
doings shall never deserve the contrary, as God
knoweth; to whom we shall daily pray for your
majesty's preservation, and, with our bodies,
defend your person and estate as long as life shall
endure.

“ R. Rich. Cane.
“ W. St. John.
“ W. Northampton.
“ T. Warwick.
“ Arundel.
“ F. Shrewsbury.
“ Thomas Southampton.
“ J. Cheyne.

William Petre, secre-
tary.
Edward North.
John Gage.
R. Sadler.
Nicholas Wotton.
Edward Montague.
Richard Southwell.”

They also wrote to the archbishop of Canter-
bury, and to sir William Paget, to see to the king's
person, and that his own servants should attend on
him, and not those that belonged to the duke of
Somerset. But the protector, hearing of this dis-
order, had removed the king to Windsor in all
haste; and taken down all the armour, that was
either there or at Hampton-Court, and had armed
such as he could gather about him for his prefer-
vation.

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The council at London complained much of this, that the king should be carried to a place where there were no provisions fit for him. So they ordered all things that he might need, to be sent to him from London.

On the 8th of October, 1549, they went in a body to Guildhall, where the common-council was met. They declared to it, that they were so far from having any ill designs against the king, that their sole aim was to take him out of the hands of the duke of Somerset, who only minded his own private interest. Upon which the common-council openly declared, they were ready to stand by them to the utmost of their power.

No sooner was the duke informed, that not only the city of London, but the lieutenant of the Tower, of whom he thought himself secure, had forsaken him, but his heart failed him, and he resolved to struggle no longer; though it is not improbable, that he who was chiefly accused for his protecting the Commons, might have easily gathered a great body of men for his own preservation; but he thought it more advisable to yield to the tide now against him. He therefore declared himself willing to submit, and offered the following articles to the king and his council.

Articles offered by me the lord protector, to the king's majesty, in the presence of his highness's council, and others his majesty's lords and gentlemen at Windsor, to be declared on my behalf to the lords, and the rest of his highness's council remaining at London.

“FIRST, That I do not, nor did mean to apprehend any of them, or otherwise to disturb or molest them; but hearing tell of their such
Z 3 “meetings

meetings and assemblies, and gathering of horsemen and other powers, out of several countries, not being privy of the causes thereof, to avoid farther inconveniencies, and danger which might ensue to your majesty's person; which, by many rumours, certain intelligences, and sundry messages, was declared imminent unto your highness, and to me the lord-protector, I was forced to seek this defence, as I at the first beginning declared unto your highness.

Secondly, That this force and power, which is here assembled about your majesty at this present, is to do none of them, which be there at London, or elsewhere, either in person or goods, any damage or hurt, but to defend only, if any violence should be attempted against your highness. As for any contention and strife betwixt me, the lord-protector, and the council there, I do not refuse to come to any reasonable end and conclusion, that should be for the preservation of your majesty, and tranquillity of the realm, if they will send any two of them, with commission on their behalfs, to conclude and make a good end between us.

And I most humbly beseech your majesty, to appoint any two of such as be here about your majesty to join with the same; and whatsoever those four, or three of them, shall determine, I do and shall wholly and fully submit myself thereunto. And, that for more confirmation of it, shall be so thought good to the said persons, their agreement and conclusion to be established and ratified by parliament, or any other order that shall be devised. And I beseech your majesty, that at my humble suit, and by the advice of me, and other of your council here, for the better proceedings herein,
“ and

“ and to take away all doubts and fears that
 “ might arise, to grant to them four, or any such
 “ two of them, which they shall send for the pur-
 “ pose aforesaid, free passage for themselves,
 “ and with each of them twenty of their servants,
 “ to safely come, tarry here, and return at their
 “ pleasure. And I most humbly beseech your
 “ majesty, that this bill signed with your ma-
 “ jesty’s hands and ours, may be a sufficient war-
 “ rant therefore.”

Given and exhibited at the castle of Windsor,
 October 8, 1549.

Hereupon there was sent to London a war-
 rant under the king’s hand, for any two of the
 lords of the council that were there to come to
 Windsor with twenty servants a-piece, who had
 the king’s faith for their safety in coming and go-
 ing: and Cranmer, Paget, and Smith wrote to
 them to end the matter peaceably, and not fol-
 low cruel counsels, nor suffer themselves to be
 misled by those who meant otherwise than they
 professed; of which they knew more than they
 would then mention. This seemed to be levelled
 at the earl of Southampton.

On October 9, 1549, the council at London in-
 creased by the accession of lord Russell, lord Went-
 worth, sir Anthony Brown, sir Anthony Wing-
 field, and sir John Baker, the speaker of the House
 of Commons. For those who had been for a
 while attached to the protector, seeing he was re-
 solved to submit, came and united themselves to
 the prevailing party; so that they were in all two
 and twenty. They were informed, that the pro-
 tector had said, that if they intended to put him
 to death, the king should die first; and, if they
 would furnish him, they should furnish the king

first: and that he had armed his own men, and set them next to the king's person, and had formed a design to carry him out of Windsor, and, as some said, out of the kingdom; upon which they declared him unworthy of the protectorship, though, as no proofs of his having spoken those words, were mentioned in the council-books, they look like the forgeries of his enemies to make him odious to the people.

The council ordered a proclamation of their proceedings, to be printed, and writ to the lady Mary, acquainting her with what they had done: they also wrote a letter to the king upon the protector's misconduct; a copy of which we shall here lay before the reader.

“ MOST high and mighty prince, our most
 “ gracious sovereign lord, we have received by Mr.
 “ Hobby, your majesty's most gracious letters of
 “ the 8th of this instant, and heard such farther
 “ matter as it pleased your majesty to will to be
 “ declared by him. And sorry we be, that your
 “ majesty should have these occasions to be trou-
 “ bled, especially in this kind of matter; the be-
 “ ginning and only occasion whereof, as we be
 “ well able to prove to your majesty, hath pro-
 “ ceeded of the duke of Somerset. It is much
 “ discomfort to us all, to understand, that your
 “ royal person should be touched with any care
 “ of mind; and most of all, it grieveth us, that
 “ it should be persuaded your majesty, that we
 “ have not that care, that becometh us of the pa-
 “ cifying these uproars, and conservation of your
 “ majesty's commonwealth and state from danger;
 “ wherein, whatsoever is informed your highness,
 “ we humbly beseech your majesty to think, we
 “ be as careful as any men living may be; and do
 “ not,

“ not, nor (we trust) shall not forget the benefits
 “ received of your majesty’s most noble father,
 “ nor any of our bounden duties of allegiance;
 “ the consideration, and the special care whereof,
 “ forced us to consult seriously, and to join in this
 “ sort; which thing, if we had not presently fol-
 “ lowed, not only your most royal person (whom
 “ God long preserve) but this your whole estate
 “ being already much touched, and in great for-
 “ wardness of ruin, was most like to come in
 “ short time, to most imminent danger and peril;
 “ the causes whereof, we do all well know, and
 “ can prove to have proceeded from the said duke.
 “ So, if we should not earnestly provide for the
 “ same, we should not be able to answer to your
 “ majesty hereafter for not doing our duties there-
 “ in; therefore do we nothing doubt, but your
 “ majesty, of your great clemency and good-na-
 “ ture, will not think that all and every of us,
 “ being the whole state of your privy-council, one
 “ or two excepted, should be led in these things
 “ by private affections, or would presume to write
 “ to your majesty, that whereof we were not most
 “ assured; and much more, we trust that your
 “ highness, of your goodness, will, without any
 “ jealousy or suspicion, think that most expedient,
 “ both for your own most royal person, and all
 “ your subjects, that, by the body of your coun-
 “ cil, may be thought expedient; to whom, and
 “ to no one man, your highness’s most grave fa-
 “ ther, appointed by his last will and testament,
 “ the care of your majesty, and all your most
 “ weighty affairs.

“ We cannot therefore but think ourselves much
 “ wronged, that your said most royal person is, in
 “ this sort, by the duke, only detained and shut
 “ up from us, to all our great heaviness, and the
 “ great fear of all other your majesty’s true sub-
 “ jects,

“jects, and wonder of all the world ; sooner may
 “one man intend ill, than a multitude of us,
 “who we take God to witness to be a thousand
 “times more careful of your highness’s surety,
 “than for all our own lives. We trust also, that,
 “of your majesty’s good-nature, you will not
 “think that wilfulness, which your whole coun-
 “cil doth, or shall agree upon, for your majesty’s
 “surety and benefit ; where the more agreeable
 “we be, the better opinion we trust your majesty
 “will conceive of us and our doings.

“It comforteth us much to see the great ap-
 “pearance of your majesty’s natural clemency,
 “even in these your young years ; and the assured
 “hope which we have thereof, encourageth us to be
 “persuaded, that you both do, and will conceive
 “good opinion of us and all our doings ; and that
 “your majesty is, and so will continue, our gra-
 “cious good lord, with whom (as we trust) we
 “never deserve willingly to be called in the stand-
 “ing of any judgment with your majesty.

“For the end of this matter, touching the duke
 “of Somerset, if he have that respect to your
 “majesty’s surety that he pretendeth ; if he have
 “that consideration of his duty to God, that his
 “promise and oath requireth ; if he have that re-
 “membrance of the performance of your majes-
 “ty’s father’s will, that to the effect of a good
 “executor appertaineth ; if he have the rever-
 “ence to your law that a good subject ought to
 “have, let him first quietly suffer us, your ma-
 “jesty’s most humble servants and true counsel-
 “lors, to be restored to your majesty’s presence ;
 “let him, as becometh a true subject, submit
 “himself to your majesty’s council, and the order
 “of your highness’s laws ; let the forces assem-
 “bled be sent away, and then may we do our
 “duties,

“ duties, in giving our attendance upon your ma-
 “ jesty ; and, after consult there with your majesty
 “ more freely, for such order as may be thought
 “ most meet for your grace’s surety. By these
 “ means your majesty’s subjects may be at quiet,
 “ and all occasions of stir taken away. And, if
 “ the said duke refuse to agree hereunto, we must
 “ think him to remain in his naughty and detesta-
 “ ble determination.

“ The protectorship and governance of your
 “ most royal person was not granted him by
 “ your father’s will, but only by agreement, first
 “ amongst us the executors, and after of others.
 “ Those titles and special trust were committed to
 “ him during your majesty’s pleasure, and upon
 “ condition he should do all things by the advice
 “ of your council. Which condition, because he
 “ hath so many times broken, and, notwithstand-
 “ ing the often speaking to, without all hope of
 “ amendment, we think him most unworthy those
 “ honours or trust.

“ Other particular things, too many and too
 “ long to be written to your majesty at this
 “ time, may, at our next access to your royal
 “ person, be more particularly opened, consulted
 “ upon, and moderated, for the conservation of
 “ your majesty’s honour, surety, and good quiet
 “ of your realms and dominions, as may be
 “ thought most expedient.”

Of all the privy-counsellors only the archbishop
 of Canterbury and Paget stayed with the king,
 who, seeing the impossibility of withstanding the
 opposite party, advised the king and the duke to
 give the council the satisfaction they required.
 The king consenting to it, the counsellors at Lon-
 don had notice of it by an express.

As

As they had foreseen that the duke would be obliged to come to this, they sent deputies to Windsor with a charge, to see that the duke of Somerset should not withdraw, and that some of his confidants should be put under an arrest.

On the twelfth of October, 1549, the counselors, enemies of the duke, came in a body to the king, who received them graciously, and assured them, that he took all they had done in good part. Next day they sat in council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their chambers, except Cecil, who had his liberty. They charged them with being the duke of Somerset's chief instruments in all his most arbitrary proceedings; wherefore they turned Smith out of his place of secretary, and sent him, with the rest, to the Tower.

On the 14th, the duke of Somerset was called before them, and the articles of his accusation were read to him; the substance whereof was:

Articles of Impeachment against the Duke of Somerset.

1. THAT he took upon himself the office of protector, upon express condition, that he should do nothing in the king's affairs but by the assent of the late king's executors, or the greatest part of them.

2. That, contrary to this condition, he did hinder justice, and subvert laws of his own authority, as well by letters as by other command.

3. That he caused divers persons to be arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged, against the laws and statutes of the realm.

4. That

4. That he appointed lieutenants for armies, and other officers for the weighty affairs of the king, under his own writing and seal.

5. That he communed with embassadors of other realms alone, of the weighty affairs of the realm.

6. That he would taunt and reprove divers of the king's most honourable counsellors, for declaring their advice in the king's weighty affairs against his opinion, sometimes telling them that they were not worthy to sit in council; and sometimes, that he need not to open weighty matters to them; and that, if they were not agreeable to his opinion, he would discharge them.

7. That, against law, he held a court of request in his house, and did enforce divers to answer there for their freehold and goods, and did determine of the same.

8. That, being no officer, without the advice of the council, or most part of them, he did dispose of offices of the king's gift for money; grant leases, and wards, and presentations of benefices pertaining to the king, gave bishopricks, and made sales of the king's lands.

9. That he commanded alchimie and multiplication to be practised, thereby to abase the king's coin.

10. That divers times he openly said, that the nobility and gentry were the only cause of dearth; whereupon the people rose to reform matters of themselves.

11. That, against the mind of the whole council, he caused proclamation to be made concerning inclosures; whereupon the people made divers insurrections, and destroyed many of the king's subjects.

12. That

The LIFE and DEATH

That he sent forth a commission, with articles annexed, concerning inclosures, commons, ways, cottages, and such-like matters, giving commissioners authority to hear and determine the causes, whereby the laws and statutes of the realm were subverted, and much rebellion raised.

13. That he suffered rebels to assemble and lie armed in camp against the nobility and gentry of the realm, without speedy repressing them.

14. That he did comfort and encourage divers rebels, by giving them money, and by promising them fees, rewards and services.

15. That he caused a proclamation to be made against law, and in favour of the rebels, that none of them should be vexed or sued by any for their offences in their rebellion.

16. That, in time of rebellion, he said, that he liked well the actions of the rebels; and, that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise; and, that it was better for them to die, than to perish for want.

17. That he said the lords of the parliament were loth to reform inclosures and other things; therefore the people had a good cause to reform them themselves.

18. That, after declaration of the defaults of Boulogne; and the pieces there, by such as did survey them, he would never amend the same.

19. That he would not suffer the king's pieces of Newhaven and Blackneis to be furnished with men and provision, albeit he was advertised of the defaults, and advised thereto by the king's council; whereby the French king was emboldened to attempt upon them.

20. That he would neither give authority, nor suffer noblemen and gentlemen to suppress rebels.

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in time convenient; but wrote to them, to
the rebels fair and use them gently.

21. That, upon the fifth of October, in the
present year, at Hampton-court, for the defence
of his own private causes, he procured seditious
bills to be written in counterfeit hands, and se-
cretly to be dispersed into divers parts of the realm,
beginning thus, "Good people;" intending there-
by to raise the king's subjects to rebellion and open
war:

22. That the king's privy-council did consult at
London, to come to him and move him to reform
his government; but he, hearing of their assemb-
ly, declared, by his letters in divers places, that
they were high-traitors to the king.

23. That he declared untruly, as well to the
king as to the young lords attending his person,
that the lords at London intended to destroy the
king; and desired the king never to forget, but
to revenge it; and desired the young lords to put
the king in remembrance thereof; with intent to
make sedition and discord between the king and
his nobles.

24. That, at divers times and places, he said,
"The lords of the council at London intended to
kill me; but, if I die, the king shall die; and,
"if they furnish me, they shall furnish him."

25. That, of his own head, he removed the
king so suddenly from Hampton-court to Windsor,
without any provision there made, that he was
thereby not only in great fear, but cast thereby
into a dangerous disease.

26. That, by his letters, he caused the king's
people to assemble in great numbers, in armour,
after the manner of war, to his personal aid and
defence.

27. That

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27. That he caused his servants and friends at Hampton-court and Windsor, to be apparelled in the king's armour, when the king's servants and guards went unarmed.

28. That he intended to fly to Guernsey or Wales, and laid post-horses and men, and a boat, to that purpose.

Upon these accusations he was sent to the Tower, being conducted thither by the earls of Suffex and Huntingdon.

The articles objected to him, seem to say as much for his justification, as the answers could do were they extant. Certain it is that he could not deny most of the facts he was charged with to be true; but the question is, Whether they were crimes? for he was neither accused of rapine, cruelty, nor bribery; but only of such things as may be expected in men who are of a sudden raised to an exalted degree of greatness. What he did in the affair of the coin was not for his own private emolument, but was done by a common mistake of many governors, who, upon an emergency, have recourse to this as their last shift, to protract their business as long as possible: but such expedients generally involve a government in great difficulties and losses.

He bore his fall with greater evenness of temper than his prosperity, which sufficiently proves the truth of that admirable observation of Tacitus, which he puts into the mouth of Galba, "*Res adversas adhuc tantum tulisti, res secundæ acris oribus stimulis animum explorant, nam miseriam tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur:*" Hitherto you have experienced only adversity; prosperity exposes us to greater temptation; for we make an effort

effort to bear adversity, but prosperity softens and disarms us.

The duke, in his imprisonment had recourse to study and reading: and, meeting with a book that treated of patience, both from the principles of modern philosophy and christianity, he was so well pleased with it, that he ordered it to be translated into English, and writ a preface to it himself, mentioning the great comfort he had found in reading it, which had induced him to take care that others might reap the like benefit from it.

Peter Martyr writ him also a long consolatory letter, which was printed both in Latin and in an English translation; and all the reformed, both in England and abroad, looked on his fall as a public loss to that whole interest which he had so steadily set forward.

The enemies of the reformation gloried in the duke of Somerset's fall. They were persuaded the earl of Warwick was in his heart more a catholic than a protestant, and his strict union with the earl of Southampton confirmed them in this belief. So Bonner and Gardiner, who were then in the Tower, writ to him immediately a hearty congratulation for his having freed the nation from the tyrant; so they called the duke of Somerset.

But the true character of the earl of Warwick was not known to them. That lord, who was wholly swayed by ambition, was properly of neither religion. He was far, therefore, from undertaking to destroy the reformation, which had too many friends in the kingdom. On the contrary, as he knew the young king's attachment to it, he openly declared in its favour. Thus the adherents of the pope had not long reason to rejoice at the late revolution at court.

On the second of January, 1550, a bill of attainder was issued against the duke of Somerset, with a confession signed by his own hand. But, as some of the lords suspected that this confession had been extorted from him, and urged, that it was an ill precedent to pass acts upon such papers, without examining the party, whether he had subscribed them free and un-compelled; so they sent four temporal lords, and four bishops, to examine him concerning it.

The next day, the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield made the report, that he thanked them for that kind message; but, that he had freely subscribed the confession which lay before them; that he had made it on his knees before the king and council, and had signed it on the thirteenth of December.

He protested his offences had flowed from rashness and indiscretion rather than malice, and, that he had no treasonable design against the king or his realms. Whereupon he was fined by act of parliament in two thousand pounds a year in land, with the forfeiture to the king of all his goods, and the loss of all his places.

His confession was looked upon as something very mean by many, who failed not to aggravate the abjectness of such a behaviour. But it was, doubtless, because they would have been glad he had taken another course, which must certainly have been productive of his ruin.

Certain it is, that, amongst the articles of his accusation, there were several which could be justified only by the intention, which could have availed him but little in the House of Peers; the majority of them not being at all disposed to favour him.

For example, to mention only the chief articles, Could he deny that, contrary to the condition on which he was made protector, he had, as it were, degraded the other regents, and reduced them to the state of bare counsellors? He might, indeed, have alledged the king's patent for this: but it was the patent of a minor king, between ten and eleven years of age, who, considering him as his governor, did every thing by his advice, as it was said in the very patent which conferred his authority on him. Wherefore the duke could never have justified himself upon this article, any more than upon several others. Consequently his only remedy was to own himself guilty of all, and throw himself upon the king's mercy. Besides, it concerned him highly to get out of prison if possible on any terms, since it was very dangerous for him to remain any longer in the hands of his enemies.

This turned out very well for him. They who wished his destruction, seeing the king had, with much difficulty, been prevailed upon to consent to his being tried, thought it was not yet a proper opportunity to push their hatred any farther, till they had ruined him in the king's favour. So he was set at liberty on the sixth of February, 1550, giving a bond of ten thousand pounds for his good behaviour, with a restriction, that he should stay at the king's house of Sheen, or his own of Lion, and should not go four miles from them, nor come to the king or counsel unless sent for.

On the sixteenth of February following, he received his pardon, and, after that, behaved with so much humility, that he was, on the tenth of April following, restored to favour by the king, and sworn of the privy-council: and so the storm went over him more gently than he expected. He forfeited, however, in a great measure, the esteem

he had acquired among the people, who, not diving into the reasons of his conduct, could not help thinking him guilty, since he had confessed all: but the king judged otherwise, else he would not so soon have reinstated him in his favour.

The duke's ruin was only delayed, however. It was effected soon after, and one of the chief instruments in it was the earl of Warwick, who had joined with him in a near alliance; the earl's eldest son, the lord Lisle, marrying the duke's daughter: so that there was then a prospect of happy times. But it resembled a deceitful calm which is soon followed by an hideous storm. The earl of Warwick had formed an ambitious design to marry lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the marquis of Dorset, to Guilford, his fourth son; and so to get the crown to descend on them in case the king should die; of which, it is thought, he resolved to take care.

In order to facilitate the execution of his projects, he, in the year 1551, caused Henry Grey, marquis of Northampton, to be created duke of Suffolk, and himself duke of Northumberland; William Paslet, earl of Wiltshire and lord-treasurer, was made marquis of Wiltshire; and sir William Herbert earl of Pembroke.

All those who were on this occasion dignified with new honours, were the intimate friends of the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, who strove to establish himself more and more in the post of chief manager of the public affairs, though without any patent which might give him that authority.

The new duke of Northumberland could not, however, enjoy a perfect tranquillity, as long as he beheld still such a rival as the duke of Somerset, who had such access to the king, and such freedoms

doms with him, that the earl of Warwick had a mind to be rid of him at any rate. The duke of Somerfet seemed also to design, in April, 1551, to have got the king again into his power, and dealt with the lord Strange, who was much in his favour, to persuade him to marry his daughter Jane, and that he would advertise him of all that passed about the king.

The time of Edward's being of age now drew nigh, and he made a daily progress in the knowledge of affairs; the duke of Northumberland was therefore apprehensive, that, when the king should compare his administration with the duke of Somerfet's, he would perceive, that the last had been wrongfully deprived of his dignity. Add to this, that Edward still expressed a great esteem for his uncle, and gave him frequent and public tokens.

The duke of Northumberland being very uneasy at this, made use of two methods to supplant his rival: the first, was to alienate the king's affection from him, by means of certain emissaries, who beset him continually. The second, was to occasion his enemy such mortifications, as should excite him to act in such a manner as would give a handle against him.

These two methods succeeded to his wish: the king, by degrees, withdrew his favour from his uncle, and then his ears were the more open to receive any ill impressions that were suggested to him. On the other hand, the duke of Somerfet could not, without extreme impatience, see himself every day exposed to affronts, which were the more provoking, as he knew they proceeded from malice and design. It is pretended, that seeing himself thus pushed, he resolved to kill the duke of Northumberland at a visit he was to make him.

Others say, he intended to have him invited to dinner at the lord Paget's, and there he was either to kill him or poison him; at least, historians speak in this manner; because the report prevailed, both before and after his disgrace, and because the king himself was possessed with the same notion. And yet his impeachment had no such thing in it, but run only, that he intended to secure the person of the duke of Northumberland.

However this may be, it cannot be denied, but that he had contrived some plot to be restored to his post, and perhaps imparted to his confidants several expedients, which were imputed to him afterwards as so many crimes, though he had put none of them in execution. He owed his ruin to one of these confidants, who was, in all probability, bribed by his enemy. This man, sir Thomas Palmer by name, having been secretly brought to the king, told him all he knew, and probably gave such a turn to his discourse, as to make the king believe, that bare projects of thoughts were fixed and determined designs.

However, the king, being persuaded that the duke of Somerset would have assassinated the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, consented that he should be brought to his trial. So, on the 17th of October, 1551, he was apprehended, and sent to the Tower, and with him the lord Gray, sir Ralph Vane, who had escaped over the river, but was taken in a stable in Lambeth, hid under the straw: sir Thomas Palmer, and sir Thomas Arundel, were also taken, yet not sent at first to the Tower, but confined in their chambers.

Some of his followers, Hammond, Nudigate, and two of the Seymours, were sent to prison.

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The day after, the duchess of Somerset was likewise sent to the Tower, with one Crane and his wife, that had been much about her, and two of her chambermaids. After these sir Thomas Holdcroft, sir Miles Partridge, sir Michael Stanhope, Wingfield, Bannister, and Vaughan, were all made prisoners.

As soon as the duke of Somerset was in the Tower, his pretended crimes were spread abroad every where, with circumstances invented to impose upon the people. Upon these extravagant accusations, most historians have founded their accounts of this event. Dr. Burnet is the only one whom we can depend upon with the regard to the evidence against the duke: according to him, it appeared that he had made a party to get himself declared protector in the next parliament; which the earl of Rutland did positively affirm, and the duke's answer served only to confirm it to be true. But, though this might well inflame his enemies, yet it was no crime.

As to the means which the duke of Somerset intended to make use of, in order to attain his ends, it is highly probable, he had devised several, but had yet fixed upon none, except that perhaps of securing the duke of Northumberland's person.

As the custom of confronting witnesses had been some time since laid aside, we must be contented with knowing their depositions, without being able, however, to gather from thence an unquestionable proof of the truth of the facts. No one can be ignorant of the great alterations the confronting of witnesses is capable of producing, in the most seemingly positive evidence. Palmer deposed, that sir Ralph Vane was to have brought two thousand men, who, with the duke of Somerset's one hundred horse, were on a muster day to

have set upon the king's guards; which done, the duke intended to have gone through the city, proclaiming "Liberty! Liberty!" and, if his attempt did not succeed to have fled to the isle of Wight, or to Pool.

Crane confirmed all that Palmer had said; and added, that the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget, were privy to the conspiracy: and that the design had been executed, had not the greatness of the enterprize caused delays, and sometimes diversity of advice; and that the duke, being once given out to be sick, had gone privately to London, to see what friends he could make.

Hammond being examined, confessed nothing, but that the duke's chamber at Greenwich had been guarded in the night by several armed men. Upon this evidence, both the earl of Arundel, and the lord Paget were sent to the Tower. The earl had been one of the chief of those who had joined with the earl of Warwick to pull down the protector; and being, as he thought, ill rewarded by him, was become his enemy, so this part of the evidence seemed very credible.

The thing lay in suspense till the first of December, when the duke of Somerset was brought to his trial; where the marquis of Winchester was lord high steward, the peers that judged him were twenty seven in number: the dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the marquis of Northampton; the earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, Bath, Suffex, Worcester, Pembroke, and the viscount Hereford; the lords Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Ewers, Latimer, Borough, Souch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darcy, Sturton, Windsor, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray.

The crimes with which he was charged, were cast into five several indictments, as it appears from
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the king's journal;
articles is not clear.

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That he had designed to have seized the king's person, and so have governed all England, and that he, with one hundred others, intended to have imprisoned the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Northampton; and that he had designed to raise an insurrection in the city of London. Now, by the act that passed in the last parliament, if twelve persons should have assembled together to have killed any privy-counsellor, and did not, upon proclamation, disperse themselves, it was treason; or, if such twelve had been, by any malicious artifice, brought together, for any riot, and being warned, did not disperse themselves, it was felony without benefit of clergy, or sanctuary.

It seemed very strange, that the three peers, Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, and against the first of whom it was pretended in the indictment, that he had conspired, should sit his judges: for though, by the law, no peer can be challenged in a trial, yet the law of nations, that is superior to all other laws, makes, that a man cannot be judge in his own cause; and, what is very extraordinary, the lord-chancellor, though then a peer, was left out of the number, but it seems probable, that the reconciliation between him and the duke of Somerset, was then suspected, and that he was therefore excluded from the number of his judges.

The duke of Somerset being, it seems, little acquainted with the laws of the land, did not desire council to plead or assist him in point of law; but only answered to matters of fact. He began his defence, by requesting that no advantage might be taken against him, for any idle word, or pas-

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sionate expression, that might have at any time escaped him.

He protested, he never intended to have raised the northern parts ; but had only, upon some reports, sent to sir William Herbert to intreat him to be his friend : that he had never formed a resolution to kill the duke of Northumberland, or any other person, but had only talked of it without any intention of doing it : that, for the design of destroying the guards, it was ridiculous to think, that he, with a small troop, could destroy so strong a body of men, consisting of nine hundred ; in which, though he had succeeded, it could have signified nothing : that he never intended to have raised any disturbances in London, but had always looked upon it as a place in which he was in perfect security : that his having men about him in Greenwich was with no ill design, since he did no mischief with them, even when it was in his own power ; but, upon his attachment, rendered himself prisoner, without making any resistance.

He likewise objected many things against the witnesses, and desired they might be brought face to face. He spoke much against sir Thomas Palmer, the chief witness, in particular. But the witnesses were not brought, only their examinations were read : upon this, the king's council pleaded against him, that to levy war was certainly treason : that, to assemble men, with an intention to kill privy-counsellors, was also treason : that to have men about him to resist the attachment, was felony ; and, to assault the lords, or contrive their deaths, was felony.

Whether he made any defence in law or not, does not appear ; for, in no account extant, is the material defence to be found ; which was, that
these

these gatherings of the kings subjects were only treasonable, and felonious, after they had been required to disperse themselves, and had refused to obey. And, in all this matter, it is plain, that this is never once alledged to have been done ; not even in the indictment itself, it is evident that it was not done for ; if any such proclamation or charge had been sent him, it is probable he would either have obeyed it, or gone into London, or to the country, and tried what he could have done by force : but, to have disobeyed such a command, and so to have incurred the guilt of treason, and yet not stir from his house, are things inconsistent.

Mr. Rapin justly observes, that there is a difficulty in this affair which is not easy to be solved ; and that is, that the duke of Somers, though not accused of having intended to kill the three lords, justifies himself upon that head. This seems to intimate, that there was some article in the indictment answering thereto ; but, if there was, it is not now to be found in any historian.

When the peers withdrew, it seems, the proofs about his design of raising the north, or the city, or killing the guards, did not satisfy them. For, all these had been without all question treasonable. So they held to that point of conspiring to imprison the duke of Northumberland. If he, with twelve men about him, had conspired to do that, and had continued together after proclamation, it was certainly felony : but that not being pretended, it seems there was no proclamation made. The duke of Suffolk was of opinion, that no contention among private subjects should be on any account screwed up to be high-treason. The duke of Northumberland said, he would never consent that any practice against him, should be reputed treason.

After

After a great difference of opinion, they all acquitted him of treason : but the greater number found him guilty of felony. It must be acknowledged, however, that even this was stretching the rigour of the law as far as it would go, if he was guilty only of having formed a design to seize the duke of Northumberland ; whereas, if he had really intended to kill these three lords, there was nothing in his sentence but what was agreeable to an act of parliament.

It must therefore be acknowledged, either that all the circumstances of this proceeding are not come down to us, or, that the peers condemned the unfortunate duke for a crime which he was not legally charged with. Add to this, that the character of the duke of Northumberland, and most of the peers who judged the duke of Somerset, and who, for the most part, were his professed enemies, makes it very suspicious, that the fear of offending the duke of Northumberland, or some other motives, got the better of justice.

In condemning the duke for felony, they proceeded, in all appearance, upon a statute made in the time of Henry VII. which declared it felony to intend to take away the life of a privy-counsellor. This was stretching very far that severe law which, perhaps, had never been executed before, especially against a duke, peer of the realm, and uncle to the king.

But what is more strange in the trial, is, that the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke should sit as judges.

The duke behaved, during the whole time of his trial, with great temper and patience ; and, though the king's council had, according to the method

method of pleading usual in that age, been very bitter against him, doubtless with a view of recommending themselves to the duke of Northumberland, yet he never took notice of these reflexions, nor seemed much affected with them.

When sentence was given, he thanked the lords for their favour, and asked pardon of the dukes of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, for his ill intentions against them; and made suit for his life, for his wife and children. He was then carried back to the Tower.

Whether this asking of the lords pardon amounted to a full confession of guilt, or was only a compliment to them that they might not obstruct his pardon, is but a matter of conjecture. He confessed he had spoken of killing them, and this made it reasonable enough to ask their pardon; though it does not imply a confession of the crime.

The duke of Somerset was so beloved by the people, that, when those who were present at his trial saw he was returned not guilty of treason, they shouted for joy so loud, that they were heard at Charingcross. All people thought, that, being acquitted of treason, and there being no felonious action done by him, but only an intention of one, and that only of imprisoning a peer proved; that one so near in blood to the king would never be put to death upon such an occasion. But his execution was not deferred quite two months; so great care had been taken to prepossess the king against him, that young Edward, who abhorred the crimes he believed him guilty of, was very far from any thoughts of granting him a pardon.

In order to ruin him in the king's opinion, a story was brought him, and put by him in his journal; that, at the duke's first coming to the Tower, he had confessed, that he had hired one
Bartuile

Bartuile to kill the lords ; and, that Bartuile himself acknowledged it ; and, that Hamond knew of it.

Granting this to be true, though it was felony in Bartuile, if he was the king's servant ; it was not so in the duke, who was a peer. It must be acknowledged to be very strange, that this evidence was not produced at the trial. Nothing, indeed, argues his innocence, in this respect, better than the indictment itself, which did say that he intended to assassinate the duke of Northumberland, but only that he had designed to seize and imprison him.

However, this declaration of Bartuile, no doubt, gave the king a very bad opinion of his uncle, and so made him more easily consent to his execution ; since all such conspiracies are things of so inhuman and cruel a nature, that it is scarce possible to punish them too severely.

The king also, in his letter to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, who had acquired considerable favour with him, and was sent over to France to be educated, writ, that the duke seemed to have acknowledged the felony ; and that, after sentence, he confessed it, though he had formerly vehemently sworn the contrary.

It is evident from hence, that the king was persuaded of his being guilty. But the king's belief does by no means prove the fact. It proves every whit as well that the young king was imposed upon, who even shewed afterwards an extreme sorrow for having consented to his uncle's death.

The duke's friends were involved in his misfortunes. Sir Michael Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Ralph Vane, and sir Miles Partridge, were soon after brought to their trials. The first
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and the last of these were little pitied. For, as all great men have people about them who make use of their greatness only for their own ends, without regarding their master's honour or true interest; so they were the persons upon whom the ill things which had been done by the duke of Somerset were chiefly cast. But sir Thomas Arundel was much pitied, and was hardly dealt with in his trial, which began at seven o'clock in the morning, and continued till noon. Then the jury went aside, and they did not agree on their verdict till next morning, when those who thought him not guilty, yet, for preserving their own lives, were willing to yield to the fierceness of those who were resolved to condemn him.

Sir Ralph Vane was the most lamented of them all. He had done great services in the wars, and was looked upon as one of the bravest men in the nation. He pleaded for himself, that he had done his country considerable service in the wars; though now, in time of peace, the coward and courageous were equally esteemed. He scorned to make any submission for life. But this pride contributed to his condemnation, and to encrease the infamy of his death. He and Partridge were hanged, whereas the other two were beheaded.

The duke of Somerset was in hopes, however, of undeceiving the king. He had already engaged the lord-chancellor to be his friend, who, through a mistake in the superscription of a note he sent to the duke, discovered his design to use his endeavours for him. This occasioned the great seals being taken from him and given to the bishop of Ely.

As soon as the duke had received his sentence, great pains were taken to entertain the king with pleasing sights, that he might not reflect upon
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this strange condemnation. At the same time, all the duke's, his uncle's, friends, were carefully prevented from coming near him.

An order was sent for beheading the duke of Somerset on the twenty-second of January, on which day he was brought to the place of execution on Tower-hill. His whole deportment was very composed, and no way changed from what it had ordinarily been. He first kneeled down, and prayed; and then he spake to the people in these words.

The Duke of Somerset's Speech at his Execution.

“ DEARLY beloved friends, I am brought here
 “ to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against
 “ the king, neither by word or deed; and have always
 “ been as faithful and true to this realm, as any
 “ man hath been. But, for so much as I am by
 “ law condemned to die, I do acknowledge my-
 “ self, as well as others, to be subject thereto :
 “ wherefore, to testify my obedience, which I owe
 “ unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death ;
 “ whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most
 “ hearty thanks to God, that hath given me this
 “ time of repentance, who might, through judi-
 “ cial death, have taken away my life, that nei-
 “ ther I should have acknowledged him, nor my-
 “ self. Moreover, there is yet somewhat that I
 “ must put you in mind of, as touching Christian
 “ religion; which, so long as I was in authority,
 “ I always diligently set forth, and furthered to
 “ my power; neither repent I of my doings, but
 “ rejoice therein, since that now the state of Chris-
 “ tian religion cometh most near unto the form
 “ and order of the primitive church; which thing
 “ I esteem as a great benefit given of God, both
 “ 10

“ so you and me ; most heartily exhorting you all,
 “ that this which is purely set forth to you, you
 “ will, with like thankfulness, accept and em-
 “ brace, and set out the same in your living ;
 “ which thing, if you do not, without doubt,
 “ greater mischief and calamity will follow.

When he had gone so far, there was an extra-
 ordinary noise heard, as if some house had been
 blown up with gunpowder ; which frightened all
 the people, so that many run away, they knew not
 for what : and the relator, who tarried still, says,
 it brought into his remembrance, the astonishment
 that the band was in that came to take our Saviour,
 who thereupon fell backwards to the ground.

At the same time sir Anthony Brown came riding
 towards the scaffold ; and they all hoped he had
 brought a pardon ; upon which there was a general
 shouting, “ Pardon, pardon, God save the king ; ”
 many throwing up their caps : by which the duke
 might well perceive how dear he was to the peo-
 ple. But, as soon as these disorders were over,
 he made a sign to them with his hand to com-
 pose themselves, and then went on in his speech
 thus :

“ Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter
 “ here in hand, as you vainly hope or believe.
 “ It seemeth thus good unto almighty God,
 “ whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that
 “ we all be obedient to. Wherefore I pray you
 “ all to be quiet, and to be contented with my
 “ death, which I am most willing to suffer : and
 “ let us now join in prayer to the Lord for the pre-
 “ servation of the king’s majesty, unto whom,
 VOL. I. B b hitherto,

“hitherto, I have always shewed myself a most faithful and firm subject.

“I have always been most diligent about his majesty, in his affairs both at home and abroad; and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm;” (upon this the people cried out it was most true) “unto whose majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity, and all prosperous success.

“Moreover, I do wish unto all his counsellors, the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice; unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to shew yourselves obedient, as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation; and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king’s majesty.

“Moreover, for as much as heretofore I have had affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man; therefore, if there have been any that have been offended or injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended: and all other, whatsoever they be, that have offended me, I do, with my whole heart, forgive them.”

Then he desired them to be quiet, lest their tumults might trouble him; and said, “Albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering; and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ, desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same to my life’s end.”

Then

Then Dr. Cox, who was with him on the scaffold, put a paper in his hand, which was a prayer he had prepared for him. He read it on his knees, then he took leave of all about him, and undressed himself to be fitted for the axe. In all which there appeared no change in him, only his face was a little ruddier than ordinary. He continued calling "Lord Jesus save me," till the executioner severed his head from his body.

Thus fell the duke of Somerset; a person of great virtues, eminent for piety, humble, and affable in his greatness, sincere and candid in all his transactions. He was a better captain, than a counsellor; had been oft successful in his undertakings; was always careful of the poor and the oppressed; and, in a word, had as many virtues, and as few faults, as most great men, especially when they were so unexpectedly advanced, have ever had.

It was generally believed, that all this pretended conspiracy, upon which he was condemned, was only a forgery; for, both Palmer and Crane, the chief witnesses, were soon after discharged; as were also Bartuile and Hammond, with all the rest that had been made prisoners on the pretence of this plot. And the duke of Northumberland continued after that in so close a connection with Palmer, that it was generally believed he had been corrupted to betray him: and, indeed, the not bringing the witnesses into the court, but only the depositions, and the parties sitting judges, gave great occasion to condemn the proceedings against him: for it was generally thought, that all was an artifice of Palmer's, who had put the duke of Somerset in fears of his life, and so got him to gather men about him for his own preservation; and, that he afterwards being taken with him,

seemed, through fear, to acknowledge all that which he had before contrived. This was more confirmed by the death of the other four formerly mentioned, who were executed on the twenty-sixth of February, and did all protest, they never had been guilty of any design, either against the king, or to kill the lords. Vane added, That his blood would make Northumberland's pillow uneasy to him.

The people were generally much affected with this execution, and many threw handkerchiefs into the duke of Somerset's blood to preserve it in remembrance of him. One lady, that met the duke of Northumberland when he was led through the city in queen Mary's reign, shaking one of these bloody handkerchiefs, said, "Behold the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excellent king, which was shed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itself on thee." Sure it is, that Northumberland, as having maliciously contrived this, was ever after hated by the people.

But, on the other hand, great notice was taken that the duke of Norfolk, (who, with his son the earl of Surry, were believed to have fallen in all their misery, by the duke of Somerset's means) did now outlive him, and saw him fall by a conspiracy of his own servants, as himself and his son had done. The proceeding against his brother was also remembered, for which many thought the judgments of God had overtaken him. Others blamed him for being too apt to convert things sacred to his own use, and because great part of his estate was raised out of the spoils of many churches: and some late writers have made an inference from this, upon his not claiming the benefit of clergy, that he was thus left of God not to plead that benefit,

nefit, since he had so much invaded the rights and revenues of the church.

But in this they shewed their ignorance; for, by the statute, that felony of which he was found guilty, was not to be purged by clergy.

Those who pleased themselves in comparing the events in their own times, with the transactions of the former ages, found out many things to make a parallel between the duke of Somerset, and Humphry, the good duke of Gloucester in the time of Henry VI. but I shall leave the reader in that to his own observation.



B. b 3 THE

T H E
L I F E A N D D E A T H
O F
J O H N D U D L E Y.

JOHN DUDLEY, who afterwards attained to so high a degree of honour and power, was son to Edmund Dudley, esq. one of the chief instruments of the oppressions of Henry VII. who having been put to death by Henry VIII. he was willing, afterwards, to make his son some amends, and therefore created him lord viscount Lisle.

Dudley, whose life we are now writing, is, by many of our historians, reputed the most powerful subject that ever flourished in this kingdom. He had no less than four titles, baron of Malpas, viscount L'Isle, earl of Warwick, and duke of Northumberland.

He was born in the year 1502, when his father's power was at its highest pitch, and was equally in favour with the king and people, as appears by his being elected this year speaker of the house of commons.

John, who was eldest son to Edmund Dudley, was about eight years of age when his father was put to death; and it was the general opinion, that the severity exercised upon that occasion was rather to satisfy the people than justice. John Dudley, by Edmund Guilford, esquire of the body to the king, his guardian, petitioned the parliament, that the attainder of Edmund Dudley might be

JOHN DUDLEY

be reversed, and himself restored in blood; which was granted without difficulty, and a special act passed for that purpose in 1517.

Particular care was taken of his education by a mother equally distinguished for her virtues and high birth, and by a guardian who had the reputation of being one of the most accomplished gentlemen in a court then celebrated as the politest in Europe. But history is silent with regard to particulars.

When his mother, by the king's consent, married Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created viscount L'Isle, which was about the year 1523, John Dudley was brought to court, and being a young gentleman of a fine person and extraordinary endowments, he attended the king's favourite, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France; where his gallant behaviour not only entitled him to the particular notice of his noble general, but procured him likewise the honour of knighthood.

It is natural to imagine, that, upon his return, he was very well received at court, having many relations who had great influence there; but it seems he relied chiefly on his own abilities, and very wisely attached himself to the king's first minister, cardinal Wolsey, whom he accompanied in his expedition to France in the nineteenth year of that reign; and, availing himself of the advantages which this afforded, entered not long after into the king's service, as appears from a patent granted him for the office of the master of the armoury in the Tower, with the allowance of a groom.

His hopes of preferment did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country,

where he was very assiduous in improving his interest with the gentry; and, in 1536, was sheriff of Staffordshire, where he lived hospitably, and had the good will of his neighbours in a much higher degree than when he was exalted to a far superior station.

Two years after this, he entered himself into the society of Gray's-Inn: but it does not seem in the least probable that he ever studied the law there, as his father had done; though some authority might be alledged in support of it. The court was still his place of residence, and Wolsey afforded him his patronage as long as he was in power. He was likewise in high favour with Thomas, lord Cromwell, who succeeded the cardinal in the ministry; so that, upon the arrival of Anne of Cleves, whom that minister had engaged the king to marry, when that lord was advanced to the dignity of earl of Essex, and great chamberlain of England, he was made master of the horse to the intended queen.

On the first of May, 1539, he was the first of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Westminster, in which he appeared with great magnificence.

We are told that this great man, who did not rise over-hastily at the beginning, took a great deal of pains to qualify himself for the king's service; in order to which he made a tour to Italy, and remained some time at Rome: as with the like design he visited France; by which means he became a very compleat courtier, and capable of employment of very different kinds.

In this, which was to make way for his future honours, he, to please the king, accepted an office in the household of a queen who was not like to en-

joy

joy that honour long, it being well enough known in the court, that the king had not married her from affection but from policy.

This tournament, in which he made the principal figure, had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland and Spain, for all comers to try their prowess against the English challengers, who were sir John Dudley, sir Thomas Seymour, sir Thomas Poynings, sir John Carew, knights, Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell, esquires. They came into the lists upon May-day, preceded by a band of knights and gentlemen, all dressed in white velvet; the furniture of their horses was of the same, but the challengers themselves were very richly dressed.

The first day there were forty-six defendants amongst whom were the earl of Surry, lord William Howard, lord Clinton, and lord Cromwell, son to the prime-minister, who was a little before created earl of Essex.

Sir John Dudley, by some mischance of his horse, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Bremg, but however he mounted again, and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in state to Durham house, where they entertained the king, queen, and court.

On the second of May, Anthony Kingston and Richard Cromwell were made knights. On the third, the challengers fought on horseback with swords against twenty-nine defendants. Sir John Dudley and the earl of Surry running first with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers against thirty defendants.

In the course of these military diversions, the challengers, at a vast expence, entertained both houses

houses of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and their wives, and all the persons of distinction then in town; as a reward for which, the king gave to each of them a house and a hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the knights of Rhods, which had been given to his majesty by the parliament then sitting.

The fall of the earl of Essex, which happened soon after, did not in the least affect the favour or fortune of sir John Dudley, who had a very great dexterity in maintaining himself in the good graces of powerful ministers; without embarking too far in their designs, preserving always a proper regard for the sentiments of his sovereign; which kept him in full credit at court, in the midst of many changes, as well of men as of measures.

It was owing to this wise conduct of his, as well as to his splendid manner of living, and great liberality, not only to the extent, but beyond the limits of his estate, that he never wanted friends to solicit in his behalf, and to excite in his royal master, a just attention to his services. This very clearly appeared soon after the death of his father-in-law, when the king, by letters-patents, bearing date the twelfth of March, 1542, raised him to the dignity of viscount L'Isle, with very singular marks of his esteem and consideration.

We have before observed, that, upon the marriage of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward viscount L'Isle, and widow of Edmund Dudley, esq. to sir Arthur Plantagenet, he was raised to that dignity, which was limited to his heirs male by that lady, in prejudice of her children by the first marriage; but he dying in the Tower on the third of March, 1542, it was represented to the king, that this honour was naturally descended to sir John Dudley,

to

to which he was advanced by patent; in consideration (as the preamble sets forth) not only of the acceptable and laudable services of his beloved and faithful subject sir John Dudley, knight, variously done, but also his vigilance, foresight, faithfulness, valour, and illustrious descent. To hold the said title to him, and the heirs male of his body, and to enjoy seat and place in parliament among the viscounts of this realm of England, and in all other the king's dominions; with a grant of an annuity of twenty marks, payable half yearly out of the revenues of the counties of Warwick and Leicester, by the sheriffs of the said counties.

At the next festival of St. George, he was also elected knight of the garter. This was soon after followed by a much higher instance both of kindness and trust; indeed, such an instance, as had scarce any example in former times, and has not been considered as a precedent fit to follow in those that have succeeded since; for the king, considering his prudence, his courage, and his activity, as well as the occasion he had, and was like to have, for a man of such talents in that office, constituted him lord high-admiral of England for life.

The next year he commanded a fleet of two hundred sail, with which he proceeded to the Scotch coasts, where he performed all the service that was expected from him; and, having landed his forces, marched through the southern provinces of Scotland by land, and most effectually restored the tranquillity of the marches.

We find the lord viscount L'Isle, from the time of his being promoted to the office of lord high-admiral, commonly mentioned, by that title, in all our histories. It is plain enough, that he had served with reputation at sea, before he obtained
that

that honour; since we are told, by a person who attended him in all his expeditions, that he boarded and took the admiral of Scots, fighting her ship to ship.

In this expedition to Scotland, he had a fleet of two hundred sail, on board of which, at Newcastle, he embarked an army of ten thousand men. On the fourth of May, 1544, he landed the troops about four miles from Leith, from whence they marched to Edinburgh, the lord-admiral commanding the vanguard, and the earl of Hertford the main battle. The former had the honour of routing the Scots, and of forcing the principal gate of Edinburgh, into which he was the first man that entered. The fleet also did infinite mischief, ruining the sea-coasts, and taking all the ships which the Scotch had in those parts, particularly the Salamander, a very fine ship of war, presented by the French king to his son-in-law king James, at the time of his marriage; and the Unicorn, built by order of the king of Scots.

The fleet quitted Leith on the fifteenth of May, after spoiling the port, destroying the pier, burning the town, ruining the towns and villages on each side the river, as high as Stirling, and sinking every vessel, great and small, that they did not carry away. The land army, in its return, proceeded with the same rigour; and, in our histories, there is a long list of places, by the ruin of which their rout was distinguished.

This was in execution of the king's orders; afterwards, it seems, his historian thought of it in another light, when he said, we did, on that occasion, too much for lovers, and, for conquerors, too little.

He next embarked for France, and, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1543, appeared before
Boulogne,

Boulogne, then besieged by king Henry VIII. in person; and, by his great diligence and courage, facilitated very much the taking of the place, of which the king left him the charge, with the title of his lieutenant. In this important employment he did more than his master had reason to expect, and as much as the nation or himself could desire.

The siege of Boulogne was formed on the nineteenth of July, by the duke of Suffolk. The king came to the camp in person on the twenty-sixth. The lord-admiral arrived there on the twenty-eighth of the same month, where he encamped the nearest the town of any of the king's forces. In this siege he was present in most of the attacks, and had there the misfortune to lose his eldest son.

The place was surrendered on the fourteenth of September, and, on the eighteenth, the king made his public entry into it, and soon after delivered the keys of the place to the lord-admiral, with the title of governor; and, upon his embarking for England, on the thirtieth of the same month, declared him his lieutenant-general.

The dauphin being not far off, with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men, he first formed a design of retaking the place by siege; and afterwards, on the ninth of October, attempted it by surprize; in which, through the vigilance, care, and courage of the lord-admiral, the French were repulsed, with the loss of eight hundred men of their best troops: and this, all our writers allow to have been one of the gallantest actions performed in that war, none of the breaches being repaired, and the place in a manner open.

On the first of February following, the lord-admiral sallying out of Boulogne with a small body

body of horse and foot, attacked a much superior corps of French forces, under the command of Mons. de Beiz, forced them to retire precipitately, and made themselves masters of twelve pieces of cannon.

On the twenty-seventh of March, 1646, the king declared him, by a patent, lieutenant-general and commander of all his forces at sea, for the more effectual carrying on of the war against France; and this at a time when the French, by the help of money, and alliances with the maritime powers of Europe, had drawn together a very great naval force, and threatened to make the English feel the weight of it, not only at sea, but by covering an invasion, which they had long meditated; all which vast designs were frustrated by the courage and conduct of the lord viscount L'Isle, with a force much inferior to theirs.

After this, the lord high-admiral returned their visit, landed five thousand men upon their coasts, burnt the town of Treport, and some other villages; and the French army advancing, offered them battle, which they declined; and he thereupon reembarked his troops, having, in this expedition, lost only a single man, and done infinite mischief to the enemy.

The French king, at an immense expence, hired from several of the Italian powers what in those days was accounted a very large fleet; it consisted of upwards of two hundred sail of all sorts, besides gallies; which, however, met with an accident when it first put to sea, one of their best ships, of the burthen of eight hundred ton, taking fire.

Between Alderney and Guernsey, their gallies attacked the lord-admiral, who had but a small squadron with him, bending all their endeavours
to

to take his own ship; which, however, he defended so well against eighteen of those vessels at once, that they were at length glad to retire.

The whole French fleet appearing before St. Helen's, and making a shew of attempting something upon the coast, the admiral advanced, with his small fleet of sixty sail, but, after exchanging some shot, the French retired. The English fleet being then reinforced, and taking some troops aboard, offered them battle again, forced them to retire to their own coasts, where they were spectators of those mischiefs done by the English which are briefly mentioned above. All these transactions happened between the beginning of June and the end of August, 1545.

The same year he was, together with Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York, appointed a commissioner to take the oath of Francis the French king, for observing the treaty of peace signed June the seventh, 1546; which he performed with great solemnity. On the sixteenth of October following he was, together with many other persons of rank, named in a commission for settling the accompts of the army. This was one of the last services he performed in the reign of that great prince, to whom he owed all his honours and fortune, receiving from him, towards the close of his reign, very large grants of churchlands, which delivered him from the inconveniences that must otherwise have ensued from his unbounded generosity; which grants, however, created him many enemies.

The abbey of Hales-Owen, in Shropshire, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and St. John the evangelist; which, at the dissolution, had lands of the annual value of three hundred thirty-seven pounds,

pounds, fifteen shillings and six-pence, according to Speed, was granted to sir John Dudley, by King Henry VIII, in the thirtieth year of his reign. The hospital of Burton Leasars, in Leicestershire, which was the largest foundation of this kind in England, being valued, both according to Dugdale and Speed, at the annual rent of two hundred sixty-five pounds, ten shillings, was granted to the Lord L'Isle, by the same monarch, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign. The manor of Chofel, near Ringstead, in the county of Norfolk, was about the same time granted to him, as being annexed to the hospital before mentioned. By the same grant, he acquired the hospital of St. Giles's, without the bar of the Old Temple, London. The same king, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign, granted to John Dudley, lord viscount L'Isle, and lord high-admiral of England, as well in consideration of his service, as for the sum of one thousand pounds sterling, the site, circuit, and precinct of the hospital, or priory, of St. John of Jerusalem, only the lead, bells, timber, stone, glass, and iron, and other things of the church, were specially reserved to the king's majesty. I have likewise seen accounts of some other small grants, with which I will not trouble the reader.

The king's health daily declining, his majesty made the best provision he could for the safety and quiet of his son's reign; in order to which he caused his last will and testament to be framed, with much deliberation, by the ablest and wisest of his counsellors, which he sealed and subscribed on the thirtieth of December, 1546; and therein, as the last mark of affection and trust, he named sir John Dudley, lord viscount L'Isle, one of his fifteen executors, and gave him also a legacy of five hundred pounds, which was the highest that he

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he bestowed on any of them. By this will they were constituted lords of the treasury and had the government put into their hands, which gave them a great authority. ~~John Duple~~ was founded upon a bill of parliament passed in the 22d year of Henry VIII. On the 11th of the month of January succeeding, being Henry VIII. died, and his son, Edward VI. succeeded him, to the general joy and satisfaction of the nation. It was not long before great alterations were made in the dispositions by the king's will; which alterations were, in truth, the source of all the mischiefs that followed.

The earl of Hertford, who was the king's uncle, and by that near relation, in very great credit about his person, thought that sufficient regard had not been shewn to him, by the bare nomination to a seat in the council, among so many, where, at first, he did not perceive that he was like to have any precedence. He therefore pressed to be declared protector, that the state might have some visible head; to which, very probably from their own views, the major part of the council yielded, much against the will of the lord-chancellor Writchesly, who shewed, that this was departing entirely from the will of Henry VIII. which was the only legal rule they had.

The protector soon after took from him the seals, and thought of nothing so much as how to establish his own power. It is, indeed, reported, by many writers, that he was excited to these steps by a wiser man than himself, by whom they mean the lord viscount L'Isle; but of this, as there is no evidence, so, in truth, there is not much probability.

Amongst the first of the protector's projects, one was, to get his brother, sir Thomas Seymour, made

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made high-admiral, in whose favour the lord viscount L'Isle resigned, not willingly to be sure, but upon the best terms he could make.

Accordingly, February the seventeenth, 1547, the very same day that the new lord-admiral's patent passed, he was created earl of Warwick, and made great chamberlain of England; neither was it long before he had great grants from the crown, particularly Warwick castle and manor.

This has occasioned several writers to represent the promotions made, and titles conferred about this time, as proceeding from his intrigues; whereas, in truth, he had a title by descent to the earldom of Warwick. King Henry VIII. intended to have created him earl of Coventry; and the new king's coronation made it natural to do something extraordinary to grace it.

The duke of Somerset, lord-protector, finding himself under a necessity of marching an army into Scotland, resolved to command it in person, and took the earl of Warwick with him in quality of his lieutenant-general. In this expedition he added to that great reputation which he had already acquired, as even his enemies themselves confess, being the chief author of that victory which was then obtained; and would also have pushed the war to a glorious conclusion, if he had been entrusted with the sole command; as it was, his conduct was universally commended, and all the blame fell elsewhere.

Sir John Hayward, who took upon him to write the history of this reign, was no friend at all to the noble person who is the subject of this article, and yet he allows him all the honour of this expedition. We will first give the reader a short character of the earl of Warwick, as he has drawn it, and afterwards some other passages, which will fully justify what we have before advanced.

“ The

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“ The earl of Warwick, says he, was a man
“ of antient nobility, comely in stature and count-
“ tenance, but of little gravity or abstinence in
“ pleasures; yea, sometimes almost dissolute;
“ which was not much regarded, if, in a time
“ when vices began to grow in fashion, a great
“ man was not over severe. He was of a great
“ spirit and highly aspiring, nor forbearing to
“ make any mischief the means of attaining his
“ ambitious ends. Hereto his good wit and plea-
“ sant speeches were altogether serviceable, having
“ the art also, by empty promises and threats,
“ to draw others to his purpose. In matters of
“ arms, he was both skilful and industrious, and,
“ as well in foresight as resolution, present and
“ great. To say truth, for enterprizes by arms,
“ he was the minion of that time, so as few things
“ he attempted but he atchieved with honour,
“ which made him more proud and ambitious
“ when he had done. He generally increased both
“ in estimation with the king and authority among
“ the nobility, doubtful, whether by fatal destiny
“ to the state, or whether by his virtues, or, at
“ least, by his appearances of virtues.”

After this character, the same author proceeds
to give us the following relation :

“ As the English directed their way towards the
“ place where they understood the Scots assembled;
“ they came to a river called Lynne, crossed with
“ a bridge of stone. The horsemen and carriages
“ passed through the water, the footmen over the
“ bridge, which, because it was narrow, the army
“ was long in getting over. The avant guard
“ marched forth, and the battail followed; but,
“ as the rear passed over, a thick mist did arise.
“ The earl of Warwick having before espied certain
“ plumps of Scottish horsemen in ranging the field,

" returned towards the rear, to prevent such
 " danger as the thickness of the mist, the nearness
 " of the enemy, and the disarray occasioned, by
 " the narrowness of the bridge, might cast upon
 " them.

" The Scots conjecturing, as it was, that some
 " personage of honour stayed to have a view of
 " the rear, called to the English to know if any
 " nobleman were near, for that one whom they
 " named, well known to be of honourable condi-
 " tion, would present himself to the general, in
 " case he might be safely conducted. Certain
 " young soldiers, not used to such trains, made
 " rash and sudden answer, That the earl of War-
 " wick was near, under whose protection he might
 " be assured.

" Hereupon they passed the water, placed two
 " hundred of their prickers behind a hillock, and,
 " with forty more, cast about to find the earl.
 " Now the earl, espying six or seven of them
 " scattered near the army, and taking them to
 " be English, sent one to command them to their
 " array, and to that end rode an easy pace himself
 " towards them, followed only with ten or twelve
 " on horseback : he that had been sent before, was
 " so heedless either to observe or advertise what
 " they were, that the earl did not discover them
 " to be enemies until he was in the midst among
 " them.

" Certainly a commander should not carelessly
 " cast himself into danger ; but, when either upon
 " necessity or misadventure he falleth into it, it
 " much advanceth both his reputation and enter-
 " prize if bravely he behave himself.

" Now the earl espying where he was, gave to
 " rude a charge upon a captain of the Scots, named
 " Dandy Care, that he forced him to turn, and
 " chased

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“ chased him above twelve leese at the last
“ point. Here with the residue retired desperately
“ towards the place of their ambush, from whence
“ issued about sixty more. Then the earl gathered
“ his small company about him, and, with good
“ countenance, maintained the fight. But the
“ enemy, in the end, whether perceiving some
“ succours advancing from the army, where the
“ alarm was then taken, or whether intending to
“ draw the English further into their ambush,
“ turned away at an easy pace. The earl forbid
“ his men from following, fearing a greater ambu-
“ bush behind the hill, as in truth there was.”

“ At his return, he was received with great
“ applause by the English soldiers, for that he did
“ so well acquit himself of his danger, whereunto,
“ by error, and not by rashness, he had been car-
“ ried.”

“ One of his men was slain; another hurt in
“ the buttock; a third, named Vane, so griev-
“ ously hewn, that many thousands have died of
“ less than half his hurts, whereof, notwith-
“ standing, he was cured afterwards. Of the
“ Scots, three were taken prisoners, and presented
“ to the general by the earl.”

When a challenge was brought in the name of
the earl of Huntley to the lord protector, the
earl of Warwick told the trumpeter that he would
undertake that lord, and give him a thousand
crowns reward upon his bringing news that his offer
was accepted.

In the battle of Mufleborough, fought on the
tenth of September, 1547, which was one of the
greatest defeats the Scots ever received, the victory
was the pure effects of the courage and conduct of
the earl of Warwick. The lord Grey began the
battle contrary to his orders, and, being soundly
beaten

beaten, had like to have thrown all into confusion; but the earl of Warwick stood firm, though very much exposed, and, giving his orders with great presence of mind, recovered all, and drove the Scots quite out of the field. What little was done afterwards, was by his command, and the execution of it trusted to his brother, sir Andrew Dudley.

But the protector had his reasons for returning as soon as possible to London; and bishop Burnet says, that the earl of Warwick was not displeas'd with that, because he saw it would lessen the duke's reputation; which is a conjecture only, and ought to be considered as such, and not at all esteemed a fact, since there is no evidence to support it.

At that time the protector had so good an opinion of the earl of Warwick, that he left him behind in the north to treat with the Scots, which proved, indeed, a thing of no consequence, as the Scots never intended to treat, but made that proposal to the duke of Somerset, only to gain time, as the duke accepted it, because it afforded him a fair pretence for returning into England.

It has little or no relation to the earl of Warwick's character, whether this war was wisely or imprudently entered into; since it is universally acknowledged, that he discharged the trust reposed in him with great capacity, hazarded his person freely, and, by a right application of his military skill, gained a glorious victory, which procured him, at that time, what he certainly deserved, a very high and general reputation.

He was next employed by the duke of Somerset, lord protector, in conjunction with many other honourable persons, to compromise matters with the French, who, after the death of king Henry, were very desirous of getting Boulogne again into their

their hands, which it was of great consequence to the protector to prevent, and yet to avoid, if possible, engaging in a war; both which ends were effected for the present; to which the industry and authority of the earl of Warwick did not a little contribute.

It was this activity of his in business, which was generally attended with success, that chiefly recommended him to the protector Somerset, who certainly had much slowness and timidity in his nature, which made him admire men of quick parts and solid abilities, whose advice he used from time to time, but more especially listened to the counsels of Warwick, sir William Paget, who was his secretary, and sir William Cecil, who afterwards enjoyed the same place.

Happy had it been for him, if he had constantly followed their opinions: but it so fell out, that, without regarding the feebleness of the government, he persisted in a war with Scotland, which was very indifferently managed, assumed the direction of affairs at home entirely to himself, undertook too many great enterprizes at once, which unluckily crossed one another, and, by degrees, brought all into confusion. His own brother, the lord-admiral, entered into strange practices against him, which occasioned much disturbance in the court; but there is no sign that the earl of Warwick had any correspondence with him; but, on the contrary, discountenanced his proceedings, and, in appearance at least, supported the cause of the duke of Somerset, who, after temporizing a long time, caused the lord-admiral, in the end, to be attainted by parliament, and executed.

In the midst of these troubles, the common people in most parts of the kingdom as is usual when any state is distracted by factions, began to

grow mutinous and disobedient, and, at last, broke out into insurrections. The protector Somerset permitted these to grow to a great head; either from an unwillingness to shed the blood of his countrymen, for he was certainly a man of a mild and merciful disposition; or, that he might gain time to bring in foreign troops, which he might have afterwards at his own disposal.

In Devonshire they grew so strong, that they besieged the city of Exeter, and, before they could be reduced by the lord Ruffel, a new rebellion broke out in Norfolk, under the command of one Robert Ket, a tanner, who was very soon at the head of ten thousand men. The swiftness of their progress excited a commotion in Yorkshire, and, in both places, the rebels went upon levelling principles; thought of nothing but pulling down the nobility, and changing the constitution at their fancy.

This was an evil not to be trifled with, and therefore an army of six thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, which was to have been employed against the Scots, received orders to march directly towards the rebels, under the command of John earl of Warwick, whose known abilities rendered him fittest for this service.

He preserved Norwich with some difficulty, and afterwards fought with the rebels, who, both in drawing up their men, and in the course of the action, behaved much better than could have been expected from such raw soldiers. The earl, however, defeated them, and killed about a thousand men; other writers say many more.

This greatly discouraged, but did not dissipate them; on the contrary, they collected all their scattered parties, and offered him battle a second time. The earl marched directly towards them, but,

but, when he was on the very point of engaging, he sent them a message, "That he was sorry to see so much courage expressed in so bad a cause; but that, notwithstanding what was passed, they might depend on the king's pardon upon delivering up their leaders." To which they answered, "That he was a nobleman of so much worth and generosity, that, if they might have this assurance from his own mouth, they were willing to submit." The earl accordingly went amongst them; upon which they threw down their arms, delivered up Robert Ket and his brother William, with the rest of their chiefs, who were hanged upon hearing which the Yorkshire rebels dispersed, and so all was quiet again.

This rebellion being suppressed in the summer, the lords of the king's council, amongst whom was the earl of Warwick, began in the autumn to confer amongst themselves, as to the causes of that distressed and discontented state into which the nation was reduced.

The protector, upon this, sent secretary Petre to know the meaning of their meetings, whom they kept with them; and, on the eighth of October, 1549, they went into the city, where, having acquainted the mayor, aldermen, and common-council, that they had no other views than for the safety of the king's person, the redress of grievances, and the restoring the peace of the kingdom, the city thankfully concurred with them, upon which the protector, who had removed the king from Hampton-court to Windsor, admitted himself, and was sent prisoner to the Tower on the twenty-eighth of the same month.

The earl of Warwick was again made lord high-admiral, by the king's letters patents, with very extensive powers.

At

At this time, it is said, the papists had some hopes that he would favour their religion; but, whether as a politician he gave them any grounds for these hopes, whether they took them up without grounds, or whether, as others had done, he altered his system, when he came into power, certain it is, that he adhered steadily to the reformation, and, shortly after, procured the removal of some who differed in opinion from him, in that and many other respects.

If we consider the removal of the lord protector Somerset from the government, as it is stated by Stowe and other plain writers, it will appear, that the far greatest part of the king's council concurred in that measure, and offered very plausible reasons for their so doing.

Sir John Hayward is very clear, that the whole was a contrivance of the earl of Warwick's; that the rest were but his tools, and that the articles objected against the protector, were invented to make him odious.

It is very true, that when the council met to take this bold step of pulling down the king's uncle, it was at Ely-house, where the earl of Warwick then resided; yet it no where appears that he was at the head of this business, nor indeed could he be, when the lord-chancellor Rich, and the lord St. John, who was president of the council, were at all the consultations.

The articles against the protector are extant in our histories. There is nothing in them of black and heinous crimes, but of presumption, overbearing, and high indiscretion. Many of the facts in them were notoriously known, and the duke of Somerset confessed them in his submission.

When the lords went to the king to justify their complaints, the earl of Warwick went not with them,

them, which sir John Hayward says was a piece of craft. It might be so; and it might also be the effects of tenderness and modesty. He was appointed by the council one of the lords to attend upon the king's person, which was a great honour; but then he shared it with five others.

Sir John Hayward speaks much of his secret conferences with the earls of Arundel and Southampton; and affirms, that, not being able to work these great peers to serve his purposes, he got them both excluded from the council. Bishop Burnet is quite of another opinion: he suggests, that the papists were in hopes of making some very great advantage by this notable change in the government, because they were sure of the other two earls, and had a favourable opinion of Warwick. But it seems he was a very great politician: he saw that the king was a firm protestant, and perhaps he made it a rule with him to be of the religion of the crown; so that it is very likely his conferences with Arundel and Southampton might be upon this subject, Whether it was best to stop the reformation, of religion, or to promote it? And there is nothing more certain, than that in this they differed, that the two earls were for the old popish road, but the earl of Warwick was for marching in the king's high-way; and therefore it is no wonder that he procured their exclusion from councils, in which he was determined to lead, and knew very well they were not inclined to follow.

In all this he acted like a great statesman, though perhaps not upon virtuous or religious principles. Whatever censures he may deserve for this, must light upon him in common with many others; for few statesmen are very remarkable for a steady adherence to any thing but their own interest; and, if his happened at this time to concur with the true

true interest of his country, he was so much the less to blame:

He stood at this time so high in the king's favour, and had settled so firm a friendship with the rest of the lords of the council, that nothing was done but by his advice or consent; to which, therefore, we must attribute the release of the duke of Somerset out of the Tower, and restoring him to some share of power and favour at court.

The king was much pleased with this, and, being desirous that the friendship of these two great men should not be barely in appearance, a marriage was proposed between the eldest son of the earl of Warwick and the lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the duke of Somerset; which, at length, was brought to bear, and, on the third of June, 1550, was solemnized in the king's presence, who expressed great satisfaction thereat.

The king's favour to him still continued, or rather increased; so that, upon surrendering the office of lord high-chamberlain of England, which was bestowed upon the marquis of Northampton, the king was pleased to make him lord steward of his household, by letters patents, not only expressive of his majesty's affection and esteem, but containing also some other marks that deserve the reader's notice.

These letters patents bear date on the twentieth of February, 1550, in the fourth of Edward VI. wherein the king recites,

“ That, whereas Henry VIII. late king of
 “ England, granted to his most beloved cousin
 “ and counsellor, Charles, late duke of Suffolk,
 “ deceased, the office of lord steward of the
 “ household, by the name of great master of the
 “ household, or the great master of the king's
 “ household: and, whereas, by act of parliament,
 “ in

“ in May 22 Hen. VIII. it was enacted, That,
 “ during the time the late duke of Suffolk, and
 “ his successors in the said office, should enjoy the
 “ said post of lord-steward, they should be called
 “ lord-steward of the king's household, as by the
 “ said act appears.

“ That, attributing much to the loyalty, wis-
 “ dom, and virtue, of his beloved cousin and
 “ counsellor, John, earl of Warwick, &c. and
 “ having always experienced his constancy in the
 “ Christian religion, his valour in war, sedition,
 “ and riots; his friendly and faithful inclination
 “ towards him, and desiring his abode and resi-
 “ dence in his palace, and attendance on his royal
 “ person; by advice of his privy-council, he grants
 “ to the said earl of Warwick the office of lord, or
 “ great master of his household for life, with all fees,
 “ wages, &c. as the said duke of Suffolk, earl of
 “ Wiltshire, or any other steward of the king's
 “ household, held, or enjoyed. And commands,
 “ that the said earl of Warwick, have his letters
 “ patent, without fine or fee, great or small, to his
 “ use to be paid.”

At this time he was looked upon as so warm a
 protestant, that the most zealous divines had re-
 course to his favour and protection. Amongst the
 rest, Dr. Hooper, appointed about that time
 bishop of Gloucester, who scrupled much the
 wearing the episcopal habit, and for whom the
 earl, out of respect to the tenderness of his con-
 science, actually interposed; but afterwards, when
 the earl became better acquainted with the state of
 the question, and was made sensible of the conse-
 quences that might follow from indulging such a
 singularity in sentiments, he withdrew his protec-
 tion, and Dr. Hooper was forced to submit.

On

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On the other hand, though it is certain, that Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, wrote him a letter of compliment after the fall of the protector, yet he never shewed him any countenance, nor did he give the least opposition to his being deprived of the rich bishopric of Winchester, when he knew that archbishop Cranmer considered it as a thing necessary to the peace of the church.

The reader is left to judge from these facts, Whether he was a man wholly indifferent about religion, or a deep dissembler, willing to do any thing that might either gain or preserve power?

In the month of January, 1551, he was constituted earl-marshal of England; but, whereas a certain historian says, that he was joined in an embassy with William, marquis of Northampton, to the French king, about the same time, it is clearly a mistake; since it appears, from unexceptionable authority, that it was his son, the lord viscount L'Isle.

On the fifteenth of August, in the same year, sir Robert Dudley, one of the earl's younger sons, was sworn one of the six ordinary gentlemen of the chamber. A short time afterwards the earl of Warwick was made lord-warden of the northern marches; and, on the eleventh of October, in the same year, he was advanced to the dignity of duke of Northumberland; at the same time that the marquis of Dorset was created duke of Suffolk.

In a few days after these promotions, the conspiracy of the duke of Somerset, as it was called, broke out, being betrayed by sir Thomas Palmer. The duke, his duchess, and several other persons, were sent prisoner to the Tower; and the king, being really persuaded, that he had really formed a
design

design to murder the duke of Northumberland, resolved to leave him to the law.

Accordingly, on the first of December, he was brought to his trial in Westminster-hall, where the duke of Northumberland, which was very indecent, sat as one of his judges. He was acquitted of the treason, but found guilty of the felony, upon a statute made in the third year of that reign, received sentence of death, and, on the twenty-second of January following, was executed upon Tower-hill; which many considered as an effect of the potent duke of Northumberland's resentment.

This business of the duke of Somerset's death, is very warily related in our old chronicles, more especially those written nearest the time; yet in one of these we have the following account.

“ Sir Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, was again apprehended and cast into the tower of London, by means of sir John Dudley, lately made duke of Northumberland, at this time of great authority in the realm.

“ It was laid to the duke of Somerset's charge, that he purposed, and went about, the death of the duke of Northumberland, being one of the privy-council, and therefore, by statute, was guilty both of treason and felony. Of this he was after arraigned at Westminster, and, by his peers, acquitted of treason, but condemned of felony.

“ At this time, many of the people rejoiced, being persuaded, that the king's uncle should never be put to death for felony; and thereby thought he should have escaped: but he was had again to the Tower, and there kept, until he was brought out to his death.”

Sir

Sir John Hayward, according to his usual custom, charges it roundly upon the duke of Northumberland, as if he conspired against the duke of Somerset, and not that duke against him. He relates the matter thus:

“ The duke of Northumberland being now inferior unto none of the nobility in title of honour, and superior to all in authority and power, could not restrain his haughty hopes from aspiring to an absolute command. But, before he would directly level at his mark, the duke of Somerset was thought fit to be taken away; whose credit was so great with the common people, that, although it sufficed not to bear out any bad attempt of his own, yet was it of force, to cross the evil purposes of others.

“ And now, to begin the third act of this tragedy, speeches were cast, that he caused himself to be proclaimed king in divers countries; which, albeit they were known to be false, inso-much as the miller’s servant at Battle-bridge, in Southwark, lost both his ears upon the pillory for so reporting, yet, the very naming of him to be king, either as desired by himself, or by others esteemed worthy, brought with it a distasteful relish, apt to apprehend suspicion to be true. After this, he was charged to have persuaded divers of the nobility to chuse him protector at the next parliament.

“ The duke being questioned, neither held silence as he might, nor constantly denied it, but entangled himself in his doubtful tale. One Whaley, a busy-headed man, and desirous to be set on work, gave first light to this impeachment, but the earl of Rutland did stoutly avouch it. Herewith sir Thomas Palmer, a
“ man

" man neither loving the duke of Somerset nor be-
 " loved of him, was brought by the duke of North-
 " umberland to the king, being in his garden.
 " Here he declared, that, upon St. George's day
 " last, before the duke of Somerset, being upon
 " a journey towards the north, in case sir William
 " Herbert, master of the horse, had not assured
 " him, that he should receive no harm, would
 " have raised the people; and, that he had sent
 " the lord Grey before, to know, who would
 " be his friends: also, that the duke of North-
 " umberland, the marquis of Northampton, the
 " earl of Pembroke, and other lords, should be
 " invited to a banquet, and, if they came with a
 " bare company, to be set upon by the way; if
 " strongly, their heads should have been cut off
 " at the place of their feasting.

" He further declared, that sir Ralph Vane had
 " two thousand men in readiness; that sir Thomas
 " Arundel had assured the Tower; that Seymour
 " and Hammond would wait upon him, and that
 " all the house of the Gendarmerie should be slain.

" To this Mr. secretary Cecil added, that the
 " duke had sent for him, and said, that he
 " suspected some ill meaning against him: whereto
 " Mr. secretary answered, that, if he were not in
 " fault, he might trust to his innocency; if he
 " were, he had nothing to say, but to lament
 " him.

" The duke being advertised of these in-
 " formations against him, by some, who had
 " some regard to honesty, did forthwith, defy
 " the secretary by his letters. Then he sent for
 " sir Thomas Palmer, to understand what he
 " had reported of him, who denied all that he had
 " said; but by this hot and humourous striving, he
 " did but tie the knots more fast."

We have this account afterwards repeated, and a little diversified; in speaking of the duke's trial, sentence, and execution, Bishop Burnet speaks with much more tenderness of this unfortunate nobleman; and, though he bears pretty hard every where upon the duke of Northumberland, yet he does not venture to charge the duke with forging any of the circumstances of this conspiracy. To say the truth, the friends of Somerset, in the very same breath that they charge Northumberland with bringing him by art to the block, let fall things that seem to speak quite the contrary: for instance, a certain author delivers himself thus:

“ The duke of Somerset is trained by his enemies to such fears and jealousies, as transported him beyond his own good nature, to an attempt one morning upon the earl of Warwick, now duke of Northumberland, a-bed; where being received with much kindness, his heart relented, and he came off re infecta. At his coming out, one of his company asked him, if he had done the deed? He answered, No. Then, said he, you are yourself undone. And, indeed, it so fell out; for, when all other accusations failed, this only stuck by him, and could not be denied; and so he was found guilty by a statute of his own procurement: viz. That, if any should attempt to kill a privy-counsellor, altho' the fact were not done, yet it should be felony, and to be punished with death.”

This fact of Somerset's going with an intention to murder Northumberland in his chamber, is related more at large by a foreign author of the highest credit, who is known to have had his materials from the most knowing persons in this kingdom, who, perhaps, might be more free in their communications, than they would have been in penning

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penning a history, for which they must have been accountable themselves, if it had been published. The reader will be probably pleased to see what he says.

“ Northumberland having drawn the chief power into his own hands, he had nothing else to do but to remove Somerset himself out of the way ; towards whom he shewed such a contempt, as drove the other upon the thoughts of killing Dudley, for the vindication of his own authority. Somerset therefore went to his house, under pretence of a visit, covered with a coat of mail under his cloaths, and carrying with him a party of men whom he left in the next chamber ; but, when he was introduced in the civilest manner to Dudley, who was naked, and lying upon his bed, the good natured man repenting, he would not execute his design, and departed without striking a stroke.”

It is the observation of the very learned and judicious Mr. Camden, “ That the duke of Somerset lost his life for a very small crime, and that upon a nice point, subtilty devised and managed by his enemies.” Now, if Dr. Fuller may be admitted to explain this short text, he will bring it home to the noble person whose history we are writing. Speaking of Somerset’s accusation, he says,

“ Here I must set John Dudley, earl of Warwick, as a transcendent, in a form by himself, being a competent lawyer, son to a judge, known soldier, and able statesman, and acting against the protector in all these his capacities. Indeed, he was the very soul of the accusation, being all in all, and all in every part thereof.”

It may be presumed, that the king was as well informed in these points, as any writer whatever ; and it appears, as well from his journal, which he

kept very exactly and very secretly, as from a private letter of his to Mr. Barnaby Fitzpatrick, that he did not judge his uncle altogether so innocent, or, that he was convicted without evidence. But, after all that can be said, the resentment of the duke of Northumberland, was certainly seen in his execution, if not in his condemnation; since the king might have been easily prevailed on to spare his uncle, if he had been applied to; or, rather, must have been drawn with difficulty to consent to the death of him he had so long considered as a parent.

Here then lay the cruelty of Northumberland, which was generally remembered when his fall came, and loudly charged upon him by the people; and yet it may be urged, if not in justification, at least yet in excuse, that he was not bound to regard his own life less than Somerset did his, who, for his security, procured that act of parliament on which he died: nor could it be well expected, that he should have more pity or commiseration for his rival in those unhappy circumstances, than Somerset, when protector, had for his own brother.

About this time, or rather a little before, he was elected chancellor of Cambridge, in the room of that unfortunate peer of whom we have been speaking; but, at that time, he became high-steward, which Dr. Heylen assures us he was; and that these two offices have never been in one person before or since, is very uncertain.

This great politician had now raised himself as high as it was possible, in point of dignity and of power. The ascendancy he had gained over the young king was so great, that he directed him entirely at his pleasure; and he had, with such dexterity, wrought most of the great nobility into his interests, and had so humbled and depressed all who

shewed

shewed any dislike to him, that he seemed to have all things to hope, and little to fear. We ought, therefore, to attribute to this situation, and that vain pride which naturally triumphs in the breasts of ambitious men, his mean and barbarous usage of the head of his family, and his near relation, John, baron of Dudley, whose estate being entangled by usurers, he, by purchasing assignments of mortgages, drew by degrees intirely into his own hands, so as at last to compass what he for many years desired, the possession of the ancient castle of Dudley; which he not only thoroughly repaired, but added also a most noble structure, worthy of his wealth and greatness, which was called the new building, adorning all parts of the castle, with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's side, he was descended, that, in succeeding times, it might not be taken for an acquisition, but the patrimony of his family.

This was certainly going far enough, or rather much too far; yet he ventured still farther, and, having despoiled his poor coulin of his castle and estates, thrust the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongst his other baronies, leaving his unhappy kinsman a new and strange title in their stead; for living, as well as he could, amongst the great families in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, who pitied his misfortunes, he went there currently by the name of lord Quondam, till, by a sudden revolution, he became master of Dudley castle again, and his son obtained, out of the forfeiture of this potent duke, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title.

But to return to our history: Many writers there are who insinuate, that, from the time the duke of Northumberland and his family came to

have the person of the king, as well as the direction of their government, in their hands, the health of that young prince began to decline; but these, perhaps, are no other than calumnies; since the decay of the king's health may, with great probability, be attributed to his having the measles and small-pox in a short time, one after the other, which could not but harass extremely a constitution naturally tender; and these were diseases which artifice or intrigue could never procure, though they might have afforded a better colour to bad designs, if such had been really entertained, than a lingering consumption which followed them. It does not indeed appear, that the duke of Northumberland had any cause to suspect the loss of his power while that king lived, nor did he seem to fear it; but, when he discerned his majesty's health to decline apace, it was very natural for him to consider how he might render himself and his family safe.

This appears plainly, from the hurry with which the marriage was concluded between the lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter to the duke of Suffolk, and his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, which was celebrated in the month of May, 1553, that is, not above two months before the king died. We may, however, suppose that he had, for some time, been contriving in his mind that plan for the disposal of the kingdom, which he carried afterwards into execution.

We are told by sir John Hayward, that after the creation of the marquis of Dorset, and the earl of Warwick, dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, and other promotions and alterations made at court, there followed somewhat of still greater consequence, which he introduces thus: "And, which was the accomplishment of mischief, sir
" Robert

" Robert Dudley, one of the duke of Northum-
 " berland's sons, a true heir, both of his hate
 " against persons of the nobility; and of his cunning
 " to dissemble the same; was sworn one of
 " the six ordinary gentlemen. He was after-
 " wards, for lust and cruelty, a monster of the
 " court, as apt to hate, so a most sure executioner
 " of his hate; yet, rather by practice, than open
 " dealing, as wanting rather courage than wit.
 " After his entertainment into a place of so near
 " service, the king enjoyed his health not long."

After laying this foundation, he takes it for granted, in several passages in the subsequent part of his work, that the king was poisoned by the procurement of the duke of Northumberland; yet the Rev. Mr. Strype censures him for writing so positively without authorities, and not without reason. His very introduction is ill grounded; for, as the king tells us himself, sir Robert Dudley was sworn one of his gentlemen in ordinary, August 15th, 1551, and the promotions of which, sir John Hayward makes this a consequence, were in the October following; it was in the month of April, 1552, that the king had the measles and the small-pox, and his health did not begin to decline till some time afterwards; so that there is great impropriety in saying, that after his coming into a place so near him, the king enjoyed his health not long.

All the rest of our historians speak very doubtfully of the king's death, chiefly from a great indiscretion, which was putting him into the hands of a woman, after the physicians began to doubt whether he could be saved by their skill; from which time it is certain, that he did grow worse, and so the physicians were called in again; yet there are many who will hardly take this for a

testimony of his being poisoned, though sir John Hayward says, "she was a school-mistress well instructed for the purpose," but will rather conceive, that the duke of Northumberland consented to this, in hopes of saving the king's life; which, if he was a sound politician, he must have considered, as of greater consequence to him, than to any other man in the kingdom. But, be this as it will, there is no sort of proof, that the duke took such early care as he might have done for his family, if he had any foresight of the king's death; but his doing things as he did, in a hurry, seems to shew quite the contrary; and, indeed, there is a letter of his to sir William Cecil, which looks as if he had deceived himself much in this particular, and entertained hopes of the king's recovery, after they were lost by others. Yet it cannot be conceived, that, while the whole nation was alarmed by the king's sickness, the duke should be wholly unconcerned as to the event, which is the reason of its being said above, that he might have digested in his mind that scheme of the succession, some time before he mentioned it to the king; and, that looking upon it as a dangerous undertaking, and his last shift, he delayed it till the necessity became pressing.

In the parliament held a little before the king's death, the duke of Northumberland procured a considerable supply to be granted, and, in the preamble of that act, a direct censure of the duke of Somerset's administration; and, having wisely answered his purposes by this single measure, dissolved that parliament immediately.

He then applied himself to the king, and shewed him the necessity of setting her aside, from the danger the protestant religion would be in, if the lady Mary should succeed him; in which, from the piety of that young prince, he met with no
great

JOHN

great difficulty. Bishop Burnet says, he did not well understand how the king was prevailed upon to pass by his sister Elizabeth, who had been always much in his favour; perhaps he might be told, that it was impossible to assign any reasons for disinheriting one sister; that might not also be applied for the other; so that there was a necessity of depriving both, or neither. Yet, when this was done, there was another difficulty in the way.

The duchess of Suffolk was the next heir, and she might have sons, and, therefore, to bar these in favour of lady Jane Dudley seemed to be unnatural, as well as illegal; the duchess herself contributed, as far as in her lay, to remove this obstacle, by devolving her right upon her daughter, even if she had male issue; which satisfied the king, who was but in the sixteenth year of his age, and might not therefore perceive the fallacy of resigning not only her own claim, but that of those who might descend from her, which she could not possibly have power to do.

The king's consent being obtained, the next point was to procure a proper instrument to be drawn by the judges; in doing which the duke of Northumberland made use of threats as well as promises, and when done at last, it was in such a manner, as plainly shewed it to be illegal in their own opinions.

The full narrative of this whole important transaction, and of the duke of Northumberland's behaviour therein, is thus briefly and clearly delivered by bishop Burnet. "On the eleventh of June, says he, Montague, that was chief justice of the Common-Pleas, and Baker and Bromley, two judges, with the king's attorney and solicitor, were commanded to come to council. There they found the king with some
" privy-

“ privy-counsellors about him. The king told
 “ them, he did now apprehend the danger the
 “ kingdom might be in, if, upon his death, his
 “ sister Mary should succeed, who might marry a
 “ stranger, and so change the laws and the reli-
 “ gion of the realm ; so he ordered some articles
 “ to be read to them, of the way in which he
 “ would have the crown to descend. They ob-
 “ jected, that the act of succession, being an act
 “ of parliament, could not be taken away by
 “ any such device : yet the king required them to
 “ to take the articles, and draw a book according
 “ to them : they asked a little time to consider of
 “ it. So having examined the statute of the first
 “ year of this reign, concerning treasons, they
 “ found that it was treason, not only after the
 “ king’s death, but even in his life, to change
 “ the succession.

“ Secretary Petre, in the mean while pressed
 “ them to make haste : when they came again to
 “ the council, they declared they could not do
 “ any thing, for it was treason, and all the lords
 “ should be guilty of treason, if they went on in it.
 “ Upon which, the duke of Northumberland,
 “ who was not then in the council-chamber, being
 “ advertised of this, came in great fury, calling
 “ Montague a traitor, and threatened all the
 “ judges, so that they thought he would have
 “ beaten them. But the judges stood to their
 “ opinion.

“ They were again sent for, and came with
 “ Gosnald added to them, on the 15th of June:
 The king was present, and he somewhat sharply
 “ asked them, why they had not prepared the
 “ book as he had ordered them ? they answered,
 “ That whatever they did, would be of no force
 “ without a parliament. The king said, he in-
 “ tended

“ tended to have one shortly. Then Montague
“ proposed that it might be delayed till the par-
“ liament met. But the king said, he would have
“ it first done, and then ratified in parliament,
“ and, therefore, he required them, on their alle-
“ giance, to go about it; and some counsellors
“ told them, that if they refused to obey, that
“ they were traitors. This put them in a great
“ consternation; and old Montague thinking it
“ could not be treason whatever they did in this
“ matter while the king lived, and, at worst, that
“ a pardon under the great seal would secure him,
“ consented to set about it, if he might have a
“ commission, requiring him to do it, and a par-
“ don under the great seal, when it was done.
“ Both these being granted him, he was satisfied,
“ The other judges, being asked, if they would
“ concur, did all agree, being overcome with fear,
“ except Gosnald, who still refused to do it. But
“ he also being sorely threatened, both by the duke
“ of Northumberland and the earl of Shrews-
“ bury, consented to it the next day. So they
“ put the intail of the crown in form of law, and
“ brought it to the lord-chancellor to put the
“ seal to it. They were all required to set their
“ hands to it; but both Gosnald and Hales re-
“ fused; yet the former was wrought on to do it,
“ but the latter, though a most steady and zealous
“ man for the reformation, would upon no confi-
“ deration yield to it: after that, the lord-chan-
“ cellor, for his security, desired that all the
“ counsellors might set their hands to it, which
“ was done on the twenty-first of June, by thirty-
“ three of them, it is like, including the judges
“ in the number.

“ But Cranmer, as he came seldom to council
“ after the duke of Somerset's fall, so he was that
“ day absent on design.

“ Cecil

“ Cecil, in a relation which he made one write
“ of this transaction for clearing himself after-
“ wards, says, that when he had heard Gosnald
“ and Hales declare how much it was against
“ law, he refused to set his hand to it as a coun-
“ sellor, and only signed it as a witness to the
“ king’s subscription. But Cranmer still refused
“ to do it, after they had all signed it, and said,
“ he would never consent to the disinheriting of
“ the daughters of his late master. Many con-
“ sultations were had to persuade him to it; but
“ he could not be prevailed on till the king him-
“ self set on him, who used many arguments from
“ the danger religion would otherwise be in, to-
“ gether with other persuasions; so that, by his
“ reasons, or rather importunities, at last he
“ brought him to it.”

At this time indeed the duke, either from the hurry of his passions, the fear he had of what might happen from delays, or the haughtiness arising from a series of good fortune, which had so long continued, began to lose much of his former gentleness and affability, as he shewed himself amazingly rapacious in the grants which he obtained from a king, whose age, exclusive of his sickness, made it indecent at least, if not illegal, to accept such mighty bounties, the worth of which he could never be presumed to know, from his giving them thus lavishly away.

The duke was no less careful in drawing to himself as much power, and diffusing his interest as wide as possible; so that whatever happened, he might not want a retreat, or find his schemes in danger of being broken, through an opposition by the discontented nobility; in which schemes, notwithstanding their difficulty, he succeeded to his
his

JOHN DUDLEY

his wish, his estate being enlarged; and his offices multiplied, beyond any thing that had, in former times, been bestowed upon any subject.

If all the instances, that might be alledged of this, were carefully collected, they would swell this observation very far beyond its proper bounds; and therefore it shall suffice to alledge here, the testimony of the industrious Strype, who, though in other places he has distinctly considered them, thus sums up the matter at once, speaking of the duke's state and condition in the year 1553:

“ Dudley, the great duke of Northumberland,
“ now bore all the sway at court, and, in effect,
“ did what he listed. This year, besides the county
“ palatine of Durham, the honour and power of
“ which was like to fall to him, the king gave
“ him Bernard's castle there, with very great ad-
“ ditions of lands and lordships in that county,
“ and in Northumberland, Westmoreland, and
“ York, or any otherwhere in the bishoprick of
“ Durham for life. He had also granted to him,
“ the manors of Feckenham, Bromesgrove, King's
“ Norton in Worcestershire, with many other
“ lands.

“ The year before, he was made chief steward
“ of the east riding of York, and of all the king's
“ lordship in Holderness and Cottingham in the
“ said county. The year before that, he was con-
“ stituted general warden, or keeper of the marches
“ of England towards Scotland; namely, of the
“ east, west, and middle marches: which were
“ scarcely before put into one man's hand (except
“ the marquis of Dorset immediately before him)
“ and he to appoint his deputy-wardens. And his
“ patent was ordered to be drawn up in the most
“ large and comprehensive manner, endowing him
“ with as much authority, power, pre-eminence,
“ commodity,

“ commodity, and liberty, as any before him had
 “ enjoyed from Richard the second's time to Henry
 “ the eighth, as the warrant ran.

“ Besides these things in the north, he obtained
 “ of the king great and spreading demesns in So-
 “ merfetshire, Warwick, and Worcestershire, and
 “ many other counties. So that, by this time,
 “ the duke had prodigiously enriched himself, and
 “ made himself formidably great, by lands and
 “ lordships, honours and offices, castles and places
 “ of trust heaped upon him by the king, by whom
 “ it was not safe to deny him any thing he asked.

“ He had strengthened his interest also by rais-
 “ ing himself friends upon the king's cost, as more
 “ especially the lord Clinton, and sir John Gates,
 “ and his brother sir Andrew Dudley, master of
 “ the wardrobe, and taken into the order of the
 “ garter; and his own sons, John, raised to the
 “ degree of earl of Warwick, and master of the
 “ king's horse; sir Robert Dudley, made a lord,
 “ and the king's carver; and Guilford Dudley,
 “ whom the duke was now marrying to one of the
 “ royal blood! viz. the lady Jane, eldest daughter
 “ of the duke of Suffolk.”

The letters patents for disposing of the crown were signed by king Edward on the twenty-first of June, and on the sixth of July that monarch expired, expressing, to the last, great satisfaction in the provision he had made for the security of the protestant religion, and the happiness of his people.

It is said, the duke of Northumberland was very desirous of concealing the king's death for some time, but this being found impossible, he carried his daughter-in-law, the lady Jane, from Durham-house to the Tower for the greater security, and on the tenth of July proclaimed her
 queen.

queen. The council also wrote to lady [redacted], requiring her submission, but they were very so informed that she was retired into Norfolk, where many of the nobility, and multitudes of [redacted] resorted to her. It was then resolved to send forces against her under the command of the duke of Suffolk; but queen Jane, as she was then stiled, would by no means part with her father; and the council earnestly pressed the duke of Northumberland to go in person; to which he was little inclined, as doubting their fidelity. He signified as much in the speech he made at taking his leave, and was answered with the strongest assurances that men could give. The earl of Arundel particularly told him, he was sorry it was not his chance to go with him, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood even at his feet.

On the fourteenth of July, the duke, accompanied by the marquis of Northampton, the lord Grey, and others, marched through Bishopsgate with two thousand horse, and six thousand foot; but, as they rode through Shoreditch, he could not forbear saying to the lord Grey, "The people press to see us, but none say, God speed us."

His activity and courage, for which he had been so famous, seemed, from this time, to have deserted him; for, though he advanced to St. Edmund's-bury, in Suffolk, yet, finding his troops diminish, the people little affected to him, and no supplies coming from London, though he had wrote to the lords in the most pressing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge.

In the mean time, the council thought of nothing but how to get out of the Tower, and at last effected it, under pretence of going to the earl of Pembroke's house at Baynard's castle, to give

give audience to the foreign ambassadors. This was on the nineteenth of the same month: and the first thing they did when they came there, was to send for the lord-mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, whom they accompanied to Cheapside, and there garter king at arms proclaimed queen Mary. The earl of Arundel, and lord Paget, went the same night post to pay their duty to her.

The duke of Northumberland had advice of this on the twentieth, and, about five in the afternoon, the same day, caused her to be proclaimed at Cambridge, throwing up his cap, and crying, "God save queen Mary!" with how much joy and sincerity may be easily imagined. About an hour afterwards came letters from the council to the duke of Northumberland, by one of the heralds, requiring him to disband his forces: upon receiving which, the duke gave leave to every man to depart, and soon after he was arrested in King's-college by Slegge, serjeant at arms: but other letters coming from the council, that all men should go each his way, the duke said to those that kept him, "Ye do me wrong to withhold my liberty, see you not the council's letters, without exception, that all men should go whither they would." Whereupon they who guarded him, and the other noblemen, set them at liberty, and so they continued for that night, and the earl of Warwick, the duke of Northumberland's son, was ready in the morning to have rode away; at which time the earl of Arundel came from the queen unto the duke into his chamber; who, when he saw him, said, "For the love of God, consider I have done nothing but by the consent of you, and all the whole council." "My lord," replied the earl of Arundel,

*Pass forward
eight Leaves.*

Arundel, "I am sent hither by the queen's majesty; and, in her name, I arrest you." "I obey it," said the duke, "I beseech you, my lord of Arundel, use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is." "My lord," answered the earl, "you should have sought for mercy sooner: I must do according to my commandment:" and thereupon committed the charge of him, and of others, to the guard and gentlemen that stood by.

The twenty-fifth of July, the duke, with the rest, were brought to the Tower of London, under the conduct of Henry, earl of Arundel, with a body of light-horsemen. On Friday, the eighteenth of August, he was arraigned, a great scaffold being set up in Westminster-hall, with John, earl of Warwick, his son and heir, and William Parr, marquis of Northampton, before Thomas, duke of Norfolk, high-steward of England on that occasion.

The indictment having been read, containing a charge against him of high-treason, the duke of Northumberland, with great reverence towards the judges, protested his faith and allegiance to the queen, whom he confessed grievously to have offended, and said he meant not to speak any thing in defence of his acts, but requested to understand the opinion of the court in two points:

First, Whether a man, doing any thing by the authority of the prince's council, and by warrant of the great-seal of England, and doing nothing without the same, might be charged with treason for any thing he might do by warrant thereof?

Secondly, Whether any such persons as were equally culpable in that crime, and those by whose letters and commandments he was directed in all

his doings, might be his judges, or pass upon his trial as his peers ?

To which it was answered, “ That the great-seal which he had for his warrant, was not the seal of the lawful queen of the realm, nor passed by authority; but the seal of an usurper, and therefore could be no warrant to him: and, that if any were as deeply to be touched in the case as himself, yet, so long as no attainder was of record against them, they were persons able in law to pass on any trial, and not to be challenged but at the prince’s pleasure.” After which answer, the duke used few words, but confessed the indictment; by whose example the other prisoners arraigned with him did the like, and thereupon had judgment.

The duke, on receiving his sentence, said, “ I beseech you, my lords, all to be humble suitors to the queen’s majesty, and to grant me four requests: First, That I may have that death which noblemen have had in times past, and not the other. Secondly, That her majesty will be gracious to my children, which may hereafter do good service, considering that they went by my commandment, who am their father, and not of their own free wills. Thirdly, That I may have appointed to me some learned men for the instruction and quiet of my conscience: and, Fourthly, That she will send two of the council to commune with me, to whom I will declare such matters as shall be expedient for her and the commonwealth. And thus I beseech you all to pray for me.”

After his condemnation, he was carried back to the Tower, where he remained a close prisoner. Monday, the twenty-first of August, was the day fixed for his execution, when a vast concourse of
people

people assembled upon Tower hill, all the usual preparations being made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting some hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open shew of the change of his religion, since that very day, in the presence of the mayor and aldermen, as well as some of the privy-council, he heard mass in the Tower. The next day he was actually brought out to suffer death, on the same scaffold on Tower-hill, where he made a very long speech to the people; of which there remains nothing but what relates to his religion, which he not only professed to be then that of the church of Rome, but that it had been always so; taking upon himself the odious character of a hypocrite in the sight of God, as well as a dissembler with men.

John Fox affirms, that he had a promise of pardon, even if his head was upon the block, if he would recant and hear mass; and some have believed that he entertained such a hope to the last, from a passage in his speech.

Several authors agree in affirming that he made a long speech at the time of his death; and we have reason to regret that only a part of it is preserved, which is as follows:

“ Good people, all you that be here present to
 “ see me die, though my death be odious and hor-
 “ rible to the flesh, yet I pray you judge the best
 “ in God’s works, for he doth all for the best:
 “ and as for me, I am a wretched sinner, and
 “ have deserved to die, and most justly am con-
 “ demned to die by law: and yet this act whereof
 “ I die was not altogether of me, but I was pro-
 “ cured and induced thereunto by others; howbeit
 “ God forbid that I should name any man unto you,

“ and therefore I beseech you look not for it. I,
 “ for my part, forgive all men, and pray God also
 “ to forgive them ; and, if I have offended any of
 “ you here, I pray you and all the world to for-
 “ give me ; and most chiefly I desire forgiveness
 “ of the queen’s highness, whom I have most
 “ grievously offended : and I pray you all to wit-
 “ nesses for me, that I depart in perfect love and
 “ charity with all the world, and that you will assist
 “ me with your prayers at the hour of death.
 “ And here I do protest unto you, good people,
 “ most earnestly, even from the bottom of my
 “ heart, that this which I have spoken is of my-
 “ self, not being required nor moved thereunto
 “ by any man, nor by any flattery, or hope of
 “ life ; and I take witnesses of my lord of Worcester
 “ here, mine old friend and ghostly father, that
 “ he found me in this mind and opinion when he
 “ came to me ; but I have declared this only upon
 “ mine own mind and affection, and for the zeal
 “ and love that I bear to my natural country. I
 “ could, good people, rehearse much more, even
 “ by experience, that I have of this evil that
 “ hath happened to this realm, by these occasions,
 “ but you know I have another thing to do, where-
 “ unto I must prepare me, for the time draweth
 “ away. And now I beseech the queen’s highness
 “ to forgive me mine offences against her majesty,
 “ whereof I have a singular hope, forasmuch as she
 “ has already extended her goodness and clemency
 “ so far upon me, that whereas she might forth-
 “ with, without judgment, or any farther trial,
 “ have put me to a most vile and cruel death, by
 “ hanging, drawing, and quartering, forasmuch
 “ as I was in the field in arms against her majesty.
 “ Her highness, nevertheless, of her most merci-
 “ ful

“ful goodness, suffered me to be brought to my
 “judgment, and to have my trial by law, where
 “I was most justly condemned. And her highness
 “hath now also extended her mercy and clemency
 “upon me, for the manner and kind of my death:
 “and therefore my hope is, that her grace, of her
 “goodness, will remit all the rest of her indigna-
 “tion and displeasure towards me, which I beseech
 “you all most heartily to pray for, and that it may
 “please God long to preserve her majesty, to reign
 “over you in much honour and felicity.”

I must confess it does not appear to me, that this speech of the duke's implies any persuasion of pardon, but quite the contrary. He recapitulates those instances of justice and kindness, which he would have the people believe, he, in his own opinion, had received from the queen; and from thence infers, that her majesty would retain no resentment against him after he was dead; and consequently would not proceed against his family, of which many were obnoxious to her justice, and all of them to her suspicions. If, therefore, any promises were made to him, it is more likely that they should relate to his children, and his brother, in favour of whom he might possibly resolve to die, as he had lived like a courtier, as he evidently did.

However that may be, it is allowed that he behaved with becoming courage and composure, putting off his damask gown when he had done speaking, and then kneeled down, saying, to them that were about him, “I beseech you all to bear
 “me witness, that I die in the true catholic faith;” and then said the psalms of Miserere and De Profundis, his Pater Noster, and six of the first verses of the psalm In te Domine speravi, ending with this verse, “Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend

“ my spirit.” And, when he had thus ended his prayers, the executioner asked him forgiveness, to whom he said, “ I forgive thee with all my heart, do thy part without fear.” And bowing towards the block, he said, “ I have deserved a thousand deaths ;” then laid his head on the block, and was beheaded ; whose body with the head, was buried in the Tower by the body of Edward duke of Somerset, so that there lie between the high altar in St. Peter’s church, two dukes between two queens, viz. queen Anne and queen Catharine ; all four beheaded.

Such was the end of this potent nobleman, who, with the title of a duke, exercised, for some time, a power little inferior to that of a king, in the fifty-first, or at most, in the fifty-second year of his age ; one differently represented by our historians, but of whom it may be truly said, that, though even his enemies could not deny he had many great, and some good, qualities, yet the best friends to his memory must confess, they were much overbalanced by his vices.

We have the following character of this great man, drawn by the hand of a famous ecclesiastical historian. “ Such was the end of this great person, the first earl of Warwick, and the last duke of Northumberland of this name and family. By birth he was the eldest son of sir Edmund Sutton, alias Dudley, who, together with sir Richard Empson, were the chief instruments and promoters under Henry VII. for putting the penal laws in execution, to the great grievance and oppression of all sorts of subjects. For which, and other offences of a higher nature, they were both sacrificed to the fury of the common people, by king Henry VIII, which possibly might make him carry a
“ vindic-

“ vindictive mind towards that king’s children,
 “ and prompt him to the disinheriting of all his
 “ progeny.

“ First trained up, (as his father had also been
 “ before him) in the study of the common laws,
 “ which made him cunning enough to pick holes
 “ in any man’s estate, to find ways to bring their
 “ lives in danger. But finding that the long sword
 “ was of more estimation than the long robe in
 “ the time of that king, he put himself forward
 “ on all actions wherein honour was to be ac-
 “ quired, in which he gave such testimony of his
 “ judgment and valour, that he gained much on
 “ the affections of his prince, by whom he was
 “ created viscount L’Isle, on the fifteenth of
 “ March, anno 1541, installed knight of the gar-
 “ ter in 1543, and made lord-admiral of England.

“ Employed in many actions against the Scots,
 “ he came off always with success and victory;
 “ and, having said this, we have said all that was
 “ accounted either good or commendable in the
 “ whole course of his life.

“ Being advanced unto the title of earl of War-
 “ wick by king Edward VI, he thought himself
 “ in a capacity of making queens, as well as Ri-
 “ chard Nevil (one of his predecessors in that title)
 “ had been for setting up and deposing kings;
 “ and they both perished under the ambition of
 “ those proud attempts. Punished as Nevil also
 “ was, in having no issue male remaining to
 “ preserve his name. For though he had six
 “ sons, all of them living to be men, and all of
 “ them to be married men, yet they went all
 “ childless to the grave, I mean, as to the having
 “ of lawful issue, as if the curse of Jeconiah had
 “ been laid upon them. With him died also the
 “ proud title of duke of Northumberland,

“ never aspired to by the Piercies, though men of
 “ eminent nobility.”

The reader may compare this with the following sketch of his character by Bishop Burnet, than whom no man could be better acquainted with the history of those times.

“ Thus died the ambitious duke of Northum-
 “ berland. He had been, in the former part of
 “ his life, a great captain, and had the reputation
 “ of a very wise man: he was generally succes-
 “ ful, and they that are so, are always esteemed
 “ wise. He was an extraordinary man in a lower
 “ size, but had forgot himself much when he was
 “ raised higher, in which his mind seemed more
 “ exalted than his fortunes. But, as he was
 “ transported by his rage and revenge out of mea-
 “ sure, so he was as servile and mean in his sub-
 “ missions.

“ Fox, it seems, was informed, that he had
 “ hopes given him of his life, if he should declare
 “ himself of the popish religion, even though his
 “ head were laid on the block; but which way so-
 “ ever he made that declaration, either to get
 “ his life by it, or that he had really been always
 “ what he now professed, it argues that he regard-
 “ ed religion very little, either in his life or at his
 “ death. But, whether he did any thing to hasten
 “ the king’s death, I do not find it was at all en-
 “ quired after. Only those who consider how much
 “ guilt disorders all people, and that they have
 “ a black cloud over their minds, which appears
 “ either in the violence of rage, or the abjectness
 “ of fear, did find so great a change in his de-
 “ portment in these last passages of his life, from
 “ what was in the former parts of it, that they
 “ could not but think there was some extra-
 “ ordinary

“ ordinary thing within him, from whence it
“ flowed.”

We may well suppose, that some shining qualities were very conspicuous in this unfortunate duke, since the greatest enemy his family ever had, at the close of his most virulent invective against his son, the earl of Leicester, has these words, which falling from him, are very remarkable. “ In his
“ father, no doubt, there were to be seen many
“ excellent good parts, if they had been joined
“ with faith, honesty, moderation, and loyalty.
“ For all the world knows, that he was very wise,
“ valiant, magnanimous, liberal, and assured
“ friendly where he once promised; of all which
“ virtues, my lord his son hath neither shew nor
“ shadow.”

That he was a good master; and that he had a servant in whom the memory of past favours outlived the duke, as well as his fortunes, will appear from the following passage, recorded in an old history of our peerage, and except the last sentence transcribed by sir William Dugdale. “ John
“ Cock, Lancaster herald, some time servant to
“ this duke, begged of Queen Mary to bury
“ the head of his old master in the Tower of
“ London; which was granted him, with the
“ whole body, and performed accordingly. In re-
“ membrance whereof, the said Lancaster did
“ ever after bear for his crest, a bear’s head, silver;
“ crowned, gold.”

It may not be amiss to add here, that it was also for this good office he was made Lancaster herald in 1585, when Robert, earl of Leicester, son to this duke, went governor of the Low-Countries, whom he attended.

His relict, Jane, duchess of Northumberland, was a lady of great piety and virtue, of whom therefore we shall give a short account.

The

442 The LIFE and DEATH of

The name of this lady was Jane Guildford, daughter and heir of sir Edward Guildford, marshal of Calais, lord-warden of the Cinque Ports, and master of the ordnance under king Henry VIII, by Eleanor, sister and heiress of Thomas West, lord la Warre.

It seems this was a marriage of affection, their fathers having been intimate friends, and themselves brought up together while children. The duke married her when he was scarce of age, so that they had lived together thirty years at the time he lost his life, when her estate was truly deplorable, being, in the strict sense of the words, turned out of doors, all her furniture seized, left without fortune, without friends, and without necessaries, her husband and her son executed, her other sons living, but by permission; so that considering her age, her quality, and the manner in which she had spent her days, the duke being as absolute in his own house, by affection, as in the state by power, she could not but be very miserable.

By degrees, however, things grew better, more especially after the marriage of queen Mary to king Philip, the Spanish lords and ladies of his court, employing all their interest in her favour, as appears from her will, written with her own hand, in which she expresses a very grateful sense of their kindnesses. But no reason has been assigned hitherto for their behaviour towards her, though there was a very good one; for her uncle Henry Guildford had served long in Spain, was knighted by king Ferdinand, and, for his gallant behaviour in war, had the arms of the kingdom of Granada granted him, as an augmentation of his paternal coat; she deceased at her house at Chelsea,

Chelsea, in the forty-sixth of
twenty-second of January, 1554, and is buried
with great funeral solemnity in the church there,
on the first of February following, and had a
noble monument erected there, with a suitable
inscription to perpetuate her memory.

His brother, sir Andrews Dudley, knight of the
most noble order of the garter, fell under the same
condemnation with himself; but, through the
clemency of queen Mary, his life was spared;
some particulars of which are here inserted.

It does not appear at what time this gentleman
received the honour of knighthood; but we find,
that, by the title of sir Andrews Dudley, knight,
he had the manor of Whitney granted him by
king Edward VI, in the year 1551. A like
grant of the manor of Minster-Lovel, and the hun-
dred of Chadlington, passed in the month of Fe-
bruary, 1552. In the month of October, the
same year, upon his being recalled from the castle
of Guisnes, of which he was captain, he was ap-
pointed one of the four gentlemen in ordinary of
his majesty's privy-chamber: he was also keeper
of the palace of Westminster, and, as the warrants
to him plainly shew, master of the wardrobe.
But the last and greatest favour he received in
that reign, was his being elected, April the twen-
ty-third, in the sixth year of Edward VI, one of the
knights-companions of the most noble order of
the garter.

He joined, as it was natural for him to do,
with the duke his brother, and, for that offence,
on the nineteenth of August, 1553, received
judgment to die as a traitor, notwithstanding
which, he was reprieved, and afterwards pardon-
ed, and discharged out of the Tower, October
the eighteenth, 1554, living the remainder of his
life

life privately, at his house in Tothill-street, where he deceased in 1559; but, it does not appear that any notice was taken of him by queen Elizabeth, so that at the time of his demise, his fortune was but small.

This great duke had also a numerous issue, viz. eight sons and five daughters, of whom; some went before him to the grave, others survived, and lived to see a great change in their fortunes; we shall likewise give a succinct account of them for the reader's satisfaction.

I. Henry, who was killed at the siege of Bologne, at the age of nineteen, married to Wynefred, daughter to the lord Rich; upon whose death there is an elegy extant, by Leland.

II. Thomas, who died when he was two years old.

III. John, who had the title of earl of Warwick in his father's life-time: at the coronation of Edward VI. he was made one of the knights of the Bath: in the fifth year of that monarch's reign, he accompanied the marquis of Northampton, who carried the order of the garter to the French king. In the sixth of Edward VI. he was made master of the horse, with a fee of one hundred pounds; per annum. He had the wardship granted him, of sir Edward Seymour, knight, son to the protector. But, whereas it is said, by certain writers, that when his father caused the lord Paget to be deprived of the garter, it was to make room for his son the earl of Warwick, that is not likely to be true, because this young nobleman never had it at all; he was condemned with his father, but reprieved and released out of the Tower with his uncle, and going to his brother's house at Penhurst in Kent, died there in two days

days time; so that it is probable, he was dying when he was discharged. He was, as a certain writer informs us, a nobleman of great hope, and one of the mirrors of his age for religion, learning, and military affairs. He deceased, October the twenty-first, 1554, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, leaving no issue by his countess; the daughter of the duke of Somerset, who, after his death, married sir Edward Umpton, knight.

IV. and V. Ambrose and Robert.

VI. Guildford, who married Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, in the month of May, 1553, and on the twelfth of February following, lost his life, together with his unfortunate lady, upon the scaffold.

VII. Henry, who married Margaret, the sole daughter and heiress of Thomas, lord Audley, high chancellor of England, and was killed at the siege of St. Quintin's, in 1557. His widow married Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, and from her descended the Howards, earls of Suffolk.

VIII. Charles, who at his death, was but four years old.

The daughters were five, viz.

I. Mary, who married sir Henry Sydney, knight of the garter, lord deputy of Ireland, and lord president of Wales, from whom descended the earls of Leicester of that name.

II. Margaret, who died when she was ten years old.

3. Catherine, who became the wife of Henry Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, and lord-president of the North, by whom he had no issue; she survived him long, and deceasing in the month

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month of August, 1620, was interred by her mother in Chelsea church.

IV. Temperance, who died at a year old.

V. Another Catherine, who died at seven years of age.

It may not be amiss to remember here, that sir John Sutton, baron of Dudley, who was taken into the new queen's favour, though he did not live to enjoy it long, dying in less than a month after the great duke his cousin, and, by the queen's special command, was, on the twenty-first of September, 1553, buried with great pomp and ceremony at Westminster, the heralds attending at his funeral, when his stile and titles were publicly proclaimed.

His son Edward Sutton, lord Dudley, received still higher marks of her royal beneficence, since, by her letters-patents, she restored to him, and the heirs of his body, all the manors of Horburne and Smethwick, with the advowson of the church of Horburne in the county of Stafford, as also the whole priory of Dudley, and the tithes of Northfield and Sedgeley, with divers messuages and lands, parcel of the possessions belonging to the same priory, then in the possession of the crown by the attainder of John, duke of Northumberland.

This lord, taking to wife Catharine, the daughter of sir John Bridges, lord Chandos of Sudley, one of the ladies in ordinary attending on the queen, she granted to him, and to the heirs of their two bodies, the lordships of Sedgeley, Himley, and Swinford, with the parks of Etinshall, Sedgeley, and Himley; the hays, forests, and chaces of Ashwood and Chaspell, with all the land called Willingsworth, and divers other lands
and

and tenements in the county of Stafford: her majesty also granted him, though the date does not appear, the whole castle of Dudley, the park called the Conigree, the old park of Dudley, with divers other lands lying in Dudley, Rowley, and Sedgeley, in the county of Stafford; all which came to the crown by the forfeiture of the said John, duke of Northumberland. The queen also made this lord governor of the castle of ~~Hamp~~ ^{Ham} ~~pies~~ in Picardy, for the term of his natural life.

By his lady before mentioned, he had only one daughter, Anne, married to Thomas Wylmer, esq; counsellor at law. As to his other marriages and issue, the reader has seen them already in another place; we shall therefore add nothing farther here, than that this noble peer dying July 4, 1586, in the twenty-eighth year of queen Elizabeth, his body was interred in the church of St. Margaret, Westminster.



THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
JANE GREY.

LADY JANE GREY, otherwise stiled lady Jane Dudley, but more commonly than either, queen Jane, as having been proclaimed queen of England upon the demise, and in pursuance of the appointment, of her cousin king Edward VI. She was, as all our historians agree, most nobly descended. Her father, Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, derived himself, in a direct line, from sir Thomas Grey, knight of the Garter, lord Harrington in right of his wife, and created marquis of Dorset by Edward IV. who married his mother. Her mother was lady Frances Brandon, the eldest of the two surviving daughters of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, by Mary, queen dowager of France, youngest daughter of king Henry VII. and sister to king Henry VIII.

As this article is of great importance in respect to our history, many things relating thereto being obscurely and imperfectly represented, even by our best writers, and the facts referring thereto so complicated, as to render it very difficult to understand the short hints given us by our old historians, and political authors, in treatises about the succession; we think it incumbent upon us, to use all the care and diligence imaginable, to set all these points in as true and clear lights as possible; and, with this view,





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view, we will begin with giving such particulars in relation to sir Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, as belong more particularly to this subject; that is, to the descent of the illustrious lady of whom we are speaking.

He was the son of sir Thomas Brandon, knight of the garter, and the grandson of sir William Brandon, who carried the standard of Henry, earl of Richmond, at the battle of Bosworth, and in that service was slain. This sir Charles Brandon, being extremely handsome in his person, and withal one of the strongest and stoutest men in the kingdom, was a great favourite with Arthur, prince of Wales, and of his brother Henry.

Upon the accession of that prince to the throne, he was made one of the esquires of his body, and chamberlain of North-Wales: afterwards, for his services both by sea and land against the French, he was, on the fifteenth of May, 1513, advanced to the dignity of viscount L'Isle; though bishop Burnet erroneously asserts, he was then created duke of Suffolk; which, however, he was not till the thirteenth of February following. In the succeeding year he was present in France at the marriage of the princess Mary, the king's youngest sister, with the French king Lewis XII.

At this time the duke of Suffolk, and Henry, marquis of Dorset, acquired great reputation in the tournaments that were held on that occasion, as assistants to Francis of Valois, who soon after was himself king by the demise of Lewis, whom an eminent French historian affirms, became a victim to his extravagant passion for his new queen. That princess, who is said to have had no dislike to the duke of Suffolk before her marriage, was no sooner a widow, than she wrote to her brother to desire his permission to marry; and at the same time, as

a reverend historian says, told the duke of Suffolk that if he did not gain her consent in four days, he should not be the man. But, as the same writer justly observes, this could not put him under any great difficulty, and therefore the marriage was quickly after celebrated, April the fifteenth, 1515, and, by the intercession of the French king, Francis I. king Henry, who all along intended the match, was easily pacified.

But here arises a question, as to the state this noble person was in at the time of his marriage. It is pretty certain, that he had been twice married before; but it is not quite so clear to whom. One author says, his first wife was Anne, daughter to sir Anthony Brown, governor of Calais; another, that it was Margaret, the daughter and coheirs of John Nevile, marquis of Montague; and, that the other lady was his second wife. It is a difficult matter to know what sir William Dugdale's opinion was, since he asserts Margaret to be the first wife in his historical account, and then produces an authentic pedigree of the family, in which she is made to be the second, as in reality there is good reason to believe she was, because she lived many years after his marriage with the queen, being repudiated, as the pedigree says; or, as some writers affirm, divorced.

The same uncertainty there is in reference to the children of this duke, at the time of his marriage; some say he had one, others two; and, while some affirm they were by the first wife, others as positively assert, that he had no issue but by the second. It is, however, tolerably clear, from comparing the pedigrees of our ancient nobility, that at the time he married the queen he had two daughters living, both by his first wife, but the eldest of them, Anne, was born before marriage; how-
ever,

ever, she espoused Edward Grey, lord Powis, and lived to the reign of Edward VI. when she sold her title to certain lands that had been her father's, to sir John Beaumont, master of the rolls, who, as that young monarch tells us, under his own hand, forged a deed of this Charles duke of Suffolk, by which he assigned those lands to Anne, baroness of Powis, to give the better colour to a decree which was to establish his own possession; and all this he is said to have confessed under his hand. The second daughter, Mary, born after marriage, became the wife of William, lord Montague. As for his second wife, who was the widow of sir John Mortimer, she became, after he left her, the spouse of one Robert Horne.

Upon his third marriage with Mary, dowager of France, he procured a grant in general-tail of all the lordships, manors, lands, and tenements, formerly belonging to Edmund de la Pole, late earl of Suffolk; which Edmund had been beheaded in the Tower, on the thirtieth of April, 1513, for reasons of state rather than for any other crime, his eldest brother John, earl of Lincoln, having been declared presumptive heir of the crown by Richard III.

By this third wife, Charles, duke of Suffolk, had issue, Henry Brandon, who, in the seventeenth year of Henry VIII. was created at Bridewell earl of Lincoln, being then, as our heralds say, twelve years of age; in which it is probable there is some mistake, since, if it was true, he must have been born before the marriage of the duke of Suffolk with his mother. He died not long after without issue.

Besides this son, there were two daughters of this marriage; Frances, who married Henry, marquis of Dorset, as is said above; and Eleanor, who

became the wife of Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland, by whom he had only one daughter, Margaret, the wife of Henry, and the mother of Ferdinando, earl of Derby.

Here it may be proper to observe, that, among the clandestine discourses held in the reign of queen Elizabeth about the succession, there were some who preferred the title of this lady Eleanor, then countess dowager of Cumberland, to that of the house of Suffolk; for which they pretended one reason, and kept in reserve another. The disclosed reason was, that this lady stood one degree nearer to her common ancestor Henry VII. than lady Catharine Grey; but the concealed motive which they held to be much stronger, was the lady Eleanor's being born after the death of lady Mortimer, so that, by the help of a post contract, after the demise of that lady, they conceived that all colour of illegitimacy was taken away with respect to the countess of Cumberland and her descendants.

We have now nothing farther to add, relating to this matter, except that, from the time of her marriage, the king's sister was stiled the duchess-queen: and, that she departed this life on the twenty-third of June, 1533, having seen the king her brother divorced from his first queen Catharine, married to Anne Bullen, marchioness of Pembroke, and that queen big with child of her daughter Elizabeth. She could not, therefore, frame any conjecture as to the succession of the crown, as the king had a daughter by one wife; a child begotten, but not born, of another; and his favourite though bastard son, Charles Fitzroy, duke of Richmond and Somerset, earl of Nottingham, lieutenant-general beyond Trent, warden-general of the borders of Scotland, and lord high-admiral

admiral of England, was then living. And a noble historian gives us this reason for heaping so many honours upon a child, That the king considered, as yet, he had no lawful male issue: from whence it may be gathered, that he was not without thought of preferring this youth to any female issue.

This marriage proceeded from the great kindness which Henry VIII had for the marquis of Dorset, and his affection for his niece; but, as in many other instances, so in this, that monarch's conduct was very irregular, since, either to oblige the marquis, or to gratify his own inclination, he took no notice of an obstacle, that ought otherwise to have hindered this match.

This Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, baron of Groby, was the son of Thomas, marquis of Dorset, by Margaret, daughter of sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton, in Kent, and the widow of William Medley, esquire. Henry succeeded his father in his honours in the year 1530, and was esteemed a man of great personal courage and much generosity, to which we may add, that he wanted not ambition, though he was a reserved man, loved to live in his own way, and was rather desirous to keep up that magnificence for which our ancient nobility were so much distinguished, in the place of his residence in the country, than to involve himself in the intrigues of a court.

His father having a close friendship with William, earl of Arundel, and being desirous to unite the interest of their families as closely as possible, caused this Henry, afterwards marquis of Dorset, to espouse the lady Catharine Fitz-Alan, that earl's eldest daughter, and gave lady Catharine Grey, his own daughter, to Henry, afterwards earl of Arundel, then heir-apparent to his father.

This conjunction, by which they were made doubly brothers in law, caused a great affection and friendship between these noblemen in their youth; but when Henry, marquis of Dorset, had cast his eyes upon the lady Frances Brandon, and king Henry expressed no dislike to the match, it produced very high resentment in the lord Maltravers, afterwards earl of Arundel, who could not bear to see his sister excluded from her husband's bed, to make way for another lady, though of the blood royal. His complaints, however just and well founded, were over-looked and ill taken; yet, by the mediation of friends, an annuity was settled upon lady Catharine, which was duly paid during the marquis's life, for the lady survived him several years: but, notwithstanding this, and that the earl was still his brother-in-law by his own marriage; he resented this ill usage from the marquis, and could never be brought to dissemble his dislike of him, till he was created duke of Suffolk, and Arundel committed to the Tower, for being embarked in the conspiracy, as it was called, of the duke of Somerset. But that he dissembled even then, and was not cordially reconciled to the duke of Suffolk, or to the duke of Northumberland, to whom he also bore ill will, appears from his giving secret intelligence of king Edward's death to the lady Mary; which prevented her falling into the hands of the two dukes, and proved, in the end, their destruction; in every step of which the earl of Arundel, as he had been before a concealed, was afterwards an active instrument.

The principal seat of the marquis of Dorset was the stately house of Broadgate in Leicestershire, where it is generally believed, though there is no direct authority to prove it, that the lady Jane was born, anno domini 1537.

In other lives, we usually pass over the tender years of those of whom we speak, or, at least, touch them but slightly; it must, however, be otherwise in the present case, since the infancy of lady Jane was truly remarkable. Nature, if the expression may be allowed, crowded even that state of her life with wonders, and bestowed upon her so many virtues and graces, that her personal accomplishments outshone the lustre of her rank, and made her most admired by those who were least affected by the gifts of fortune.

We have no distinct account of what time she gave the first indication of that astonishing pregnancy which afterwards appeared; but, notwithstanding this, we may, without suspicion of flattery or credulity, affirm that it must have been very early. She was certainly within a few months of the same age with king Edward; and such as were intimately acquainted with human nature, and had likewise an opportunity of knowing him thoroughly, thought him a kind of miracle. Yet one of these, who knew him well, and loved him better, very candidly acknowledges, that the lady Jane was superior to him, and this in every respect. She may be supposed to have been first taught feminine accomplishments, which, in those days, were of different kinds, and not so easily attained as at present, yet in these she excelled. Her genius appeared in the works of her needle, then in the beautiful character which she wrote, commended by all who had seen it: she played admirably on various instruments of music, and accompanied them with a voice exquisitely sweet in itself, and assisted by all the graces that art could bestow. Her own language she spoke and wrote with peculiar accuracy; the French, Italian, Latin, and Greek especially, were as natural to her as her

own, for she not only understood them perfectly, but spoke and wrote them with the greatest freedom; and this not in the opinion of superficial judges, but of Mr. Ascham and Dr. Aylmer, men who, in point of veracity, are as much above suspicion, as, in respect to their abilities, they were incapable of being deceived: men who, for their learning, were the wonder of their own times and of ours; the former, famous for Roman accuracy; the latter, one of the severest critics in those learned times. She was versed likewise in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; and all this while a perfect child.

Her parents, as we learn from her own testimony, as well as that of others, were both of them somewhat austere; so that, notwithstanding her high rank, she was so far from suffering by indulgence, that the misfortunes of her tender age flowed from the contrary extreme. The marquis of Dorset, her father, had himself a tincture of letters, and was a great patron of learned men. He had two chaplains, Harding and Aylmer, who were then zealous protestants both, as the latter always continued, but the former became afterwards a papist, and one of the ablest writers on that side.

These great men, for they were truly such, were the tutors and companions of lady Jane in her infancy. Her tutors, as they instructed; her companions, as they conversed with her; for she had a sedateness of temper, a quickness of apprehension, and a solidity of judgment, that enabled her not only to become the mistress of languages, but of sciences; so that she thought, and spoke, and reasoned upon subjects of the greatest importance, in a manner that surprized even those who, from their own abilities, were not much inclined to esteem

esteem what the rest of the world have thought very extraordinary.

With these high endowments, she had so much mildness, humility, and modesty, that she set no value at all on these vast acquisitions; but spoke of the love of learning as the source of happiness, and professed that, when mortified and confounded by the undeserved chidings of her parents, she returned with double pleasure to the lessons of her tutors, and sought in Demosthenes and Plato, who were her favourite authors, that delight which was denied her in all the other scenes of life, in which she mingled but little, and seldom with any satisfaction.

In 1545, when the lady Jane was in the ninth year of her age, died her grandfather, by the mother's side, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, in as absolute possession of his master's favour as he had ever been, though after the decease of the queen-dowager of France he had married a young wife.

We have already shewn, that Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, became a widower by the death of the duchess-queen, in 1533, having no issue living by any of his wives but daughters, which very probably induced him to marry Catharine, sole daughter and heiress of William, baron Willoughby of Eresby, in hopes of male issue, in which he was not mistaken; for by her he had two sons, Henry, earl of Lincoln, and lord Charles Brandon, who survived him. But, besides these children, and those which have been already mentioned, he had two natural children; sir Charles Brandon, who married Elizabeth, daughter and one of the heirs of Thomas Pigot, of Rippon, in Yorkshire; and a daughter Frances, who espoused Andrew Billesby,

Billesby, of Billesby, in the county of Lincoln, esq. and by him had issue.

This great duke dying in the full possession of his master's favour at Guilford, was removed from thence to the collegiate church of Windsor, and there buried, at the king's expence, with great solemnity.

The next year after, her great-uncle king Henry VIII. departed this life, and was succeeded by his son Edward VI. with whom her father, the marquis of Dorset, was in great favour, and herself also received many marks of his attention. Yet lady Jane still remained, for the most part, in the country; for in Leicestershire we find her in 1550, being the fourth year of that monarch's reign, and the fourteenth of her age. It was here that Mr. Ascham found her, when he had that conference with her, of which we have given an account elsewhere, and which made so strong an impression upon his mind, that he afterwards wrote her a long letter, penned with equal elegance and freedom; which demonstrates how high an opinion he had of her understanding independent of her learning, and in which he desires she will write him a Greek epistle, and wishes that she would likewise write his friend Sturmius another, that what he had said of her wherever he came, might be rendered credible by such authentic evidence.

On the fourteenth of July, 1551, died Henry and Charles Brandon, dukes of Suffolk, of the the sweating sickness, at the bishop of Lincoln's palace of Bugden, which opened a passage for Henry, lord marquis of Dorset, to obtain, by the favour of the earl of Warwick, and without whom indeed nothing could be obtained, a patent for this new-fallen honour; and accordingly, on the eleventh

eleventh of October, 1551, he was created duke of Suffolk; and, on the same day, the great earl beforementioned was created duke of Northumberland, with precedency to the duke of Suffolk. The earl of Wiltshire was likewise created marquis of Winchester; sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke; and Mr. William Cecil, one of the secretaries of state, knighted.

By these honours and promotions, it was conceived that all former jealousies were effaced from their minds, and a firm friendship established amongst them, for otherwise they had not much cause to love each other, since but a little before, the duke of Suffolk had been obliged to resign his wardenship of the Marches, which the king had bestowed on the other duke. Sir William Herbert had been rather of the contrary faction, and Cecil had been imprisoned at the pulling down of the lord-protector: but now all was forgiven, and supposed to be forgot.

On the seventh of November following, sir Thomas Palmer discovered what was called the duke of Somerset's conspiracy, in which several other noblemen were involved and sent to prison; particularly the earl of Arundel, who, for reasons that we have before mentioned, had an old grudge to the duke of Suffolk, and was no friend to the duke of Northumberland; and Arthur, lord Grey, of Wilton, a very brave man, but a little high spirited, whom the two dukes had a mind to bend to their purpose.

In the midst of this confusion, came the queen-dowager of Scotland from France, who was honourably received by king Edward, magnificently entertained, and, amongst other ladies of the blood royal, was complimented by the lady Jane, who was now at court, and much in the king's favour.

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As soon as these solemnities were over, and this princess, who was mother to Mary queen of Scots, set out on her journey, the trial of the duke of Somerset, and his associates, was brought on. At this the two dukes, with the earl of Pembroke, assisted; and the marquis of Winchester, lord-treasurer, presided as lord high-steward. The ruin of this potent duke, left Northumberland, who really managed all, without rival and without opposition. By his favour, the earl of Arundel gained his liberty, as did also the lord Grey, but upon hard terms, and a promise that they would be faithful and obedient for the time to come.

In the next summer, the king, with his court, made a progress with a view to divert the mind of that young prince, to dispel the discontents of the people, and to influence the choice of members for the ensuing parliament.

At this juncture, in all probability, lady Jane went to pay her duty to the king's sister, the lady Mary, at New-Hall, in Essex, where reproving the lady Anne Wharton, for making a low curtesy to the host, some officious person carried it to the princess's ear, who, it is said, retained it in her heart, and never loved lady Jane afterwards.

In January, 1553, the king caught a great cold, which grew rather worse than better, from the medicines that were given him; so that when the parliament met in March, they were forced to go from Westminster to Whitehall to him, for otherwise his bad state of health would have deprived them of his presence. They sat only that month, and, having finished a few important affairs that were brought before them, were dissolved.

The dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland were now as great as they could wish to be, and the only object of their wishes was to preserve the high

high authority they had gained, towards which they had taken many steps already: but, in the midst of this prosperity, the king's health declining daily, seemed to threaten them with some sudden and violent reverse of fortune. For this the penetration and sagacity of the duke of Northumberland, suggested no other remedy than altering the succession of the crown, which, however, he did not think proper to propose before certain measures were taken for effectually securing the safety of his own family, by matching into that to which he meant to transfer the crown; and, having a just foresight of the great hazards to which they must be exposed by so bold a measure, he contrived to fortify both houses still more, by other advantageous matches, which, considering his present high and flourishing condition, were easily brought about with those who could not see so far into futurity as this great politician. His three eldest sons, the earl of Warwick, then master of the horse, lord Ambrose, and lord Robert, were already married; he therefore matched lord Guilford Dudley, his fourth son, who of them all, as a certain historian affirms, had least in him of the father, with our lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's eldest daughter.

It was at the same time resolved, that the lord Herbert, eldest son to the earl of Pembroke, should espouse her sister, lady Catharine; and the son of Arthur, lord Grey of Wilton, was contracted to lady Mary Grey, the duke's third daughter, and at that time a perfect child. The duke of Northumberland's two daughters were married to sir Henry Sydney, and the lord Hastings, son to the earl of Huntingdon. On what day the two first marriages were celebrated, does not any where appear; yet it is certain it was in the
latter

latter end of May, to the king's great satisfaction, who, though he was naturally sparing, was however very bountiful upon this occasion.

We have an account of the preparations made for these marriages in Strype, who, with a kind of religion, if not superstition, collected every thing that bore the stamp of antiquity, supposing that all things, how slight and indifferent soever they may seem, become some time or other useful, and ought therefore to be laid by; or, at the worst, will serve for the amusement of such as love to look back on past times, because they take no pleasure in what passes in their own.

Let us now hear what he has collected out of the book of warrants, and the records of the wardrobe in the time of king Edward, in the year 1553. " A little before this time (June) were
 " great preparations making for the match,
 " which was celebrated in May, of the lady Jane
 " with Guilford, Northumberland's son, and
 " some other marriages that were to accompany
 " that, as the earl of Pembroke's eldest son with
 " the lady Catharine, the duke of Suffolk's second daughter, and the earl of Huntingdon's
 " eldest son, with the duke of Northumberland's
 " youngest daughter, and another of the said
 " duke's near relations: sir Andrew Dudley was
 " likewise matched near the same time with Margaret Clifford, the earl of Cumberland's daughter.

" And, for the more solemnity and splendour
 " of this day, the master of the wardrobe had
 " divers warrants to deliver out of the king's
 " wardrobe, much rich apparels and jewels.
 " As to deliver to the lady Frances, duchess
 " of Suffolk, to the duchess of Northumberland, to the lady marchioness of Northampton,

“ ton, to the lady Jane, daughter to the duke of
 “ Suffolk, and to the lord Guilford Dudley, for
 “ wedding apparel (which were certain parcels of
 “ tissues and cloth of gold and silver, which had
 “ been the late duke and duchess of Somerset’s,
 “ forfeited to the king) and to the lady Catha-
 “ rine, daughter to the said duke of Suffolk, and
 “ the lord Herbert, for wedding apparel, and to
 “ the lord Hastings, and lady Catharine, daugh-
 “ ter to the duke of Northumberland, for wed-
 “ ding apparel, certain parcels, stuffs, and jewels.
 “ Dated from Greenwich the 24th of April.”

“ A warrant also there came to the wardrobe,
 “ to deliver to the king’s use, for the finishing
 “ certain chairs for his majesty, six yards of green
 “ velvet, and six yards of green sattin: another,
 “ to deliver to the lady Mary’s grace, his ma-
 “ jesty’s sister, a table diamond with a pearl pen-
 “ dant at the same; and, to the duchess of Nor-
 “ thumberland, one square tablet of gold enam-
 “ elled black with a clock, late parcel of the du-
 “ chess of Somerset’s jewels. And, lastly, ano-
 “ ther warrant to sir Andrew Dudley, to take for
 “ the lady Margaret Clifford, daughter of the earl
 “ of Cumberland, and to himself for their wed-
 “ ding apparel, fundry silks and jewels. This last
 “ warrant bearing date the 8th of June.”

This passage, though trivial in appearance, is,
 notwithstanding, clear and sufficient evidence of
 some points that contribute much to the giving us
 a right notion of this transaction. The contents
 of it shew plainly, that these marriages were much
 to the king’s satisfaction, and that he meant to
 express it, by having them celebrated, in some
 measure, at his expence, which, with respect to
 lady Jane, was so much the more reasonable, as she
 was his very near relation.

It appears likewise from hence, that all was done in a hurry, and with a view to have things ready as soon as possible; for otherwise, we cannot conceive, that the spoils of the duke of Somerset's family would have been employed upon this occasion. Necessity may excuse this, but nothing else can.

Lastly, it renders it highly probable, that the design of altering the succession, had not escaped from the brain of Northumberland, how long soever it had lodged there at this time, for otherwise notice would have been taken of it; for, though there was enough done for his cousin Jane, yet there was much too little for the presumptive heir to his crown; besides, the compliment paid to the lady Mary, carries another appearance; and, though this might be appearance only to others, yet the king would not have suffered it, if he had understood it in this light. He was not so young, or so weak, as to be imposed upon grossly, for what he did afterwards, with respect to the succession, was done sensibly and willingly; his understanding might be misled, but he could never have been thus misled, if he had not had a good understanding. This may seem strange to some, but those who are acquainted with courts, will know it to be truth.

The populace, as is commonly the case in all countries, were very far from being pleased with the exorbitant greatness of the duke of Northumberland, and yet they could not help admiring that beauty and innocence which appeared in lord Guilford and his bride; but the pomp and splendor which attended the celebration of their nuptials, was the last gleam of joy that shone in the palace of king Edward, who grew so weak in a few days after, that Northumberland thought it

high
Pass forward eight leave.

high time to carry his great project into execution, without which he saw clearly, that himself or his friends could not long continue great, or even safe.

Upon these motives therefore, he determined, in the beginning of the month of June, to set on foot that scheme for which he had been by these steps preparing, and to constrain all upon whom he had any influence, either for love or fear, to do their utmost in their respective stations, to bring about and support that disposition he meant should be made of the crown. The first motion he knew must proceed from the young monarch, and he was unwilling to trust any but himself with the first overtures, in relation to so delicate a subject, and, at the same time, there were certain circumstances that made it no easy or acceptable thing for him to break it to a prince, who, tho' so young, was so wise and worthy in all respects as Edward. But necessity pressed him, not only in respect to the deed, but also with regard to the time, of which he had now none to spare.

To bring about this contrivance, he suggested how happy the nation had been under his government, and what a glorious reformation had been carried on by him: that, when such a blessing was so far advanced, the next point was to secure its continuance, that religion being conveyed to posterity, in this condition of purity, the public happiness would be perpetuated, and the best provision made for the honour of his memory: that if the crown should descend to the lady Mary, both the civil and religious interest of the kingdom would be in great danger; for that it was well known, how strongly that prince's was inclined to the doctrine and pretensions of the court of Rome; and, in case she should marry with some

powerful prince of that communion, the English constitution might probably be overthrown, and the country made a province to a foreign nation : that both his sisters were the issue of marriages censured and disallowed in parliament ; and besides, the late king having them by several venters, they were only of the half blood, and by consequence, could neither be heirs to his highness, nor to each other.

As for the young queen of Scots, she had rejected an alliance with his majesty, engaged with the French, and therefore was no farther to be thought on. That the lady Jane, who stood next upon the royal line, was a person of extraordinary qualities, that her zeal for the reformation was unquestioned, that nothing could be more acceptable to the nation than the prospect of such a princess ; that, in this case, he was bound to set aside all partialities of blood and nearness of relation, these were inferior considerations, and ought to be over-ruled by the public good. In order to corroborate this discourse, the duke of Northumberland took care to place those about the king, who would make it their business to touch frequently upon this subject ; to enlarge upon the accomplishments of the lady Jane, and describe her with all imaginable advantages.

The king's affections standing for this disposition of the crown, he was gained at last to overlook his sisters, and break through his father's will. The next thing was to draw an instrument, and put the settlement in form of law. To this purpose, sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common-Pleas, received an order from the privy-council at Greenwich, to come thither the next day, and bring sir John Baker, chancellor of the first-fruits and tenths, justice Bromley, the attorney

attorney and solicitor-general along with him. This order was signified by the lord-treasurer, the duke of Northumberland, the earls of Bedford, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, the lords Clinton and Darcy, sir John Gate, sir William Petre, sir William Cecil, and sir John Cheke.

When sir Edw. Montague, and the rest came to court, the king told them, that his sickness had given him occasion to consider the state of the realm, the course of the succession, and the consequences likely to ensue. And here he represented the danger of religion and the laws, in case the lady Mary should succeed him. And therefore, to prevent a misfortune of this nature, his pleasure was, the crown should pass to such persons, and under such circumstances, as were specified in certain articles then laid before them: these articles they were to digest into method, and draw up an instrument to the best of their skill.

The chief-justice and the rest excepted against the order, and desired to be excused; and, when further pressed, moved for some time to consult the statutes and consider the constitution; being afterwards required by a message from the lords to go on with expedition, they made their report at the council-board, that having compared the articles with the statutes of succession, they found his majesty's command impracticable: that in case they should draw up an instrument pursuant to their instructions, not only themselves, but all their lordships would be in danger of treason: that they thought it their duty to inform their lordships how the laws stood: that they had not done any thing already, neither had they resolution enough to run such a risk, and cross so directly upon the constitution.

The duke of Northumberland was not in the council chamber when this answer was returned, but being informed of it, he came immediately in. He was highly enraged at the disappointment, called sir Edward Montague traitor; said he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel, and menaced them to that degree, that Montague and Bromley were afraid he would have struck them.

When they appeared next at the board, the king reprimanded them for not dispatching the instrument. The chief-justice told him, it would signify nothing in law after the king's decease, because the succession being settled by act of parliament, it could not be altered but by the same authority. In short, the chief-justice Montague and the rest, were at last over-awed, and drew a settlement of the crown upon the lady Jane. However, they took the best precautions the case would admit to indemnify themselves; for they only engaged upon the condition of being authorised under the broad seal, and having a general pardon when the instrument was finished.

And, to give the conveyance a stronger colour of law, all the judges were sent for, and being required to subscribe the instrument, they all put their hands to it, except sir James Hales, one of the justices of the Common-Pleas. None of the lords of the council, as far as it appears, scrupled the signing the instrument, except the archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, though he approved the person, was not satisfied with the method, and therefore endeavoured to frustrate the project at its first proposal. He took the freedom to argue against it with the king, the marquis of Northampton and the lord chamberlain Darcy being present. He desired to speak with
the

the king alone, but that could not be granted. The duke of Northumberland told him, he had misbehaved himself already, in remonstrating against the king's will. The archbishop was not discouraged by this rebuke, but bore up against Northumberland at the council-board. He insisted on his being sworn to perform the late king's will, and urged the intail of the crown upon the two princesses Mary and Elizabeth.

To this the council opposed the resolution of the judges, and the opinions of others learned in the law, who affirmed, that notwithstanding this entail, the king being in possession, might dispose of the crown as he thought fit. This was more than the archbishop could understand; but being little skilled in the common law, he suffered himself to be overcome by the learned in that profession, and more especially the king's attorney and solicitor; and yet, in all probability, he would not have ventured to sign, if it had not been for the young king's persuasion.

The concurrence in this measure, all things considered, was very extraordinary, and it is equally difficult to conceive how so many grave and cautious men could be drawn to embark themselves so far as they did; and, that after running such a hazard; and knowing their own force, they should, notwithstanding, undo all that they had done, and this purely thro' fear and want of confidence in each other, while their strength was entire, and they had suffered nothing, either from accident or force. But revolutions are always sudden in this country, and precautions are vain, when the people's affections are once alienated.

It is justly observed, by as shrewd a political writer as any who ever meddled with the affairs of this kingdom, that nothing could be more art-

fully contrived than this scheme, considered in all its branches. It was, to say the truth, the utmost effort of false politics, and one of the strongest instances of the power of faction, that is to be found in our own history, or in any other.

The two dukes, by a variety of alliances, had connected so many great persons in point of interest to themselves, had disposed of all places and offices in such a manner among their friends, and under pretence of zeal for the protestant religion, influenced the inferior clergy in such a manner, that those who disliked the act, durst not express themselves as freely as they desired to do, or persist in their behaviour, even to that degree which they expressed; so that, what thro' hope, interest, and fear, a more extensive influence was hardly ever seen.

The instrument which the lawyers were afraid to draw, and which, for all that, was very well drawn, was, after the execution, signed by thirty-three members of the privy-council, and, amongst these, by all the great officers of the crown, of whom none but the archbishop of Canterbury shewed any scruple; the lord high treasurer, the lord chancellor, the lord chamberlain, and the rest, not only subscribed, but promoted it, and took as large a share, both before and after (till they found themselves in danger,) and seemed as much in earnest as the two dukes themselves could desire or wish.

This was going a great way; for, besides this capital instrument, there was another drawn likewise by the king's special order, of which the more notice ought to be taken, because it is not mentioned by many of our historians. In this writing they engaged, upon their oaths and honor, to adhere to and perform every article and
branch

branch contained in the settlement of the succession; and that, if any of them should depart from this engagement, they should look upon it as a scandalous infraction, and endeavour to punish the offender as a disturber of the public repose.

The persons subscribing are these: T. Cant. T. Ely. Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampt. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntingdon. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. T. Cheyne. R. Riche. John Gate. William Petres. Johan. Cheke. W. Cecyll. Edward Montague. John Bakere. Edward Gryffyn. John Lucas. John Gosnald.

One would have thought, that measures thus taken, thus supported, must have subsisted for some time, or, at least, must have created some struggle before they had been overturned. The two dukes, no doubt, thought so themselves, but they were disappointed, and this notwithstanding they had a considerable force at command; which is a lesson worthy the consideration of the grave politicians; as it shews, that how broad, how strong soever a faction may be, it loses all its power, as soon as the people comprehend it is but a faction.

This difficult affair once accomplished, and the letters-patents having passed the seals before the close of the month, the dukes had nothing to do but to concert, in the best manner they were able, the properest method for carrying this new settlement into execution; and, till that was done, to keep it as secret as they could. Northumberland indeed had formed a project, which, if he could have executed, would have made all things easy and secure. He directed letters to the lady Mary in her brother's name, requiring her attendance at Greenwich, where the court then was, and she was

within half a day's journey of that place, when king Edward resigned his soul to his Creator, July the sixth, 1553, of which she had immediate notice given her by the earl of Arundel, and thereby avoided the snare which had been laid with so much artifice.

The dukes, though they had been so long contriving, and so long expecting this event, were notwithstanding in very great confusion when it happened, and therefore concealed it for more than two days, that they might have time to gain the magistrates and citizens of London, and to procure the consent of lady Jane, who was so far from having any hand in this business, that as yet she was unacquainted with the pains that had been taken to procure her the title of queen; for, as to the power, she never had it, and perhaps it was never meant she should. In the management of their affairs at this delicate conjuncture, the lords, and those who adhered to them, which as yet was every man in the administration, had as much success as they could reasonably expect, so that they flattered themselves, the beginning of the new queen's reign would not be attended with any considerable disturbance.

It is acknowledged, that the two dukes, and those that were most sincerely attached to them, used the utmost caution, in order to conceal the king's death, which, had it been in their power, they would willingly have done for a fortnight; amongst other reasons, it is said, in hopes that the lady Mary might fall into their hands.

Of this there would be the more probability, if we could depend upon what a very bitter, but a very intelligent writer assures us, that Northumberland himself kept a secret correspondence with her highness, and actually wrote her a letter on
the

the twentieth of June, the very k
Edward's letters-patents passed; in the
assurances possible of his duty and vice.

The very next day after the king's death, the lord high-treasurer Wincheſter, the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord high-admiral Clinton, went to the Tower, where they turned out ſir James Croft, who had the charge of that important fortrefs, and adminiſtered the oath of conſtable to the lord admiral Clinton, who immediately gave the neceſſary directions for putting it in a ſtate of defence; for the reception of thoſe who were ſpeedily expected; all which was the more eaſy, ſince ſome ſteps for this purpoſe had been previously taken before the death of king Edward.

The Tower being thus ſecured, the next ſtep was to ſecure the city, and for this purpoſe, the council, as it was very common in reſpect to affairs of moment, wrote their letters for ſir George Barnes, with fix aldermen, as many merchant-adventurers, and the ſame number of the merchants of the ſtaple, to repair to the court, which they accordingly did on Saturday the eighth of July; and being by the council informed of the ſtate things were in, and the diſpoſition the king by letters-patents had made of the crown; they were ſworn to Queen Jane and diſmiſſed, with directions to keep the king's death a ſecret.

We may from hence perceive, that Mr. Strype muſt be miſtaken, when he aſſerts that Dr. Ridley preached the next day at Paul's-Croſs, in maintenance of queen Jane's title, who as yet was not proclaimed; and therefore when he ſays, there were but two Paul's ſermons preached only upon the goſpel of the day, it is highly probable that he exchanged the preachers; putting the firſt laſt, and the laſt firſt, as the ſubjects of their ſermons.

mons very plainly testify, as well as the concurring evidence of the best writers of those times, who fix the sermon of Bishop Ridley to the sixteenth, and not to the ninth. Indeed, what probability is there, that the council should recommend secrecy to the lord-mayor and aldermen, and at the same time, give or send instructions to Mr. Rogers, who really preached on the ninth, or to bishop Ridley, as Strype would have it, to declare queen Jane's title to the people.

So far was this from being their purpose, that, in their first letters to the ambassadors at Brussels, which were dispatched on the Saturday, though they mention the king's death, yet they said nothing of the succession; but finding, by the lady Mary's letters the next day, that she was apprised of it, and that it could not be kept a secret, they then wrote to sir Philip Hoby, sir Richard Morrison, and the bishop of Norwich, and acquainted them with queen Jane's accession. At the same time they swore the guard and the head officers of the household to Jane, and took the resolution of proclaiming her the next day.

It is very remarkable, that, in pursuance of their engagement, the council at this time stuck together, and acted, in all outward appearance, with the utmost harmony; and yet, if they were in earnest now, they could not, consistent with the principles of conscience or justice, dislike any thing that passed afterwards, since that was only in maintenance of what was now done, which might indeed be more dangerous then, but not at all more illegal or unjust than now: the truth is, that several were unsatisfied, and only wanted courage to declare themselves; nay, in the opinion of sir William Cecil, who was at this time secretary of state, the major part of the council

JANE

til were rather inclined to queen Mary's title; so that he ascribed it to some impropriety in the conduct of one Hungate, who was intrusted with her letters, than to the disposition of the council that it did not succeed.

If this seems inconsistent with that strong stile in which their answer to the lady Mary is penned, the reader must consider that this was the business of sir John Cheke, who was very hearty; and, when he had drawn it while Northumberland was present, none of the council was stout enough to decline signing it. They apprehended, that the face of authority, and the strength of the nation, was with Jane and the two dukes; and therefore with them they staid till hearing of the forces that resorted to Mary, they began to wish that they had stuck to their first notions in favour of her title.

This is the plain and naked truth, not taken upon the authority of this or that author, or from a bias to, or prejudice against, either side of the question, but drawn from facts that cannot admit of dispute; and, from the declarations, not only of those who lived in these times, but of some of the principal persons of whose conduct we are speaking, such as archbishop Cranmer, sir William Cecil, sir John Mason, and others. By this specimen, the reader will find it no difficult matter to account for, and form a right judgment of all that afterwards happened.

It does not appear, that the lords suffered themselves to be undeceived, in any degree, by the letters which they received from Mary, in which, though she did not take the title of queen, she clearly asserted her right to the crown; took notice of their concealing her brother's death, and of the practices into which they had since entered; but

but intimated that there was still room for reconciliation; and, that if they complied with their duty in proclaiming her queen, she could forgive, and even forget, what was past.

In their answer, the lords and others of the privy-council, for it was signed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and twenty others, insist upon the indubitable right, and their own unalterable fidelity to queen Jane, to whom they persuaded the lady Mary to submit.

These previous steps being taken, the Tower and the city of London secured, the council quitted Greenwich, and came to London; and, on Monday, July the tenth, in the forenoon, the two dukes repaired to Durham-house, where the lady Jane resided with her husband, as part of Northumberland's family. There the duke of Suffolk, with much solemnity, explained to his daughter the disposition the late king had made of his crown by letters-patents, the clear sense the privy-council had of her right, the consent of the magistrates and citizens of London; and, when he had made an end of speaking, himself and Northumberland fell on their knees, and paid their duty to her as queen of England. The poor lady, somewhat astonished at their discourse, but not at all affected by their reasons, or in the least elevated by such unexpected honours, returned them an answer to this effect:

“ That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right standing for the king's sisters, she would beware of burthening her weak conscience with a yoke which did belong to them: that she understood the infamy of those who had permitted the violation of right to gain a scepter; that it were to mock God and deride justice, to scruple at the
stealing

JANE GREY.

stealing of a shilling, and not at the usurpation of a crown.

“ Besides,” said she, “ I am not so young, nor
“ so little read in the guiles of Fortune, to suffer
“ myself to be taken by them. If she enrich
“ any, it is but to make them the subject of her
“ spoil; if she raise others, it is but to pleasure her-
“ self with their ruins; what she adored yesterday,
“ is, to-day, her pastime; and, if I now permit
“ her to adorn and crown me, I must, to-morrow,
“ suffer her to crush and tear me in pieces. Nay,
“ with what crown doth she present me? a crown
“ which hath been violently and shamefully wrested
“ from Catharine of Arragon, made more unfor-
“ tunate by the punishment of Anne Bullen, and
“ others that wore it after her; and why then
“ would you have me add my blood to theirs, and
“ be the third victim from whom this fatal crown
“ may be ravished, with the head that wears it?
“ But, in case it should not prove fatal unto me,
“ and that all it’s venom were consumed, if For-
“ tune should give me warranties of her constancy,
“ should I be well advised to take upon me these
“ thorns which would dilacerate, though not kill
“ me out-right; to burthen myself with a yoke
“ which would not fail to torment me, though I
“ were assured not to be strangled with it? My
“ liberty is better than the chain you proffer me,
“ with what precious stones soever it be adorned,
“ or of what gold soever framed. I will not ex-
“ change my peace for honourable and precious
“ jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters:
“ and, if you love me sincerely, and in good
“ earnest, you will rather wish me a secure and
“ quiet fortune, though mean, than an exalted
“ condition, exposed to the wind, and followed by
“ some dismal fall.”

But

But, notwithstanding the prudence, goodnefs, and eloquence of this ſpeech, ſhe was at length prevailed upon, by the exhortations of her father, the interceſſion of her mother, the artful perſuaſions of Northumberland, and, above all, the earneſt deſires of her husband, whom ſhe tenderly loved, to yield her aſſent to what had been and was to be done; and thus, with a heavy heart, ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where ſhe entered with all the ſtate of a queen, attended by the principal nobility, and, which is very extraordinary, her train ſupported by the duchefs of Suffolk, her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of ſucceſſion remained.

About ſix o'clock in the afternoon, ſhe was proclaimed, with all due ſolemnities, in the city; which proclamation, we are aſſured ſir William Cecil declined drawing; and it was therefore penned by ſir John Throckmorton, with great ſkill and elegance; and, becauſe it contains the ſubſtance of king Edwards letters-patents, and whatever elſe could caſt any colour of right upon the title of queen Jane, and this in the moſt concise terms, we ſhall here lay it before the reader.

“ Jane, by the grace of God, queen of England,
 “ France, and Ireland, defender of the faith and
 “ of the church of England, and alſo of Ireland,
 “ under Chriſt in earth the ſupreme head. To
 “ all our moſt loving, faithful, and obedient ſub-
 “ jects, and to every of them, greeting. Whereas
 “ our moſt dear couſin, Edward VI. late king of
 “ England, France, and Ireland, defender of the
 “ faith, and in earth the ſupreme head, under
 “ Chriſt, of the church of England and Ireland;
 “ by his letters-patents, ſigned with his own hand,
 “ and

“ and sealed with his great seal of England, bearing date the twenty-first day of June, in the seventh year of his reign, in the presence of the most part of his nobles, his counsellors, judges, and divers other grave and sage personages, for the profit and surety of the whole realm, thereto assenting and subscribing their names to the same; hath, by the same his letters-patents, recited, That, for as much as the imperial crown of this realm, by an act made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the late king, of worthy memory, king Henry VIII. our progenitor and great-uncle, was, for lack of issue of the body of our said late cousin king Edward VI. by the same act limited and appointed to remain to the lady Mary, by the name of the lady Mary; his eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten; and, for default of such issue, the remainder thereof to the lady Elizabeth, by the name of the lady Elizabeth, his second daughter, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, with such conditions as should be limited and appointed, by the said late king of worthy memory, king Henry VIII. our progenitor and great-uncle, by his letters-patents under his great seal, or by his last will in writing signed with his hand. And, for as much as the said limitation of the imperial crown of this realm being limited, as is aforesaid, to the said lady Mary and lady Elizabeth, being illegitimate and not lawfully begotten, for that the marriage had between the said late king, king Henry VIII. our progenitor and great-uncle, and the lady Catharine, mother to the said lady Mary; and also the marriage had between the said late king Henry VIII. our progenitor and great-uncle, and the lady Anne, mother to the said lady

“ France, and all and singular honours, castles,
“ prerogatives, privileges, pre-eminencies, autho-
“ rities, jurisdictions, dominions, possessions, and
“ hereditaments, to our said late cousin king Ed-
“ ward VI. or to the said imperial crown belong-
“ ing, or in any wise appertaining, should, for
“ lack of such issue of his body, remain, come,
“ and be unto the eldest son of the body of the
“ said lady Frances lawfully begotten, being born
“ into the world in his life-time, and to the heirs
“ male of the body of the same eldest son lawfully
“ begotten, and so from son to son, as he should
“ be of antiency in birth, of the body of the said
“ lady Frances lawfully begotten, being born into
“ the world in our said late cousin’s life-time, and
“ to the heirs male of the body of every such son
“ lawfully begotten, and for default of such son
“ born into the world in his life-time, of the body
“ of the said lady Frances lawfully begotten; and,
“ for lack of heirs male of every such son lawfully
“ begotten, that then the said imperial crown, and
“ all and singular other the premises should re-
“ main, come, and be to us, by the name of the
“ lady Jane, eldest daughter of the said lady
“ Frances, and to the heirs male of our body law-
“ fully begotten; and, for lack of such heir-male
“ of our body lawfully begotten, that then the
“ said imperial crown, and all other the premises,
“ should remain, come, and be to the said lady
“ Catharine, our said second sister, and to the
“ heirs male of the body of the said lady Catharine
“ lawfully begotten, with divers other remainders,
“ as by the same letters-patents more plainly, and
“ at large, may and doth appear. Since the
“ making of which letters-patents, that is to say
“ on Thursday, which was the sixth day of this
“ instant month of July, it hath pleased God to
“ call

" call to his infinite mercy, our said most dear and
 " entirely beloved cousin Edward VI. whose soul
 " God pardon: and, for as much as he is now
 " deceased, having no heirs of his body begotten,
 " and that also there remain, at this present time,
 " no heirs lawfully begotten of the body of our
 " said progenitor and great-uncle king Henry VIII.
 " and, for as much also as the said lady Frances,
 " our said mother, had no issue male begotten of
 " her body, and born into the world in the life-
 " time of our said cousin king Edward VI. so as
 " the said imperial crown, or other the premises to
 " the same belonging; or in any wise appertaining,
 " now be, and remain to us in our actual and royal
 " possession, by authority of the said letters-patents.
 " We do therefore, by these presents, signify unto
 " all our most loving, faithful, and obedient sub-
 " jects, that, like as we for our part shall, by God's
 " grace, shew ourselves a most gracious and benign
 " sovereign queen and lady, to all our good sub-
 " jects, in all their just and lawful suits and causes,
 " and, to the uttermost of our power, shall pre-
 " serve and maintain God's most holy word, chris-
 " tian policy, and the good laws, customs, and
 " liberties of these our realms and dominions;
 " so we mistrust not but they, and every of them,
 " will again, for their parts, at all times, and in all
 " cases, shew themselves unto us their natural liege
 " queen and lady, most faithful, loving, and obe-
 " dient subjects, according to their bounden duties
 " and allegiances, whereby they shall please God,
 " and do the thing that shall tend to their own pre-
 " servations and sureties; willing and commanding
 " all men of all estates, degrees, and conditions,
 " to see our peace and accord kept, and to be
 " obedient to our laws, as they tender our fa-
 " vour, and will answer for the contrary at their

484 The LIFE and DEATH of

“ extreme perils. In witness whereof, we have
“ caused these our letters to be made patents.
“ Witness ourself, at our Tower of London, the
“ tenth day of July, in the first year of our reign.”

Anno Domini
M.D.LIII.

God save the QUEEN.

Londini, in ædibus Ricardi Graftoni,
Reginæ a typographia excusum.
Cum privilegio ad imprimendum
solum.

If Mr. Strype had ever seen a printed copy of this proclamation, or if the last line had been preserved in that which bishop Burnet printed amongst his records, he would not have been so angry that Grafton, who likewise printed the proclamation of queen Mary, was removed, and John Cawood appointed the queen's printer in his room; or have attributed it, as he does, to his being a protestant, and having printed the Bible in English: since it is far more likely, that the cause of his being turned out of his employment, and meeting with other hard usage, was for his printing this proclamation. At least this is so good a reason, that there is no need of looking for a better.

The concourse of people, as is usual on such occasions, was very great, but they came rather out of curiosity, than to testify their concurrence or consent; so that their acclamations were but faint, most being silent, some testifying their dislike, and, amongst the crowd, a vintner's boy had the boldness to vindicate queen Mary's title, for which he was presently committed.

This day, likewise, Jane assuming the regal title, confirmed the lords-lieutenants throughout the kingdom, and wrote to the marquis of Northampton,

ampton, who was lord-lieutenant of Surry, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, and Bucks, to assist and defend her title.

On Tuesday, the eleventh, Gilbert Pot, servant to Ninion Saunders, a vintner, who was convicted of speaking seditious words the day-betore, on the evidence of his master, a gunner of the Tower, stood in the pillory, to which his ears were nailed; and, when his time of standing was ended, they were cut off, a herald proclaiming his offence, and a trumpet sounding all the time. An unseasonable act of severity, which displeased rather than terrified the people, and which a subsequent accident made more remarkable; for his master, with one Owen, a gunsmith, coming from the Tower that evening, were drowned in shooting London-bridge.

On Wednesday, the twelfth, a letter was written from Jane to the emperor, notifying her accession, which was committed to the care of Richard Shelly, who was likewise entrusted with the council's letters to the ambassadors at Brussels; in which they stiled that princess our sovereign lady. This princess and her council, however, had their thoughts diverted from matters of form, to things of greater consequence, by their receiving certain intelligence, that Mary was gone to Keninghall-castle, in Norfolk, attended by some of the nobility, and such a resort of the commons, as plainly shewed she wanted not those who would support her claim to the crown, which she had likewise shewn her own intention to maintain, by assuming the title of queen.

A squadron had been before sent to cruize upon the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk, to prevent her escape to Flanders; but now the necessity of an army appeared, and the first resolution was, that

it should be commanded by the duke of Suffolk; who had a great stake in this business, and who wanted not either courage, or any other abilities, to qualify him for that office. But the queen's tenderness over-ruled her judgment, and the council falling easily into her opinion, consented that Suffolk, with the title of guardian to the queen's person, should remain where he was; and, that Northumberland, whose military talents they magnified, should put himself at the head of the forces, which he seemed cheerfully to accept, because he saw it could not possibly be refused. He then signified to the council, that he would make ready his own power on the morrow after, not doubting but they would send theirs with him, or speed them after him; that he must recommend the queen unto their fidelity, of whose sacred person he desired them to be very tender; all which they promised him to do. And, having thus settled these affairs, they made the queen acquainted, in Northumberland's presence, with how great readiness he had taken the danger of that action upon himself, to give her the contentment of enjoying her father's company, till the present storm was over-blown; who humbly thanked the duke for so great a favour, and cheerfully desired him not to be wanting to the public and his personal safety. The same day arms and ammunition were sent from the Tower, for the use of the troops that were to be quickly in motion.

On Thursday the thirteenth, after taking due care, so far as was in his power, for assembling troops sufficient for the intended enterprize, which was reducing those in arms against queen Jane, and bringing Mary prisoner to the Tower, Northumberland went, for the last time, to court; and, having put the nobility and council in mind that

“ Newmarket

Newmarket was the place of rendezvous, he delivered himself farther to this effect:

“ My lords,” said he, “ I, and these other noble personages, with the whole army that now goes forth, as well for the behalf of you and your’s, as for the establishing of the queen’s highness, shall not only adventure our bodies and lives amongst the bloody strokes and cruel assaults of our adversaries in the open fields; but also we do leave the conversation of ourselves, children, and families, at home here with you, as together committed to your trust and fidelity; whom, if we thought you would, through malice, conspiracy, or dissention, leave us your friends in the briers, and betray us, we could as well sundry ways foresee and provide for our own safe-guards, as any of you, by betraying us, can do for yours. But now, upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we think ourselves most assured, we hazard our lives; which trust and promise, if you shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet God shall not count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the sacred holy oath of allegiance, made freely by you to this virtuous lady the queen’s highness, who, by your and our enticement, is rather of force placed therein, than by her own seeking and request.

“ Consider also that God’s cause, which is the preferment of his word, and the fear of the return of popery, hath been, as ye have heretofore always said, the original cause whereupon ye, even at the first motion, granted your good wills and consents thereunto, as by your hand writing appeareth. And think not otherwise but that, if you mean deceit, though not forthwith, yet hereafter, God will revenge the same. I can

“ say no more, but, in this troublesome time, wish
 “ you to use constant hearts ; abandoning all ma-
 “ lice, envy, and private affections.”

Which said, and having paused a little, he shut up his address in these following words :

“ I have not spoken to you,” my lords, “ in this
 “ sort upon any mistrust that I have of your fide-
 “ lities, of which always I have hitherto conceived
 “ a trusty confidence ; but I have only put you in
 “ remembrance thereof, what chance of variance
 “ soever might grow among you in my absence.
 “ And this I pray you, that you would not wish
 “ me less good speed in this journey, than you
 “ would have yourselves.”

To which last words one of them is said to have thus replied : “ My lord, if you mistrust any of us
 “ in this matter, your grace is much mistaken in
 “ us. For which of us can wash his hands clean
 “ of the present business ; for, if we should shrink
 “ from you, as one that is culpable, which of us
 “ can excuse himself, as being guiltless ?”

Little the more assured by this quick return, he went to take his leave of the queen, where he found his commission ready sealed, together with certain instructions subscribed by all the lords of the council, in which his marches were laid out and limited from one day to another. This is generally supposed to have been by his own advice ; but, that he might have the authority of the privy-council to plead for every motion he made.

At his departure, the earl of Arundel, who had been betraying them all the time, and who meditated their destruction now, which he soon accomplished, came to the duke, professed his sorrow that he was not appointed to go with him, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood, and to lay down his life at his feet.

North,

Northumberland, accompanied by the marquis of Northampton and the lord Grey, went in his barge to Durham-house, and from thence to Whitehall, where having mustered his forces, and given the necessary orders for their march, he returned to Durham-house for that night.

On Friday the fourteenth of July, he marched with two thousand horse and six thousand foot through Shoreditch, accompanied by the lord Grey of Wilton, and sir John Gates, his constant friend, bringing up the rear.

The duke of Suffolk having the care of the queen's person and of the Tower, found himself very fully employed, and in a very little time perceived what a mistake had been made in sending the duke of Northumberland into a country where he was universally hated, and leaving the direction of the council to him who was no politician.

On Saturday the fifteenth, those intrigues began which destroyed that unanimity that, in appearance at least, had subsisted in Jane's little court. Sir William Cecil seems to have been the person who first intimated a dislike of the condition they were in, and he very quickly found that many were in his sentiments. He had wisely declined executing his office of secretary, so that most of the papers of state had been drawn by sir John Cheke, which was certainly no disadvantage to the cause; for, as he was one of the most learned and polite, he was also one of the clearest and correctest writers of that time.

The person applied to by Cecil, was the lord-treasurer Winchester, whose maxim it was, that in stormy times an oak was more exposed than a willow; and this gave him such a facility in bending, that we find him well rooted, and flourishing in every court from the days of Henry to the times of Elizabeth;

Elizabeth. Arundel was next tampered with, and he contented himself with saying he liked not that air. Paget and Petre were known to be in the same sentiments. These cabals were indeed very secret, but it was not long before their effects appeared.

On Sunday, July the sixteenth, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, preached at Paul's-crofs, where he very justly commended the virtues and abilities of queen Jane, maintained her title by the best arguments he could devise, and inveighed against the claims of king Henry's daughters.

This sermon must have been preached upon the sixteenth of July, by directions from the council, as it stands in Stowe and other old writers, and as it was understood to be by bishop Burnet; for, though that prelate does not expressly say this, yet he says it in effect; since he tells us that it was preached on the very same day that Dr. Sands preached on the very same subject at Cambridge, and the time of preaching that sermon was never liable to any doubt. But the best and most concise account of this we owe to Heylin, who speaks thus:

“ On Sunday, the sixteenth of the month, Dr.
 “ Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, is ordered
 “ by the lords of the council to preach at Paul's
 “ crofs, and in his sermon to advance the title of
 “ queen Jane, and shew the invalidity of the claim
 “ of the lady Mary. Which he performed accord-
 “ ing to such grounds of law and polity, as had
 “ been laid together in the letters-patents of king
 “ Edward, by the authority and consent of all
 “ the lords of the council, the greatest judges in
 “ the land, and almost all the peers of the king-
 “ dom. But then wisthal he pressed the incommo-
 “ dities

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“dities and inconveniencies which might arise by
“receiving Mary for their queen, prophesying that
“which after came to pass: namely, that she
“would bring in a foreign power to rule over this
“nation, and that she would subvert the true reli-
“gion then established by the laws of this realm.

“He also shewed, that, at such time as she lived
“in his diocese, he had travailed much with her
“to reduce her to the true religion; but that,
“though otherwise she had used him with great
“civility, she shewed herself so stiff and obstinate,
“that there was no hope to be conceived, but that
“she would disturb and destroy all that which with
“such great labour had been settled in the reign
“of her brother. For which sermon he incurred
“so much displeasure, that it could never be for-
“given him, when the rest were pardoned by
“whose encouragement and command he had un-
“dertaken it.”

But this remark is only that author's conjecture; for, if we govern our notions of queen Mary's temper by facts, we shall find that heresy with her was a more heinous crime than treason. However this ought to be a warning to clergymen not to embark themselves in schemes of policy, with which the gospel has very little to do; and surely therefore it had been better if the protestant cause had not mingled so much in this dispute, by which it was made so obnoxious to Mary; so that it is no wonder if she thought that all who were of her brother's religion, were against his sister's succeeding him, to which this conduct of the bishop Ridley might not a little contribute; so that after all, these kind of declarations should be left to those to whom they properly belong; that is, to the heralds, and other instruments of state, and not to the pastors or prelates of the church.

The

The bishop, no doubt, acted with great sincerity, for he was a man of primitive piety and unspotted integrity; notwithstanding which, this sermon is, with great probability, believed to have cost him his life.

That evening the lord-treasurer went privately out of the Tower, which was no sooner known to the duke of Suffolk, than he caused the gates to be shut, though it was but seven of the clock; and about midnight, we are told, the lord treasurer was brought in again.

On Monday, the seventeenth, the spirit of discord began to work powerfully, upon the lord-treasurer Winchester's reporting that the people, in general, were for Mary; that many of the nobility who were at liberty had joined her; that the ships had revolted to her which were sent to cruize on the coast of Norfolk; and, that there was very little hopes of Northumberland's success. All this was abundantly confirmed by letters from Northumberland himself, complaining that they had not sent the powers they had promised to Newmarket; that this had discouraged his forces so that they began to dwindle; and pressing them, for the sake of religion, of the queen, and of themselves, to hasten their supplies.

These dispatches were read and debated upon in council, but in private they were busy in contriving how to get out of the Tower, in which they were already a kind of prisoners, and to which they were afraid of being sent by another authority for what they were then doing against their wills.

On Tuesday the eighteenth, queen Jane, by the advice of her council, wrote to sir John St. Lowe, and sir Anthony Kingston, to raise forces in Buckinghamshire for her support. Yet whatever they did of this kind, though with all the outward zeal
and

and solemnity imaginable, was directly against their real sentiments, and intirely owing to the strictness and vigilance with which the forces under the command of the duke of Suffolk kept the gates, so that their situation seemed equally desperate, with respect to the measures they were taking, and with regard to their desired escape.

On Wednesday, July the nineteenth, the council was assembled in the morning, on account of letters received from lord Rich, lieutenant of the county of Essex, giving them notice that the earl of Oxford with the forces under his command, had deserted to the lady Mary; upon which they wrote in the strongest terms that could be devised, to keep him to his fidelity, and to express their own; and they had no sooner signed this letter, than some of the shrewdest among them, made it a handle for executing their design of getting out of the Tower.

It is impossible to give the reader any notion of that strange height to which dissimulation was carried upon this occasion, without producing the very letter which the lords of the council signed, the very morning of that day on which they proclaimed queen Mary.

To the lord Rich, lord-lieutenant of the county of Essex.

“ After our right heartie commendations to
 “ your lordship, although the matter contained
 “ in your letters of therele of Oxfords departing
 “ to the lady Mari, be grevous unto us for divers
 “ respects, yet we must neades give your lordship
 “ our heartie thankes for your redi advertifement
 “ thereof. Requiring your lordship, neverthe-
 “ less, like a nobleman, to remain in that pro-
 “ mise

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“ mise and stedfastnes to our sovereign lady
“ queen Jane’s service, as you shall find us ready
“ and firm with al our force to the same. Which
“ neither with honor nor with saftie, nor yet with
“ duty we mai now forsaake. From the Toure of
“ London, the sixth of Julie 1553.

“ Your lp’s assured loving friends,

T. Cant.	T. Ely Canc.	W. Petre, S;
	H. Suffolk.	Jo. Bakere.
	Pembroke.	J. Bedford.
	William Paget.	F. Shrewsbury;
	Winchester.	Rychard Cotton.
	Arundel.	Jo. Cheek.
	T. Darcy.	Robert Bowes.
	T. Cheyne.	

We may, without believing the duke of Suffolk so weak a man as some writers represent him, easily apprehend he might be deceived by a measure like this; for, supposing him to be, as all our historians allow he was, a man of plain, open, sincere, but hasty temper, we may, without difficulty conclude, that this letter laid all jealousies in him asleep, and left him without the least suspicion. Besides, if he had not given them leave to go out, it would have been only the worse for him, and the better for them, since the dispute would nevertheless have been determined by Northumberland’s proclaiming queen Mary at Cambridge, which he did, before he received the news of the revolution at London.

The above-mentioned lords, in order to execute their purpose of getting out of the Tower, suggested the absolute necessity they were under of complying without any longer delay, with their engagements to the duke of Northumberland;
and

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and that it was impossible for them to do this, without going to levy and press men for the service in person, and even marching with them, since it appeared how little trust could be reposed in some men's faith, instancing sir Edward Hastings, the earl of Oxford, and others, who had carried the forces, raised by their orders for the service of queen Jane, to her competitor.

The duke of Suffolk, who was no deep politician, deceived by these appearances, and at the same time pressed by necessity, gave way to this motion, and agreed, that all should take the best measures they could for recruiting Northumberland's army, and for the support of his daughter's service, which most of these zealous people were about to desert. As soon as they found themselves at liberty, the earls of Shrewsbury and Pembroke, with sir Thomas Cheyne and sir John Mason, went immediately, under pretence of conferring with the French ambassador, to Baynard's castle, a house in the city, that belonged to the last of those lords; and, in a very little time, the rest of the council repaired thither likewise; where as soon as they were set, the earl of Arundel, in a long and bitter speech, for malice is ever copious, ripped up all the failings of Northumberland, laid every grievance, and every reputed grievance, during the late reign, at his door; and concluded, with advising the assembly to follow his example, which was, to lay all the guilt upon Dudley, to take all the merit of repentance to themselves, by returning to their duty, and proclaiming queen Mary without delay.

The earl of Pembroke spoke next; Heylin says he was an unlettered man; but how little-soever he had read, certain it is, that he could think; and having been a principal manager of the
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councils which Arundel had set forth in such a fable dress, he conceived it necessary to do something extraordinary; and therefore not only seconded Arundel's motion, but clapped his hand to his sword, and avowed himself ready to fight in defence of queen Mary's title, who had married his son but a month before to the sister of queen Jane.

This proposal was quickly closed with, and a message thereupon dispatched to the lord-mayor and aldermen to be ready; and then the lords and others proceeded from Baynard's-castle through St. Paul's Church-yard, to the cross in Cheapside, where sir Christopher Barker, knight of the Bath, and Garter king at arms, proclaimed Mary, the daughter of king Henry VIII and queen Catharine, the undoubted queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the loudest acclamations of a numberless multitude of people assembled on this occasion. They went next to St. Paul's church, and there sung Te Deum. On their return to Baynard's-castle, the earl of Arundel and lord Paget, with thirty horse, set out to carry this good news to queen Mary, and some companies were detached to secure the Tower for the service of the new queen.

We shall here, as succinctly as possible, represent the motions of queen Mary, from the time of king Edward's death to that of her being proclaimed at London. It appears she was informed of that event almost as early as it was possible; for, on the day after the king's demise, she quitted St. Edmund's-bury, under pretence of being afraid of the plague, one of her servants having died suddenly, and went directly to Keninghall in Norfolk, from whence, on the eighth, she wrote letters to sir George Somerset, sir William Drury,

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Drury, sir William Waldgrave, Knights, and Clement Higham, esq; signifying unto them the king's death, and thereby her right to the crown, requiring them to obey no commandment to be issued out upon any pretence or gloss of the deceased king's authority, being bound now to be true liegemen unto her only.

And lastly, charging them in all haste possible, to prepare, and put themselves in order to repair to her, where at their coming, they should know farther of her pleasure.

On the ninth, she wrote to the council, and the same day to sir Edward Hastings, who was a warm papist, in the same terms she had used to sir George Somerset. In a few days she was joined by the earls of Bath and Suffex, and other persons of nobility and distinction.

On the twelfth, she sent orders to the magistrates of Norwich to proclaim her queen, which they refused, or rather were afraid to do, as having no certain intelligence of king Edward's death; but being the next day satisfied in that particular, they not only complied with her command, but sent her a supply of men, ammunition, and provisions.

She removed, notwithstanding this, to Framlingham castle in Suffolk, as standing near the sea, and being at the distance of fourscore miles from London, by which her person was more secure, time gained for raising forces, and an opportunity procured of applying for foreign assistance, of which, however, she quickly stood in no need, her army being augmented, in a few days, to thirteen thousand men, and plentifully furnished with provisions of all kinds. This was entirely owing to the general disposition of the nation in her favour, and more especially of the



commons, who were in all places devoted to her service, and absolutely refused to act against her. What contributed not a little to her success, was her promises with respect to the protestant religion; those who joined her at first from Suffolk and Norfolk, being for the most part zealous for the reformation.

Of these promises, she was afterwards not forgetful only, but declared her resolution of breaking them, by causing Mr. Dobbs, a gentleman of Suffolk, to be set in the pillory, only for reminding her of them. In proportion as her strength increased, Northumberland's diminished, and those that were left about him shewed plainly, that they had not either hands or hearts to fight against her; nay, when in compliance with the general inclination he had proclaimed her at Cambridge, his very guards seized upon his person, that he might justify them from the guilt of rebellion. Thus it is evident, that the people made her queen, from a persuasion of her right, and overturned without bloodshed, that potent confederacy, which, with so much art and address had been framed, by those who were at that time in authority, to defeat her succession.

The duke of Suffolk did not wait for new instructions from the council; the shouts of the people, flying from street to street, had reached the Tower before their messengers arrived; and the duke, having not either power or will to resist, went immediately to his daughter's apartment, and in the softest terms he could, acquainted her with the situation of their affairs, and, that laying aside the state and dignity of a queen, she must again return to that of a private person.

To which, with a serene and settled countenance, she returned this answer: " Sir, I better
" brook

“brook this message, than my former advancement to royalty; out of obedience to you and my mother I have grievously sinned, and offered violence to myself. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my soul, relinquish the crown, and endeavour to save those faults committed by others, if at least so great a fault can be saved, by a willing relinquishment, and ingenuous acknowledgment of them.”

Thus we are come to an end of the diary of that short reign, which, from the time of its continuance, is said to have given birth to the common proverb of a “nine days wonder.” A reign in which the seeming sovereign was always apprehensive of seeing herself suddenly sunk into the character of a guilty subject, and to find those the walls of her prison, which served for a short space; to enclose her court: A reign, upon which not to bestow a short reflection, would argue an incapacity of writing it, and leave the reader room to think hardly of him who could pen such a scene unmoved.

There is a very singular circumstance, which was preserved among John Fox’s papers, from the information of the very person whom it concerned, that will serve to set the suddenness of this surprizing revolution, in a clearer light than almost any other thing that is to be met with.

There was one Mr. Edward Underhill, descended from a good family in Warwickshire, who, for his services in the army, had been taken into the band of gentlemen-pensioners; in which he remained during the reign of Edward, and was now about queen Jane.

He had, in his youth, been what we call a man of pleasure; but being converted to the re-

formed religion, became so sincere and zealous a protestant, that those of the band, who were less religious, nick-named him the hot Gospeller. This gentleman was known to, and very well esteemed by the queen; and it fell out, while he was upon duty at the Tower, his wife was brought to bed of a son.

At the christening of this child, which was fixed for the nineteenth of July, 1553, the duke of Suffolk and the earl of Pembroke were god-fathers by proxy, queen Jane was godmother; and, as a still higher mark of her favour, directed that the child should be called Guilford after her husband. The person sent to represent the queen, was lady Throckmorton, who, at the time she left the Tower, in order to be present at the ceremony, received the commands of the queen, in a manner suitable to that rank, and carried them to Mr. Underhill's. But, on her return to the Tower, her amazement must have been great, to find the canopy of state removed, with all other ensigns of royalty, out of which she was quickly drawn, by an intimation from one of the new officers, that her lady was a prisoner for high treason; and that she was to attend her under the like circumstances.

This relation is not indeed of any great moment in itself, but, all things considered, the reader will perhaps be of opinion, that there is hardly any thing like it in history.

The duke of Suffolk having deposed his daughter, whom he had forced to ascend the throne, went next to the council, and subscribed the instructions, that were sent to the duke of Northumberland, by Rose, pursuivant at arms, requiring him to disband his forces, and submit to queen Mary, if he meant they should become
humble

humble suitors to their sovereign for him and his, as well as for themselves. In this, however Northumberland prevented them; for finding how strong the current ran in the country, he suspected its source to be at London, and had therefore proclaimed queen Mary at Cambridge before the pursuivant arrived.

This did not hinder his being seized soon after, and sent to the Tower, where it must have added no small weight to the lady Jane's misfortunes, to see the father of her husband, with all his family, and many of the nobility and gentry, brought prisoners, for having supported her claim to the crown; and this grief must have met with some accession, from his being condemned soon after, and brought to the block. With him died sir Thomas Palmer and sir John Gates, the former supposed to have been his instrument in the ruin of the protector Somerset, which however he did not confess; and the latter held his agent, in persuading king Edward to alter the succession; which the duke denied, affirming him to have done it of his own accord, and to have been thereby the cause of all this mischief; with what degree of probability every man must judge for himself.

On the twenty-seventh of July, or, as others say, on the twenty-eighth, she had the mortification of seeing her own father the duke of Suffolk in the same circumstances with herself; but her mother the duchess, not only remained exempt from all punishment, but had such an interest with the queen, as to procure the duke his liberty on the last day of that month.

Lady Jane, and her husband the lord Guilford Dudley, remaining still in confinement, were, on the third of November, 1553, carried from th

Tower to Guildhall, and, with archbishop Cranmer, and some others, arraigned and convicted of high-treason, before judge Morgan, who pronounced on them sentence of death; the remembrance of which afterwards affected him so far, that he died raving.

From this time, the unfortunate lady Jane, and her no less unhappy husband, lived in the very shadow of death, and yet not without some gleams of comfort: for, in the month of December, the marquis of Northampton, who in the same cause, had fallen into like circumstances, was pardoned and discharged; and, at the same time, the strictness of their confinement mitigated, by permission granted to take the air in the queen's garden, and other little indulgences, that would, however, have been so many acts of cruelty, if the queen had then intended, what she afterwards thought fit to inflict.

But this, by the consent of our best historians, is allowed to be altogether improbable; and that there are good reasons to believe the queen would have spared lady Jane, since she had already pardoned her father, who was much more guilty; and that she would have extended her mercy to lord Guilford Dudley as well as to his elder brothers. However, in the first parliament of her reign, an act was passed for establishing the validity of such private contracts, as were dated during Jane's nine days administration, with a proviso, that all public acts, grants of lands, or the like, if any such there were, should be void.

Another act likewise passed for confirming the attainders of Northumberland, Canterbury, and the rest, who had been convicted of high-treason, which perhaps was thought necessary, to confirm the opinion of the judges, who had over-ruled their

their plea; that what they did was in obedience to the supreme authority then subsisting. But, whatever hopes lady Jane and her husband might entertain, whatever ease they might enjoy, were quickly taken away by an unhappy event, which it was impossible for them to foresee, and in which it is not so much as pretended that either of them had the least hand.

There was a great spirit raised in the nation against the queen's marriage with Philip of Spain; and upon this a general insurrection was concerted, which, if it had been executed with any degree of that prudence shewed in the planning of it, or rather, if the providence of God had not interposed, could scarce have failed of succeeding; sir Thomas Wyat of Kent, a man of a great estate and a greater influence, managed those who were afraid, under colour of this marriage, the kingdom would be delivered up to a foreign prince and his partizans.

Sir Peter Carew, in Cornwall, dealt with such as were desirous of seeing the princess Elizabeth upon the throne, and in the arms of Courtney, whom the queen had lately restored to the title of Devonshire, and the duke of Suffolk, to whom danger had in vain preached discretion, and who could not learn loyalty even from mercy, made use of that great interest which his large estates gave him, though he held them by the queen's favour, to mislead her subjects from their duty, and to take up arms against her person.

What the real view of this design was, even time has not discovered; but by rashness, and mis-intelligence of those at the head of it, all miscarried. The duke of Suffolk, with his brothers lord John and lord Thomas Grey, were in arms, and with a body of three hundred horse, presented

themselves before the city of Coventry, in which they had a strong party; but the queen, having sent down the earl of Huntingdon, he secured that place; and Suffolk, finding his design abortive, and his people dropping away, retired, with as many as he could keep about him, to a house of his in Leicestershire, where, having distributed what money he had to those who were the companions of his fortune, he advised them to shift for themselves, trusting to the promises of one Underwood his park-keeper, who undertook to conceal, and who is suspected to have betrayed him to the earl of Huntingdon, by whom himself and his brother lord John being apprehended, were carried to Coventry, and, after some stay there, sent to London under a guard, where they did not arrive till the tenth of February, and were then committed to the Tower, out of which the duke never came, but to his trial and to his death.

Our histories give us but very dark and indifferent accounts of this insurrection, which, if we may credit one of our old chronicle writers, and his authority John Stowe, was purely to prevent the queen's marriage with a foreign prince: the passage is very singular, and worth reading.

“ Upon Saturday, being the 17th of February, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned to die by his peers, the earl of Arundel being that day chief judge. Where some have written, that he should, at his last going down into the country, make proclamation in his daughter's name, that is not so; for, whereas he stood by in Leicestershire, when at his commandment the proclamation was there made against the queen's marriage with the prince of Spain, &c. master
“ Dampport,

“ Dampport, then mayor of that town, said to him,
 “ My lord, I trust your grace meaneth no hurt to
 “ the queen’s majesty. No, saith he, master
 “ mayor, laying his hand on his sword, he that
 “ would her any hurt, I would this sword were
 “ through his heart; for she is the mercifullest
 “ prince, as I have truly found her, that ever
 “ reigned, in whose defence I am, and will be
 “ ready to die at her feet.”

But to this we may oppose the authority of a very learned prelate, who likewise wrote a chronicle, lived himself in those times, and published it within less than six years after the event.

“ Henry duke of Suffolk, says he, father to
 “ lady Jane, lately proclaimed queen, flying into
 “ Leicestershire and Warwickshire, with a small
 “ company, in divers places as he went, again
 “ proclaimed his daughter, but the people did
 “ not greatly incline unto him.”

A very judicious and impartial foreigner, who had great opportunities of knowing our affairs at this juncture, not only affirms the same thing that bishop Cooper does, but acquaints us farther, that queen Mary had an intention, as soon as Wyatt’s rising in Kent was known, to put the duke of Suffolk at the head of the troops that were sent against him; to avoid which, being conscious of his own engagements, and over-persuaded by his brother lord Thomas Grey, he departed from his house at Sheen, on the twenty-fifth of January in the evening, in order to raise the counties before-mentioned. It is not, however impossible, that he might proclaim his daughter in his passage, and finding that not so well received as he expected, alter his language at Leicester: but this is barely a conjecture, and as such submitted to the reader’s judgment.

This

This weak and ill-managed business, gave the ministers an opportunity of persuading the queen, that her safety could be no otherwise provided for, than by putting lady Jane and her husband to death; to which, a very learned prelate assures us, the queen was not wrought without much difficulty: and, it is very remarkable, that Saunders makes the same observation, so that the truth of it can hardly be called in question.

The news of this fatal resolution made no great impression upon this excellent lady; the bitterness of death was passed, she had expected it long, and was so well prepared to meet her fate, that she was very little discomposed. But the queen's charity hurt her more than her justice. The day first fixed for her death was Friday February the ninth, and she had, in some measure, taken leave of the world, by writing a letter to her unhappy father, who, she heard, was more disturbed with the thoughts of his being the author of her death, than with the apprehension of his own.

This letter must, in all probability, have been written before Dr. Feckenham procured her reprieve; for, upon the first of February, public proclamation was made, that the duke and his company were dispersed; and, soon after that himself, and one of his brothers, were taken and carried to Coventry, from whence lady Jane might have, at this time, news of his great grief on her account. But it so fell out afterwards, that he was brought to the Tower two days before her execution, which, as she could not possibly foresee, it is improbable she should delay her letter beyond the day first fixed for her death.

FATHER,

“ FATHER,

“ Although it pleaseth God to hasten my death
“ by you, by whom my life should rather have
“ been lengthened ; yet I can so patiently take it ;
“ as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening
“ my woeful days, than if all the world had been
“ given into my possession, with life lengthened
“ to my will : and albeit, I am well assured of
“ your impatient dolours, redoubled many ways,
“ both in bewailing your own woe, and also, as
“ I hear, especially my unfortunate estate : yet,
“ my dear father, if I may, without offence, re-
“ joice in my mishaps, methinks in this I may ac-
“ count myself blessed ; that washing my hands
“ with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless
“ blood may cry before the Lord, mercy to the
“ innocent ; and yet, tho’ I must needs acknow-
“ ledge, that being constrained, and, as you well
“ know, continually assailed in taking the crown
“ upon me ; I seemed to consent, and therein
“ grievously offended the queen and her laws :
“ and yet do I assuredly trust, that this my of-
“ fence towards God, is so much the less, in that
“ being in so royal an estate as I was, my inforced
“ honour never mixed with my innocent heart ;
“ and thus, good father, I have opened my state
“ to you, whose death at hand, although to you,
“ perhaps, it may seem right woeful, to me there
“ is nothing that can be more welcome, than from
“ this vale of misery, to aspire to that heavenly
“ throne of all joys and pleasure with Christ our
“ Saviour : in whose stedfast faith, if it be lawful
“ for the daughter to write so to her father, the
“ Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so
“ continue you, that at last we may meet in hea-
“ ven,

“ven, with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:
“ Amen.”

In this serene frame of mind, Dr. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, came to her from the queen, who was very desirous she should follow her father-in-law's example, and be reconciled to the church of Rome. He was, indeed, a very fit instrument (if any had been fit) for this purpose; for he had an acute wit, a very plausible manner of speaking, and a great tenderness in his nature. Lady Jane received him with much civility, and behaved towards him with so much calmness and sweetness of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her distress: so that either mistaking or pretending to mistake her meaning, he procured a respite of her execution till the twelfth. Yet he did not gain any thing upon her in regard to the design upon which he was sent: on the contrary, though she heard him patiently, yet she answered all his arguments with such strength, such clearness, and such a steadiness of mind, as shewed plainly that religion had been her principal care; and that the hopes of being happy in a future state, from acting according to the dictates of her conscience in this, had fortified her not only against the fears of death, but against all doubts or apprehensions whatever.

But Feckenham could know nothing of this, otherwise, in all appearance, he would not have undertaken lady Jane's conversion. He thought he should have found her in great disorder and confusion, and that it would be no difficult matter to triumph over the feeble understanding of a dejected and heart-broken young woman, but he found

found it quite otherwise ; notwithstanding which she would have declined the dispute, telling him, she had no time to spare ; that controversy might be fit for the living, but not for the dying ; and that therefore, the truest sign of having that compassion for her, of which he made such strong professions, would be to leave her undisturbed in making her peace with God.

It was upon this, that he applied himself to the queen for a short reprieve ; with which, when he acquainted this admirable woman, she told him, “ That he had intirely misunderstood her sense of her situation ; that far from desiring her death might be delayed, she expected and wished for it as the period of her miseries. and her entrance into eternal happiness.”

Yet she could not then avoid entering into discourse with him, more especially when he desired her to give him a brief account of her faith, that he might clearly understand it, and make a true report thereof to the world. Upon this they discussed the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament, which lady Jane denied in the sense that Feckenham asserted, and that posterity might not be imposed upon by any fallacious account of this conference, she drew up, and subscribed a clear and concise account of it ; to which, if the reader has any curiosity, he may easily have recourse.

At length, finding he could make no impression, he took his leave of her, and said, “ Madam, I am sorry for you, and your obstinacy, and now I am assured you and I shall never meet again.” “ It is most true, sir, said she, we shall never meet again, except God turn your heart ; for I stand undoubtedly assured, that unless you repent and turn to God, you are in a sad and desperate case : and I pray to
“ God

“ God in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his
 “ holy spirit; for he hath given you his great gift
 “ of utterance, if it please him to open the eyes
 “ of your heart to his truth.”

We must conceive, that this was understood as it was spoken, as flowing from a religious zeal, and not from any distaste of contradiction, or any dislike to his person, since we find, that Feckenham, far from deserting, attended her to the very last; and that the lady Jane shewed a very proper sense of his attention and respect for her, in the sight and hearing of all who were upon or near the scaffold.

On the Sunday evening, which was the last she was to spend in this world, she wrote a letter in the Greek tongue, as some say, on the blank leaves at the end of a testament in the same language, which she bequeathed as a legacy to her sister Catharine; which piece of her's, if we had no other left, would be sufficient to render her memory immortal; and therefore we shall here insert the substance of it in English.

“ I have here sent you, my dear sister Catharine;
 “ a book, which, although it be not outwardly
 “ trimmed with gold, or the curious embroidery
 “ of the artfullest needles, yet inwardly it is more
 “ worth than all the rich mines which the vast world
 “ can boast of. It is the book, my only best and
 “ loved sister, of the law of the Lord: it is the
 “ testament and last will which he bequeathed
 “ unto us wretches and wretched sinners, which
 “ shall lead you to the path of eternal joy:
 “ and if you with a good mind read it, and with
 “ an earnest desire follow it, no doubt it will
 “ bring you to an immortal and everlasting life:
 “ It will teach you to live, and learn you to die:

“ It

JANE

“ it shall win you more, and endow you with
“ greater felicity than you should have gained by
“ the possession of our woful father's lands; for,
“ as if God had prospered him, you should have
“ inherited his honours and manors, so, if you
“ apply diligently this book, seeking to direct
“ your life according to the rule of the same, you
“ shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither
“ the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither
“ the thief shall steal, neither yet the moths cor-
“ rupt.

“ Desire with David, my best sister, to under-
“ stand the law of the Lord your God; live still
“ to die, that you by death may purchase eternal
“ life; and trust not, that the tenderness of your
“ age shall lengthen your life; for unto God
“ when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons
“ are alike, and blessed are they whose lamps are
“ furnished when he cometh, for as soon will the
“ Lord be glorified in the young as in the old.

“ My good sister, once again more let me in-
“ treat thee to learn to die; deny the world, defy
“ the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight
“ yourself only in the Lord; be penitent for your
“ sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith,
“ yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul, to
“ be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom
“ even in death there is life. Be like the good
“ servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest
“ when death cometh and stealeth upon you like
“ a thief in the night, you be with the servants
“ of darkness found sleeping; and lest for lack of
“ oil, you be found like the five foolish virgins,
“ or like him that had not on the wedding gar-
“ ment, and then you be cast into darkness, or
“ banished from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ,
“ as I trust you do, and seeing you have the name
“ of

“ of a Christian, as near as you can follow the
 “ steps, and be a true imitator of your master
 “ Christ Jesus, and take up your cross, lay your
 “ sins on his back, and always embrace him.

“ Now, as touching my death; rejoice as I do,
 “ my dearest sifter, that I shall be delivered of this
 “ corruption, and put on incorruption; for I am
 “ assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life,
 “ win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlasting;
 “ the which I pray God grant you in his
 “ most blessed hour, and send you all-saving
 “ grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true
 “ Christian faith. From which, in God's name,
 “ I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither
 “ for hope of life, nor fear of death; for, if you
 “ will deny his truth, to give length to a weary and
 “ corrupt breath, God himself will deny you, and
 “ by vengeance make short what you by your
 “ soul's loss would prolong; but, if you will
 “ cleave to him, he will stretch forth your days to
 “ an uncircumscribed comfort, and to his own
 “ glory. To the which glory God bring me now,
 “ and you hereafter, when it shall please him to
 “ call you. Farewel once again, my beloved
 “ sifter, and put your only trust in God, who
 “ only must help you. Amen.”

Your loving sifter,

JANE DUDLEY:

The fatal morning being come, the lord Guilford earnestly desired that he might take his last farewell of her; which, though willingly permitted, yet upon notice she advised the contrary, assuring him, that such a meeting would rather add to his afflictions, than increase that quiet wherewith they had possessed their souls for the
 stroke

stroke of death; that he demanded a lenitive which would put fire into the wound; and that it was to be feared, her presence would rather weaken than strengthen him; that he ought to take courage from his reason, and derive constancy from his own heart; that if his soul was not firm and settled, she could not settle it by her eyes, nor confirm it by her words; that he should do well to remit this interview to the other world; that there indeed friendships were happy, and unions indissoluble; and that theirs would be eternal, if their souls carried nothing with them of terrestrial, which might hinder them from rejoicing. All she could do was to give him a farewell out of a window as he passed towards the place of his dissolution, which he suffered on the scaffold on Tower-hill with much Christian meekness.

His dead body being laid in a car, and his head wrapped up in a linen cloth, were carried to the chapel within the Tower; in the way to which, they were to pass under the window of the lady Jane; which sad spectacle she likewise beheld, but of her own accord, and not either by accident, or as some, without any colour of truth, have insinuated, by design, and with a view to increase the weight of her afflictions.

The lieutenant of the Tower at this time was sir John Bridges, the ancestor of the present most noble family of that name, dukes of Chandos, and who, in the month of April following, was himself created a baron by that title, and the same to whom she afterwards gave her prayer-book upon the scaffold. He was with her in the apartment which she had at Mr. Partridge's, from the windows of which she had the last sight of her lord living and dead.

It was after this sad sight that she wrote three short sentences in her table-book, in Greek, Latin and English; and this very book, upon sir John's intreaty, that she would bestow upon him some memorial, she presented him as an acknowledgment for the civility she received from him. By this accident, the world came to learn with what steadiness, and at the same time with what tenderness she looked upon those dear remains. The sense of the Greek sentence was,

“ If his slain body shall give testimony against
 “ me before men, his most blessed soul shall
 “ render an eternal proof of my innocence in
 “ the presence of God.”

The Latin was to this effect :

“ The justice of men took away his body, but
 “ the divine mercy has preserved his soul.”

The English ran thus :

“ If my fault deserved punishment, my youth
 “ at least, and my imprudence were worthy
 “ of excuse: God and posterity will shew me
 “ favour.”

In the place of her confinement, these verses were found, as some say, written with a pin :

“ Non aliena putes homini quæ obtingere possunt :
 “ Sors hodierna mihi, cras erat illi tibi.”

“ Stand not secure, who stand in mortal state,
 “ What's mine to-day, shall next day be thy fate.”

“ Deo

“ Deo juvante nil nocet livor malus,
 “ Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
 “ Post tenebras, spero lucem.”

“ If Heaven protect, hell's malice cannot wound,
 “ By Heaven deserted, peace can ne'er be found :
 “ These shadows past, I hope for light.

About an hour after the death of her husband, she was led out by the lieutenant to the scaffold that was prepared upon the green over-against the White Tower. It is said, that the court had once taken a resolution to have beheaded her on the same scaffold with her husband; but considering how much they were both pitied, and how generally lady Jane was beloved, it was determined, to prevent any commotions, that this execution should be in the Tower. She was attended to and from the scaffold by Feckenham; but she was observed not to give much heed to his discourses, keeping her eyes steadily fixed on a book of prayers which she had in her hand. After some short recollection, she saluted those who were present with a countenance perfectly composed; then taking leave of Dr. Feckenham, she said, “ God will abundantly requite you, good sir, for your humanity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death.”

She next addressed herself to the spectators in a plain and short speech, which we shall here insert:

“ My lords, and you good Christian people,
 “ which come to see me die; I am under a law,
 “ and by that law, as a never-erring judge, I am
 “ condemned to die, not for any thing I have of-
 “ fended the queen's majesty; for I will wash my

“ hands guiltless thereof, and deliver to my God,
 “ a soul as pure from such trespass, as innocence
 “ from injustice; but only for that I consented to
 “ that I was forced unto, constraint making the
 “ law believe I did that which I never understood,
 “ notwithstanding I have offended Almighty God,
 “ in that I have followed over much the lust of
 “ mine own flesh, and the pleasures of this wretch-
 “ ed world: neither have I lived according to the
 “ knowledge that God hath given me, for which
 “ cause God hath appointed unto me this kind of
 “ death, and that most worthily, according to
 “ my deserts; howbeit, I thank him heartily that
 “ he hath given me time to repent of my sins
 “ here in this world, and to reconcile myself to
 “ my Redeemer, whom my former vanities had
 “ in a great measure displeased. Wherefore (my
 “ lords, and a’l you good Christian people) I most
 “ earnestly desire you all to pray with me, and for
 “ me, whilst I am yet alive, that God of
 “ his infinite goodness and mercy will forgive
 “ me my sins, how numberless and grievous
 “ forever against him: and I beseech you all to
 “ bear me witness, that I here die a true Christian
 “ woman, professing and avouching from my
 “ soul, that I trust to be saved by the blood, pas-
 “ sion, and merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour
 “ only, and by no other means, casting far be-
 “ hind me all the works and merits of mine own
 “ actions, as things so far short of the true duty I
 “ owe, that I quake to think how much they may
 “ stand up against me. And now I pray you all
 “ pray for me, and with me.”

And, at those words, she repeated the psalm of
 “ Miserere mei;” which done, she said, “ Lord,
 “ save my soul, which now I commend into thy
 “ hands.”

“hands.” And so, with all meekness of spirit, and a saint-like patience, she prepared herself to the block. Then kneeling down, she said the Miserere in English, after which she stood up, and gave her women, Mrs. Elizabeth Tilney, and Mrs. Helen, her gloves and her handkerchief; and, to the lieutenant of the Tower, whom Heylin calls Sir John Gage, but Holinshed, Bridges, her prayer-book. When she untied her gown, the executioner offered to assist her, but she desired him to let her alone; and, turning to her women, they undressed her, and gave her a handkerchief to bind about her eyes. The executioner kneeling, desired her pardon; to which she answered most willingly. He desiring her to stand upon the straw, which bringing her within sight of the block, she said, “I pray dispatch me quickly;” adding presently after, “Will you take it off before I lay me down?” The executioner said, “No, madam; upon this the handkerchief being bound close over her eyes, she began to feel for the block, to which she was guided by one of the spectators; when she felt it, she stretched herself forward, and said, “Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit,” and immediately at one stroke her head was divided from her body.

Her fate was universally deplored, even by those who were best affected to queen Mary; and, as she is allowed to have been a princess of great piety, it must certainly have given her much disquiet to begin her reign with such an unusual effusion of blood; and, in the present case, of her near relation, one formerly honoured with her friendship and favour, who had indeed usurped, but without desiring or enjoying, the royal diadem, which she assumed, by the constraint of an ambitious father, and an imperious mother; and which

which, at the first motion, she cheerfully and willingly resigned. This made her exceedingly lamented at home and abroad; the fame of her learning and virtue having reached over Europe, so as to excite many commendations, and some express panegyrics in different nations, and in different languages. But whereas, some of our own writers seem to doubt whether she was with child or not at the time of her decease, and foreigners have improved this into a direct assertion, that she was five months gone, it seems to be improbable, since there were at that time so many busy and inquisitive people, but if the fact had been true, it must have been known, and would have been perpetually repeated in those pieces that were every day sent abroad, in order to exasperate the nation against the queen and her ministers.

* * * As there is nothing remarkable in the lives of the duke of Suffolk and Guilford Dudley, the father and husband of lady Jane Grey, we shall not give a particular account of them, as the foregoing life contains all the interesting particulars relating to them.

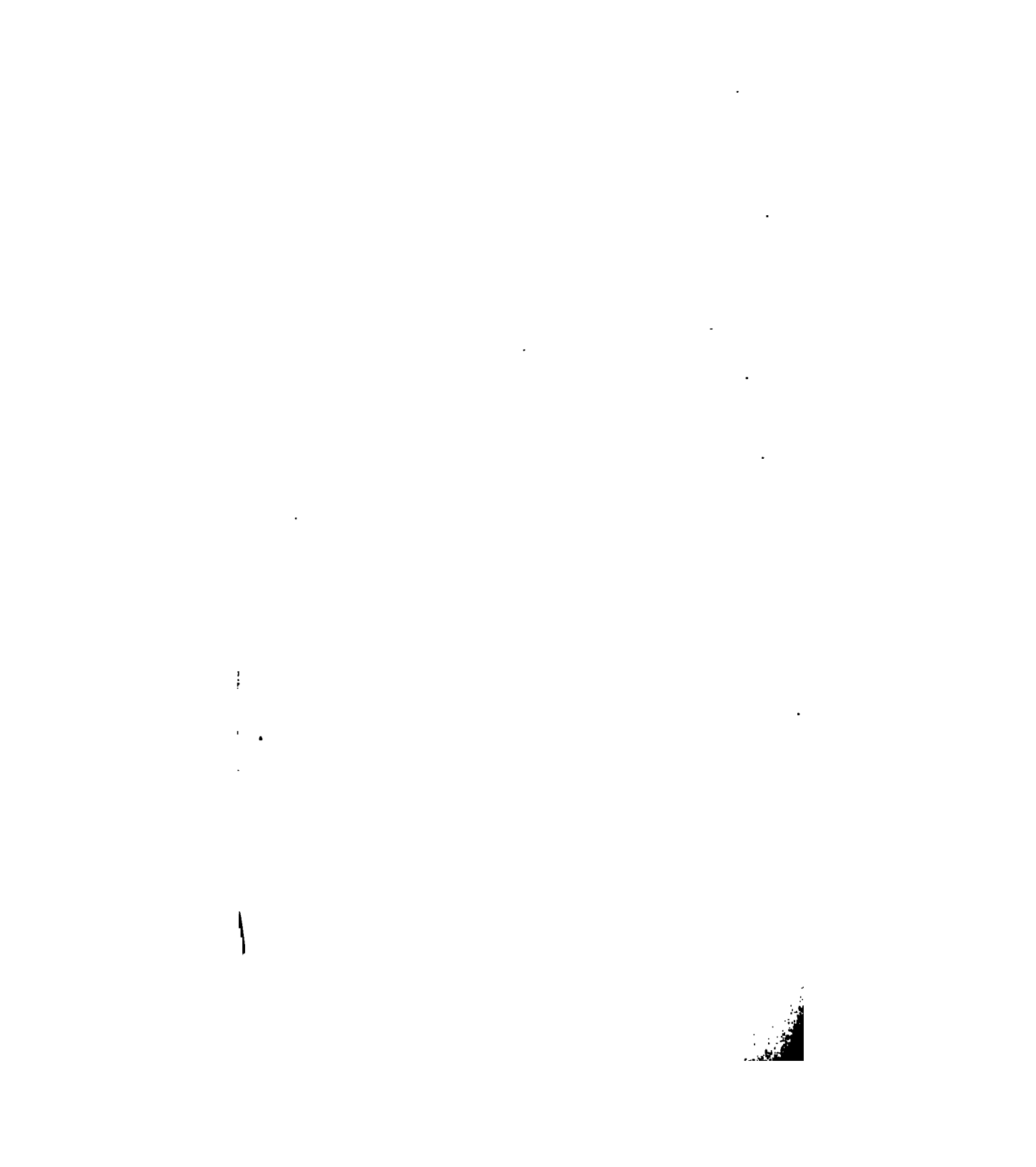
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